Augustus Van Horne Ellis
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ΑΝΑΛΕΚΤΑ ῾ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΑ.

THE

PROSE SELECTIONS

OF

DALZEL'S
COLLECTANEA GRÆCA MAJORA.

FOR THE

USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

WITH

ENGLISH NOTES,

PREPARED

BY C. S. WHEELER,

INSTRUCTER IN GREEK IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

BOSTON:
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1840.

PREFACE.

The "Collectanea Græca Majora" has now been before the public for more than half a century. The judgment and taste displayed in making the selection of its contents are fully known. Motives of economy and convenience first called it forth; and the demand for the present edition shows that its usefulness is not yet exhausted. Under these circumstances, the publishers have determined to render it more serviceable to the student, by presenting the Notes in an English dress.

Professor Dalzel of Edinburgh was the original compiler of the work. To him is due the great body of the annotations at the end of this volume. Professor Dunbar and Dr. Popkin have successively added to their value by contributions and corrections. The extracts from Polybius are reprinted from the edition of this work published by Blomfield, in 1821.

In the preparation of the Notes which accompany this volume, the present Editor has had but one object in view. He has striven to make them useful to the student. He has not scrupled to take any liberties with the notes of previous editions, which seemed necessary for the attainment of his object. He has freely omitted,

where he saw occasion; and has frequently altered and added, as well as translated; such a course being rendered unavoidable by the new light thrown upon various departments of classical study within the present century. The Notes on the Extracts from Thucydides and from Aristotle have received the greatest modification. In many places, the Editor would have preferred striking out the note altogether; but the convenience of others has induced him to retain, with a reference to the Grammar or to some previous note, what he cannot help regarding as an encumbrance.

C. S. W.

Cambridge, May 1st, 1840.

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PROSE SELECTIONS.

PART FIRST.

HISTORICAL EXTRACTS.

——— *Vos Exemplaria Graeca*
Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.

HOR. IN ARTE POET. 268.

I.

[1] Ex HERODOTO.

[AD EDIT. PET. WESSELINGII. AMSTEL. 1763. FOL.]

—*Dulcis, et candidus, et fusus* HERODOTUS. QUINCT. X. 1.

[2] *Ἐκ τῆς ΚΛΕΙΟΥΣ.*

* * *

ΑΡΙΩΝ.

[3] *ΕΤΥΡΑΝΝΕΥΕ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου· [4] τῷ δὴ, λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι, (ὁμολογέουσι δέ [5] σφι Λέσβιοι,) [6] ἐν τῷ βίῳ, θῶυμα μέγιστον [7] παραστῆναι·—[8] ΑΡΙΟΝΑ τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων [9] οὐδενὸς δεύτερον· καὶ [10] διθύραμβον, πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων [11] τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.*

Τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, [12] τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην· ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα, θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. [13] Ὁρμᾶσθαι μέν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι, [14] μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. [15] Τοὺς δὲ, ἐν τῷ πελάγει, ἐπιβουλεύειν, τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας, [16] ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. [17] Τὸν δὲ, συνέντα τοῦτο, λίσσεσθαι,

χρήματα μὲν προϊέντα σφι, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον. Οὔκων δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοισι· ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας [1] ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαί μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, [2] τὴν ταχίστην.

[3] Ἀπειληθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην, παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδή σφι οὕτω δοκέοι, [4] περιϊδέειν αὐτὸν, [5] ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι [6] ἑδωλίοισι, ἀεῖσαι· [7] ἀείσας δὲ, ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. [8] καὶ,—τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ,—ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νέα. Τὸν δὲ, ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν, καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἑδωλίοισι, [9] διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον. Τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου, ῥίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑωυτὸν, [10] ὡς εἶχε, σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον· τὸν δὲ, δελφῖνα, λέγουσι, ὑπολαβόντα, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον.

Ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν, χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον, σὺν τῇ σκευῇ· καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περίανδρον δὲ, ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης, Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, [11] οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, [12] ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων. [13] Ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτοὺς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι, εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος. Φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἴη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην, καί μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα, [14] ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε. Καὶ τοὺς, ἐκπλαγέντας, [15] οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι, ἐλεγχομένους, ἀρνέεσθαι.

Ταῦτα μέν νυν Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι. Καὶ Ἀρίονός ἐστι ἀνάθημα χάλκεον, οὐ μέγα, [16] ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, [17] ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐπεὼν ἄνθρωπος.

* * *

[1] ΚΡΟΙΣΟΣ καὶ ΣΟΛΩΝ.

Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου, καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων—(πλὴν γὰρ Κιλίκων καὶ Λυκίων, τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ εἶχε, καταστρεψάμενος, ὁ ΚΡΟΙΣΟΣ· εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε, [Λυδοί,] Φρύγες, Μυσοί, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, [2] Θρῆκες, οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριέες, Αἰολέες, Πάμφυλοι·)—κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ [3] προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι, ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις, ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ, ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἳ, τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, [4] ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες, [5] ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτέων ἀπικνέοιτο· καὶ δὴ καὶ ΣΟΛΩΝ, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς, Ἀθηναίοισι, νόμους, κελεύσασι, ποιήσας, ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίης πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λῦσαι, τῶν ἔθετο. [6] αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι· ὁρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο, δέκα ἔτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι, τοὺς ἂν σφίσι Σόλων θῆται.

Αὐτῶν δὴ ὦν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίης ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἄμασιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροῖσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ, ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληΐοισι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου. Μετὰ δὲ, ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ, ἢ τετάρτῃ, κελεύσαντος Κροίσου, τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὄλβια. Θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα, καὶ σκεψάμενον, ὥς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἴρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε· "Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται πολλὸς, καὶ σοφίης εἵνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων, γῆν πολλὴν, θεωρίης εἵνεκεν, ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὦν ἵμερος, [7] ἐπείρεσθαί με ἐπήλ-

"θέ, σε, εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον;" Ὁ μὲν. ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος, ταῦτα ἐπηρώτα. Σόλων δὲ, οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας, ἀλλὰ [1] τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος, λέγει· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον." Ἀποθωυμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν, εἴρετο [2] ἐπιστρεφέως, "[3] Κοίῃ δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;" Ὁ δὲ εἶπε, "Τέλλῳ, [4] τοῦτο μὲν, [5] τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσης, παῖδες "ἦσαν καλοί τε κἀγαθοὶ, καί σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγε- "νόμενα, καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ, [6] τοῦ βίου "εὖ ἥκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπρο- "τάτη ἐπεγένετο. γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς "τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, βοηθήσας, καὶ [7] τροπὴν "ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων, ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα. καί μιν "Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν [8] αὐτοῦ τῆπερ ἔπεσε, καὶ "ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως."

* * *

ΑΤΥΣ καὶ ΑΔΡΗΣΤΟΣ.

Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον, ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, [9] ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἑωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δέ οἱ εὕδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθηΐην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. Ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες· τῶν οὕτερος μὲν [10] διέφθαρτο· ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ, τὰ πάντα, πρῶτος· οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἦν ΑΤΥΣ. Τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρέῃ βληθέντα. Ὁ δ' ἐπεί τ' ἐξηγέρθη, καὶ [11] ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, [12] καταῤῥωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον, [13] ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα· [14] ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν, οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, τοῖσι χρέον-

ται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεώνων ἐκκομίσας, ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους [1]συνένησε, μή τί [2]οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέσῃ.

Ἐχοντος δέ οἱ [3]ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τον γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος, καὶ [4]οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας ἐὼν, Φρὺξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιληΐου. Παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία, κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι. Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἐκάθηρε. Ἐστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. Ἐπεί τε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη; λέγων τάδε, "Ὤνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν, καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἥκων, ἐπίστιος ἐμοὶ ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;" Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο, "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ ΑΔΡΗΣΤΟΣ· φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων, πάρειμι, ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων." Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "Ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων [5]τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν, καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα [6]ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς, μένων [7]ἐν ἡμετέρου. συμφορὴν δὲ ταύτην, ὡς κουφότατα, φέρων, κερδανέεις πλεῖστον." Ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε [8]ἐν Κροίσου.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Οὐλύμπῳ, [9]συὸς χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα· ὁρμεώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ οὔρεος τούτου, τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. Πολλάκι δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες, ποιέεσκον μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. Τέλος δὲ, ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι, ἔλεγον τάδε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑὸς χρῆμα μέγιστον [10]ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἑλέειν, οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθα σεῦ, τὸν παῖδα καὶ [11]λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν

"μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρης." Οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο. Κροῖσος δὲ, μνημονεύων τοῦ ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· "Παιδὸς μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεόγαμός τε γάρ ἐστι, [1] καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ [2] κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω· καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰοῦσι, εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελέειν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρης." Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο.

[3] Ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοισι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεισέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς, ἀκηκοὼς [4] τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. [5] οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τόν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε· "Ὦ πάτερ, [6] τὰ κάλλιστα, πρότερόν κοτε, καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν, ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν· νῦν δὲ [7] ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληΐσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην [8] μοι παριδὼν, οὔτε ἀθυμίην. νῦν τε [9] τέοισί με χρὴ ὄμμασι, ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα, φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μέν τις τοῖσι πολιήτῃσι δόξω εἶναι; κοῖος δέ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; [10] κοίῳ δὲ ἐκείνῃ δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; Ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέθες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον, ὅκως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιεόμενα." Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσδε· "Ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην, οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, παριδών τοι, ποιέω ταῦτα· ἀλλά μοι ὄψις ὀνείρου, ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, ἐπιστᾶσα, ἔφη σὲ ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι· ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. Πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην, τόν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα, καὶ [11] ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ κως δυναίμην, [12] ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς, σε, ζωῆς, [13] διακλέψαι. εἷς γάρ μοι μοῦνος [14] τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον, [15] διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν, οὐκ εἶναί μοι, λογίζομαι."

Ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσδε· "Συγγνώμη μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, τοί, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· [1] *τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις, ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. Φῄς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον, ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης, φάναι, ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν· ὑὸς δὲ κοῖαι μέν εἰσι χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρέη, τὴν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ* [2] *ἄλλου τευ,* [3] *ὅ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δή σε ποιέειν,* [4] *τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ, ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. Ἐπεί τε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέθες με."*

Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος, "Ὦ παῖ, [5] *ἔστι τῇ με νικᾷς, γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. Ὡς ὦν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο, μεταγινώσκω, μετίημί τέ σε ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην."*

Εἴπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος, μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἄδρηστον· ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε· "Ἄδρηστε, ἐγώ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάριτι, [6] *τήν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα, καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην. Νῦν ὦν, (ὀφείλεις γὰρ, ἐμεῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς σὲ, χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι,) φύλακα παιδός, σε, τοῦ ἐμοῦ, χρῄζω γενέσθαι, ἐς ἄγρην ὁρμεωμένου, μή τινες, κατ᾽ ὁδὸν, κλῶπες κακοῦργοι, ἐπὶ δηλήσει, φανέωσι ὑμῖν. Πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ σέ τοι* [7] *χρεών ἐστι ἰέναι, ἔνθα* [8] *ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῖσι ἔργοισι· πατρώϊόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ,* [9] *καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη ὑπάρχει."*

Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος, "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, [10] *ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἤϊα ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε·* [11] *οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἰκός ἐστι ἐς ὁμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἰέναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι* [12] *πάρα· πολλαχῇ τε ἀνίσχον ἐμεωυτόν. Νῦν δὲ, ἐπεί τε σὺ σπεύδεις, καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι, (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι,) ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἑτοῖμος ταῦτα. παῖδά τε σὸν,*

"τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα, [1] τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν, προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν."

Τοιούτοισι ἐπεί τε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἤϊσαν, μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίῃσι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὔλυμπον τὸ ὄρος, ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον· εὑρόντες δὲ, καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ, ἐσηκόντιζον. Ενθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν σῦν, τοῦ μὲν ἁμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός. Ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ, ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην. ἔθεε δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, τήν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ.

Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος, τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος, μᾶλλόν τι ἐδεινολογέετο, ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε. [2] περιημεκτέων δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς, ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἴη· ἐκάλεε δὲ [3] ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἑταιρήϊον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν· τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον, φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς [4] ἐλάνθανε βόσκων· τὸν δὲ ἑταιρήϊον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν, εὑρήκοι πολεμιώτατον.

Παρῆσαν δὲ, μετὰ τοῦτο, οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρὸν, ὄπισθεν δὲ εἵπετό οἱ ὁ φονεύς. [5] στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ, παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροίσῳ, προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάξαι μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ· λέγων τήν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς, ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῃ, τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη· οὐδέ οἱ εἴη βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας, τόν τε Ἄδρηστον κατοικτείρει, καίπερ ἐὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκηΐῳ τοσούτῳ, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· "Εχω, ὦ ξεῖνε, παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, [6] ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἷς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, [7] εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαο· ἀλλὰ

"θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλ- "λοντα ἔσεσθαι." Κροῖσος μέν νυν ἔθαψε, ὡς ἐοικὸς ἦν, τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα. Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεω τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπεί τε ἡσυχίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, [1] συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, τῶν αὐτὸς ᾔδεε, βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἑωυτὸν ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ.

* * *

ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ.

[2] Τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ τοῦ Ἱπποκράτεος, τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἱπποκράτεϊ γὰρ, ἐόντι ἰδιώτῃ, καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια, τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ, οἱ λέβητες, [3] ἐπεστεῶτες, καὶ κρεῶν τε ἐόντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος, ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔζεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν, καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας, συνεβούλευεν Ἱπποκράτεϊ, πρῶτα μὲν, [4] γυναῖκα τεκνοποιὸν μὴ ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὰ οἰκία· [5] εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα, τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν· καὶ εἴ τίς οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι. Οὔκων, ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος, πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἱπποκράτεα. Γενέσθαι οἱ, μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, ὃς, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, [6] καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαΐδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα, ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν· συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας, [7] καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. Τρωματίσας ἑωυτόν τε καὶ ἡμιόνους, ἤλασεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος, ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, οἵ μιν, ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν, ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν· ἐδέετο

τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, [1] πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένῃ στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἑλὼν, καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα [2] Ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐξαπατηθεὶς, ἔδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους, οἳ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ· ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἵποντό οἱ ὄπισθεν· συνεπαναστάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ, ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ενθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχεν Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας, οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας· [3] ἐπί τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν, κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον, [4] τὠυτὸ φρονήσαντες οἵ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέους στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου, ἐξελαύνουσί μιν.

Οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε, τοπρῶτον, Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὔκω κάρτα ἐῤῥιζωμένην ἔχων, ἀπέβαλεν. Οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισίστρατον, αὖτις, ἐκ νέης, ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἐστασίασαν. [5] Περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσει ὁ Μεγακλέης, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα [6] ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. [7] Ενδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον, καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος, ἐπὶ τούτοισι, Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ [8] ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὑρίσκω, μακρῷ· [9] (ἐπεί γε ἀπεκρίθη, ἐκ παλαιτέρου, τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, ἐὸν καὶ δεξιώτερον, καὶ εὐηθίης ἠλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον·) εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι, τοῖσι πρώτοισι λεγομένοισιν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην, μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. Εν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανιέϊ ἦν γυνὴ, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους, καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής. Ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἅρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες, καὶ [10] προδέξαντες σχῆμα, οἷόν τι ἔμελλεν εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι, ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες, οἳ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἠγόρευον, ἐς

τὸ ἄστυ ἀπικόμενοι, λέγοντες τοιάδε· "Ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, "δέκεσθε, ἀγαθῷ νόῳ, Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη "τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα, κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῆς "ἀκρόπολιν." Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, διαφοιτέοντες, ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο, ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει· καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν, προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο τὸν Πεισίστρατον.

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ΚΥΡΟΣ.

Ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν. Ἐδόκεε δέ οἱ ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς φῦναι ἄμπελον· [1] τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. Ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ [2] ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι, [3] μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα [4] ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν. ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε, βουλόμενος τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι. ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον, ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἅρπαγον, ἄνδρα οἰκήϊον, καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων, καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιάδε· "Ἅρπαγε, πρῆγμα, [5] τὸ ἄν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμᾶ "παραχρήσῃ· μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλῃ, καὶ ἄλλους ἑλόμενος, "ἐξ ὑστέρης [6] σοὶ ἑωυτῷ περιπέσῃς. [7] Λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη "ἔτεκε παῖδα· φέρων δὲ [8] ἐς σεωυτοῦ, ἀπόκτεινον· μετὰ "δὲ, θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεῳ αὐτὸς βούλεαι." Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται, "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κω παρεῖδες [9] ἀνδρὶ τῷδε "ἄχαρι οὐδὲν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ, καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέ"πειτα χρόνον, μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν· ἀλλ' εἴ τοι φίλον "τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ, [10] τόγε ἐμὸν, ὑπηρετέεσθαι "ἐπιτηδέως."

[1] Τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἅρπαγος, ὥς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον [2] τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἤϊε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία. παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει· "Νῦν ὦν τί σοι ἐν νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν;" Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται· "[3] Οὐκ ᾗ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης. οὐδ' εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανεῖται κάκιον, ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὔ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. Πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν· καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενής ἐστιν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μέν ἐστι γέρων, καὶ ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου. [4] εἰ δὲ θελήσει, τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννὶς, ἧς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι' ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; Ἀλλὰ, τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ, δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾷν τὸν παῖδα· δεῖ, μέν τοι, τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος, αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν."

Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος [5] τὸν ἠπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεωτάτας νέμοντα, καὶ οὔρεα θηριωδέστατα, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης. Συνοίκεε δὲ ἑωυτοῦ συνδούλῃ· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν, τῇ συνοίκεε, Κυνὼ, κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν, Σπακώ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι. [6] Αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν οὐρέων, ἔνθα τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς [7] βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου. [8] ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρη, πρὸς Σασπείρων, ὀρεινή ἐστι κάρτα, καὶ ὑψηλή τε, καὶ [9] ἴδῃσι συνηρεφής· [10] ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρη ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. Επεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἅρπαγος τάδε· "Κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης, τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα, θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν οὐρέων, ὅκως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρείη. καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέ-

“λευσε εἰπεῖν· Ἢν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ, ἀλλά τεῳ τρόπῳ περιποιήσῃ, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι. ἐπορᾷν δὲ ἐκκείμενον διατέταγμαι ἐγώ.”

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον, ἤιε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. [1] Τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως [2] κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει, οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. [3] ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι· ὁ μὲν, τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς [4] ἀῤῥωδέων· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ, ὅτι, οὐκ ἐωθὼς, ὁ Ἅρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. Ἐπεί τε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας [5] ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ, εἴρετο προτέρη, ὅ τι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἅρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο. Ὁ δὲ εἶπε, “Ὦ γύναι, εἶδόν τε, ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν, καὶ ἤκουσα, [6] τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον, μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότεας τοὺς ἡμετέρους! Οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἁρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο· ἐγὼ δε ἐκπλαγεὶς, ἤϊα ἔσω· ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον, ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον [7] χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. Ἅρπαγος δὲ, ὡς εἶδέ με, ἐκέλευε, τὴν ταχίστην, ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον, [8] οἴχεσθαι φέροντα, καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα [9] θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν οὐρέων, φὰς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι· πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μή σφεα ποιήσαιμι. Καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν, ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε κατέδοξα, ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὁρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον· [10] πρὸς δὲ, καὶ κλαυθμὸν [11] κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα [12] ἐν Ἁρπάγου. Καὶ πρόκα τε δὴ, κατ' ὁδὸν, πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον [13] θεράποντος, ὃς, ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος, ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος—ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καί μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι. [14] νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί.”

Ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. Ἡ δὲ, ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον, μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἐὸν, δακρύσασα, καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἔχρηζε μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναί μιν. Ὁ δὲ [1] οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τ' εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν· ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἁρπάγου ἐποψομένους· ἀπολέεσθαί τε κάκιστα, ἢν μή σφεα ποιήσῃ. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· "Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί "σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον, [2] εἰ δὴ πᾶ-"σα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον· τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ, "τέτοκα δὲ [3] τεθνεός· τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθες· τὸν δὲ "τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παῖδα, ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἐόντα, "τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὕτω, οὔτε σὺ [4] ἁλώσεαι ἀδικέων τοὺς "δεσπότεας, οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται. ὅ τε "γὰρ τεθνεὼς βασιληΐης ταφῆς κυρήσει, καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ "ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχήν."

Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ, πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα, εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν [5] παραδιδοῖ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικί· τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ ἐόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν, ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος, ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον· κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου παιδὸς, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν οὐρέων, [6] τιθεῖ. Ὡς δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρη τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἤϊε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβόσκων φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών· ἐλθὼν δὲ [7] ἐς τοῦ Ἁρπάγου, ἀποδεικνύναι [8] ἔφη ἑτοῖμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. Πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἅρπαγος τῶν ἑωυτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, εἶδέ τε διὰ τούτων, καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο· τὸν δὲ, ὕστερον τούτων, ΚΥΡΟΝ ὀνομασθέντα, παραλαβοῦσα, ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὔνομα ἄλλο [9] κού τι, καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.

[1] Ἐκ τῆς ΕΥΤΕΡΠΗΣ

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ΨΑΜΜΙΤΙΧΟΣ.

Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ ΨΑΜΜΙΤΙΧΟΝ [2] σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἑωυτοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμμίτιχος, βασιλεύσας, ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι, οἵτινες [3] γενοίατο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἑωυτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑωυτούς. Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο, πυνθανόμενος, πόρον οὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν, οἳ γενοίατο πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, [4] ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε. Παιδία δύο νεογνὰ [5] ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων δίδωσι ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποίμνια, [6] τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε· ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα, ἀντίον αὐτέων, μηδεμίην φωνὴν ἱέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ, [7] ἐπ᾽ ἑωυτῶν, κέεσθαι αὐτά, καί, [8] τὴν ὥρην, ἐπάγειν σφι αἶγας· [9] πλήσαντα δὲ τοῦ γάλακτος, [10] τἆλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι. [11] Ταῦτά δ᾽ ἐποιέετο καὶ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, θέλων ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παιδίων, [12] ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμων κνυζημάτων, ἥντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρώτην. Τάπερ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο· ὡς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγεγόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσσοντι, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν θύρην, καὶ εἰσιόντι, τὰ παιδία ἀμφότερα, προσπίπτοντα, [13] βεκὸς ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας, ἥσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν· ὡς δὲ πολλάκι φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελουμένῳ [14] πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότῃ, ἤγαγε τὰ παιδία, [15] κελεύσαντος, ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐκείνου. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος ἐπυνθάνετο, [16] οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκός τι καλέουσι· πυνθανόμενος δὲ, εὕρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας [17] τὸν ἄρτον. Οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τοιούτῳ σταθμησάμενοι πρήγματι, τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἑωυτῶν.

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Ὁ ΚΡΟΚΟΔΕΙΛΟΣ.

Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων φύσις ἐστὶ τοιήδε. Τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν· ἐὸν δὲ τετράπουν, χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖόν ἐστι· τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ὠὰ ἐν γῇ, καὶ ἐκλέπει καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δή ἐστι τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίης καὶ τῆς δρόσου. Πάντων δὲ, [1] τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, θνητῶν, τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὠὰ χηνέων οὐ πολλῷ μέζονα τίκτει· καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ὠοῦ γίνεται· αὐξανόμενος δὲ, γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πήχεας, καὶ μέζων ἔτι. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὑὸς, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ [2] χαυλιόδοντας, κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλῶσσαν δὲ, μοῦνον θηρίων, [3] οὐκ ἔφυσε· οὐδὲ τὴν κάτω κινέει γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο, μοῦνον θηρίων, τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὄνυχας καρτεροὺς, καὶ [4] δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν ἄῤῥηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὀξυδερκέστατον. [5] Ἅτε δὴ ὦν ἐν ὕδατι δίαιταν ποιεύμενον, τὸ στόμα ἔνδοθεν φορέει πᾶν μεστὸν βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν· ὁ δὲ τροχῖλος εἰρηναῖόν οἱ ἐστὶ, ἅτε ὠφελεομένῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν [6] ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος, καὶ ἔπειτα χάνῃ, (ἔωθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν ποιέειν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον,) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχῖλος, ἐσδύνων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας· ὁ δὲ ὠφελεύμενος ἥδεται, καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχῖλον.

Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροί εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δ' οὔ, ἀλλ' ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι. οἱ δὲ περί τε Θήβας καὶ τὴν Μοίριος λίμνην οἰκέοντες καὶ κάρτα ἥγηνται αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἱρούς. ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἕνα ἑκάτεροι τρέφουσι κρο-

κόδειλον, δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειροήθεα· [1] ἀρτήματά τε λίθινα χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεα ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνθέντες, καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, καὶ [2] σιτία ἀπότακτα διδόντες, καὶ ἱρήϊα· [3] καὶ περιέποντες ὡς κάλλιστα ζῶντας, ἀποθανόντας δὲ ταριχεύοντες, θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρῇσι θήκῃσι. Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς, ἐκ ἡγεόμενοι ἱροὺς εἶναι. Καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι, ἀλλὰ χάμψαι. κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἴδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἱμασιῇσι.

[4] Ἄγραι δέ σφεων πολλαὶ κατεστέασι καὶ παντοῖαι. Ἡ δ' ὦν ἐμοί γε δοκέει ἀξιωτάτη ἀπηγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. [5] Επεὰν νῶτον ὑὸς δελεάσῃ περὶ ἄγκιστρον, μετίει ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμόν· αὐτὸς δὲ, ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔχων δέλφακα ζωὴν, ταύτην τύπτει· ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος, ἵεται κατὰ τὴν φωνήν· ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νώτῳ, καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ ἕλκουσι. Επεὰν δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἁπάντων ὁ θηρευτὴς [6] πηλῷ κατ' ὦν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦται· μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, σὺν πόνῳ.

[7] Εκ τῆς ΕΡΑΤΟΥΣ.

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Ἡ ἐν ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙ μάχη.

Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γνῶμαι· τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐώντων συμβάλλειν· ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι ςρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλέειν· [8] τῶν δὲ, καὶ Μιλτιάδεω, κελευόντων. Ὡς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ [9] ἐνίκα ἡ χείρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα,—[10] ἦν γὰρ ἑνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχέειν· τοπαλαιὸν γὰρ

Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεῦντο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι· ἦν δὲ τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος·—πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ἐν
"σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἔστι ἢ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας, ἤ,
"ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα, μνημόσυνον λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα
"ἀνθρώπων βίον, οἷον οὐδὲ Ἁρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων
"λείπουσι. νῦν γὰρ δή, [1] ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς κίν-
"δυνον ἥκουσι μέγιστον· καί, ἢν μέν γε ὑποκύψωσι τοῖσι
"Μήδοισι, [2] δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἱπ-
"πίῃ· ἢν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, [3] οἵη τέ ἐστι πρώτη
"τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων γενέσθαι. Κῶς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἷά
"τε ἐστὶ γενέσθαι, [4] καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ τι τουτέων ἀνήκει τῶν
"πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσων.
"Ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐόντων δέκα, δίχα γίνονται αἱ
"γνῶμαι, τῶν μὲν κελευόντων συμβαλέειν, τῶν δὲ οὐ
"συμβαλέειν. Ἢν μέν νυν μὴ συμβάλωμεν, ἔλπομαί
"τινα στάσιν μεγάλην ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασείσειν τὰ Ἀθη-
"ναίων φρονήματα, ὥστε [5] μηδίσαι· ἢν δὲ συμβάλωμεν,
"πρίν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων [6] μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέ-
"σθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, [7] οἷοί τε εἰμὲν περιγε-
"νέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. Ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σὲ νῦν τείνει,
"καὶ ἐκ σέο ἄρτηται· ἢν γὰρ σὺ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐμῇ [8] προσθῇ,
"ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη, καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν
"τῇ Ἑλλάδι· [9] ἢν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμ-
"βολὴν ἕλῃ, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ
"ἐναντία."

Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης, προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον· προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς γνώμης, [10] ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. Μετὰ δέ, οἱ στρατηγοί, τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγίνετο πρυτανηΐη τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδοσαν· ὁ δέ, δεκόμενος, οὔτι κω συμβολὴν ἐποιέετο, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανηΐη ἐγένετο.

Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες. Τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν· ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου, ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἀριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαί, ἐχόμεναι ἀλληλέων· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, Πλαταιέες.—Ἀπὸ ταύτης γάρ σφι τῆς μάχης, θυσίας Ἀθηναίων ἀναγόντων ἐς πανηγύριας τὰς ἐν τῇσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, "ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι, λέγων, γίνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ καὶ "Πλαταιεῦσι."—[1] Τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι, ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ,—τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιας ὀλίγας· καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸ δὲ κέρας ἑκάτερον ἔῤῥωτο πλήθεϊ.

Ὡς δέ σφι διετέτακτο, καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλά, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς [2] ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτέων, ἢ ὀκτώ. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, ὁρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι· [3] μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον, καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὁρέοντες αὐτοὺς ἐόντας ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφι, οὔτε τοξευμάτων. Ταῦτα μέν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατείκαζον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπεί τε ἀθρόοι προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο· πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὁρέοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας [4] ταύτην ἐσθημένους. τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι καὶ τὸ οὔνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι.

Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι, χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου [5] ἐνίκων οἱ βάρ

βαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο. Κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ῥήξαντες, ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν. τὸ δὲ κέρας ἑκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Πλαταιέες· νικῶντες δὲ, [1] τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων· τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτέων, συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρεα ἀμφότερα, ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι εἵποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ, ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπικόμενοι, πῦρ τε αἴτεον, καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.

[2] Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός· [3] ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ, Κυναίγειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος, ἐνθαῦτα, ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων νηὸς, [4] τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεὶς πελέκεϊ, πίπτει· τοῦτο δὲ, ἄλλοι Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοί. * * * Εν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας· Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν ἐννενήκοντα καὶ δύο. Επεσον μὲν ἀμφοτέρων τοσοῦτοι.

[5] Εκ τῆς ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑΣ.

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ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΣ καὶ ΞΕΡΞΗΣ.

Μαρδόνιος μὲν, τοσαῦτα ἐπιλεήνας τὴν Ξέρξεω γνώμην, ἐπέπαυτο.—Σιωπώντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων, καὶ οὐ τολμώντων [6] γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, πάτρως ἐὼν Ξέρξῃ, [7] τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν, ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, [8] μὴ λεχθεισέων μὲν γνωμέων ἀντιέων ἀλλήλῃσι, οὐκ ἔστι τὴν ἀμείνω αἱρεόμενον ἑλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῇ εἰρημένῃ χρῆσθαι· λεχθεισέων δὲ, ἔστι· ὥσπερ τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν

"ἀκήρατον, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἑωυτοῦ οὐ διαγινώσκομεν, ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν ἄλλῳ χρυσῷ, διαγινώσκομεν τὸν ἀμείνω. Εγὼ δὲ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, ἀδελφεῷ δὲ ἐμῷ, Δαρείῳ, ἠγόρευον μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἄνδρας οὐδαμόθι γῆς ἄστυ νέμοντας. Ὁ δὲ, ἐλπίζων Σκύθας τοὺς Νομάδας καταστρέψεσθαι, ἐμοί τε οὐκ ἐπείθετο· στρατευσάμενός τε, πολλούς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς στρατιῆς ἀποβαλὼν ἀπῆλθε. Σὺ δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις ἐπ᾽ ἄνδρας στρατεύεσθαι πολλὸν ἀμείνονας ἢ Σκύθας· οἳ κατὰ θάλασσάν τε ἄριστοι καὶ κατὰ γῆν λέγονται εἶναι. Τὸ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι δεινὸν, ἐμέ σοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. Ζεύξας φῂς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· [1] καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε, ἤ τοι κατὰ γῆν, ἢ καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἑσσωθῆναι, ἢ καὶ κατ᾽ ἀμφότερα· (οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες λέγονται εἶναι ἄλκιμοι·) πάρεστι δὲ καὶ σταθμώσασθαι, εἰ στρατιήν γε τοσαύτην σὺν Δάτι καὶ Ἀρταφέρνεϊ ἐλθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώρην, μοῦνοι Ἀθηναῖοι διέφθειραν·—[2] οὔκων ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε·—ἀλλ᾽, ἢν τῇσι νηυσὶ [3] ἐμβάλωσι, καὶ, νικήσαντες ναυμαχίῃ, πλέωσι ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἔπειτα λύσωσι τὴν γέφυραν,—τοῦτο δὴ, βασιλεῦ, γίνεται δεινόν. Εγὼ δὲ οὐδεμιῇ [4] σοφιῃ οἰκηΐῃ αὐτὸς συμβάλλομαι ταῦτα· [5] ἀλλ᾽ οἷόν κοτε ἡμέας ὀλίγου ἐδέησε καταλαβεῖν πάθος, ὅτε πατὴρ σὸς, ζεύξας Βόσπορον τὸν Θρηΐκιον, γεφυρώσας δὲ ποταμὸν Ιστρον, διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας. τότε [6] παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο Σκύθαι, [7] δεόμενοι Ιώνων, λῦσαι τὸν πόρον, τοῖσι ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ιστρου. Καὶ τότε γε Ἱστιαῖος, ὁ Μιλήτου τύραννος, εἰ [8] ἐπέσπετο τῶν ἄλλων τυράννων τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲ ἠναντιώθη, [9] διέργαστο ἂν τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα!—καί τοι καὶ λόγῳ ἀκοῦσαι δεινὸν, [10] ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρί γε ἑνὶ πάντα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα γεγενῆσθαι. Σὺ ὦν μὴ βούλευ ἐς κίνδυνον μηδένα

“τοιοῦτον ἀπικέσθαι, μηδεμιῆς ἀνάγκης ἐούσης, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθευ. Νῦν μὲν τὸν σύλλογον τόνδε διάλυσον· αὖτίς τε, ὅταν τοι δοκέῃ, προσκεψάμενος ἐπὶ σεωυτοῦ, προαγόρευε τά τοι δοκέει εἶναι ἄριστα. Τὸ γὰρ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι, κέρδος μέγιστον εὑρίσκω ἐόν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐναντιωθῆναί τι θέλει, βεβούλευται μὲν οὐδὲν ἧσσον εὖ, [1] ἕσσωται δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ βούλευμα· ὁ δὲ βουλευσάμενος αἰσχρῶς, εἴ οἱ ἡ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο, εὕρημα εὕρηκε, ἧσσον δὲ οὐδέν οἱ κακῶς βεβούλευται. Ὁρᾷς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυνοῖ ὁ θεὸς, οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κνίζει; ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μέγιστα, αἰεὶ, καὶ δένδρεα τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀποσκήπτει βέλεα; φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται, κατὰ τοιόνδε· ἐπεάν σφι ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας φόβον ἐμβάλῃ, ἢ βροντὴν, [2] δι' ὧν ἐσφάλησαν ἀναξίως ἑωυτῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἢ ἑωυτόν. [3] Ἐπειχθῆναι μέν νυν πᾶν πρῆγμα τίκτει σφάλματα, ἐκ τῶν ζημίαι μεγάλαι [4] φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ, εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐξεύροι τις ἄν. Σοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, συμβουλεύω. Σὺ δὲ, ὦ παῖ Γωβρύεω Μαρδόνιε, παῦσαι λέγων λόγους ματαίους περὶ Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἐόντων ἀξίων [5] φλαύρως ἀκούειν. Ἕλληνας γὰρ διαβάλλων ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν βασιλῆα στρατεύεσθαι· αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέεις μοι πᾶσαν προθυμίην ἐκτείνειν. Μή νυν οὕτω γένηται. Διαβολὴ γάρ ἐστι δεινότατον· ἐν τῇ δύο μέν εἰσι οἱ ἀδικέοντες, εἷς δὲ ὁ ἀδικεόμενος. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ διαβάλλων ἀδικέει, οὐ παρεόντος κατηγορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀδικέει ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀπεὼν τοῦ λόγου τάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἀδικέεται, διαβληθείς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου, καὶ νομισθεὶς πρὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου κακὸς

“εἶναι. Ἀλλ', εἰ δὴ δεῖ γε πάντως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους στρατεύεσθαι, φέρε, βασιλεὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ἤθεσι τοῖσι Περσέων μενέτω· ἡμέων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα, στρατηλάτεε αὐτὸς σύ, ἐπιλεξάμενός τε ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐθέλεις, καὶ λαβὼν στρατιὴν ὁκόσην τινὰ βούλεαι· καὶ ἢν μέν, [1] τῇ σὺ λέγεις, ἀναβαίνῃ βασιλέϊ τὰ πρήγματα, [2] κτεινέσθων οἱ ἐμοὶ παῖδες, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἐγώ· ἢν δέ, τῇ ἐγὼ προλέγω, οἱ σοὶ ταῦτα [3] πασχόντων, σὺν δέ σφι καὶ σύ, ἢν ἀπονοστήσῃς. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὑποδύνειν οὐκ ἐθελήσεις, σὺ δὲ πάντως στράτευμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀκούσεσθαί τινα φημὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῇδε ὑπολειπομένων, Μαρδόνιον, μέγα τι κακὸν ἐξεργασμένον Πέρσας, ὑπὸ κυνῶν τε καὶ ὀρνίθων διαφορεύμενον, ἤ κου ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἀθηναίων, [4] ἤ σέ γε ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα καὶ πρότερον κατ' ὁδόν, γνόντα ἐπ' οἵους ἄνδρας ἀναγινώσκεις στρατεύεσθαι βασιλῆα.”

Ἀρτάβανος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· “Ἀρτάβανε, πατρὸς εἷς τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφεός· τοῦτό σε ῥύσεται μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων. καί τοι ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίην προστίθημι, ἐόντι κακῷ τε καὶ ἀθύμῳ, μήτε συστρατεύεσθαι ἐμοί γε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἅμα τῇσι γυναιξί. Ἐγὼ δέ, καὶ ἄνευ σέο, ὅσαπερ εἶπα, ἐπιτελέα ποιήσω. Μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος, τοῦ Ἀρμνεω, τοῦ Τεΐσπεος, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεω, τοῦ Τεΐσπεος, τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς, μὴ τιμωρησάμενος Ἀθηναίους· εὖ ἐπιστάμενος, ὅτι εἰ ἡμεῖς ἡσυχίην ἄξομεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα στρατεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν [5] ἡμετέρην [6] εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἳ Σάρδις τε ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ [7] ἤλασαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. Οὔκων ἐξαναχωρέειν οὐδετέροισι δυνατῶς ἔχει, ἀλλὰ ποιέειν

"ἢ παθέειν προκέεται ἀγών· ἵνα ἢ τάδε πάντα ὑπὸ Ἕλλησι, ἢ ἐκεῖνα πάντα ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι γένηται· τὸ γὰρ μέσον οὐδὲν τῆς ἔχθρης ἐστί. Καλὸν ὦν προπεπονθότας ἡμέας τιμωρέειν ἤδη γίνεται· [1]ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν, τὸ πείσομαι, τοῦτο μάθω, ἐλάσας ἐπ' ἄνδρας τούτους, τούς γε καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ Φρὺξ, ἐὼν πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος, κατεστρέψατο οὕτω, ὡς, καὶ [2]ἐς τόδε, αὐτοί τε ὤνθρωποι, καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτέων, ἐπώνυμοι τοῦ καταστρεψαμένου καλέονται." Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐλέγετο.

Μετὰ δὲ, εὐφρόνη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ Ξέρξεα ἔκνιζε ἡ Ἀρταβάνου γνώμη. [3]Νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς, πάγχυ εὕρισκέ οἱ οὐ πρῆγμα εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

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ΞΕΡΞΗΣ καὶ ΑΡΤΑΒΑΝΟΣ ἐν ΑΒΥΔΩ.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ἰδέσθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν· καὶ,—προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ κολωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ [4]ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ· ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ, ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλῆος·—ἐνθαῦτα, ὡς ἵζετο κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἠϊόνος, ἐθηεῖτο καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας· θηεύμενος δὲ, ἱμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἅμιλλαν γινομένην ἰδέσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἥσθη τε τῇ ἁμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.

Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα Ξέρξης ἑωυτὸν ἐμακάρισε·—μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐδάκρυσε.

Μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτάβανος ὁ πάτρως,—ὃς τοπρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευθέρως, ὁ συμβουλεύων Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,—οὗτος ὤνὴρ, [5]φρασθεὶς Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα, εἴρετο τάδε· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολὺ

"ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργάσαο, νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον! μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν, δακρύεις." Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με, λογισάμενον, κατοικτεῖραι, ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τουτέων γε, ἐόντων τοσούτων, οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται." Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "Ἕτερα τούτου, παρὰ τὴν ζόην, πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα· ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχέϊ βίῳ [1] οὐδεὶς οὕτω, ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν, εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τουτέων, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, [2] τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις, καὶ οὐκὶ ἅπαξ, [3] τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζώειν. αἵ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσαι, καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσαι, καὶ βραχὺν ἐόντα, μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. Οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης, καταφυγὴ αἱρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ [4] γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς, [5] γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερὸς ἐν αὐτῷ εὑρίσκεται ἐών."

Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μέν νυν ἀνθρωπηΐης πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης, οἵηνπερ σὺ [6] διαιρέεαι εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν [7] μεμνώμεθα, χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσί.—φράσον δέ μοι τόδε· εἴ τοι ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργὴς οὕτω [8] ἐφάνη, εἶχες ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίην γνώμην, οὐκ ἐῶν με στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, [9] ἢ μετέστης ἄν; [10] φέρε, μοὶ τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ." Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὄψις μὲν ἡ ἐπιφανεῖσα τοῦ ὀνείρου, ὡς βουλόμεθα ἀμφότεροι, [11] τελευτήσειε· ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε δείματός εἰμι ὑπόπλεος, οὐδ' ἐντὸς ἐμεωυτοῦ· ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπιλεγόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁρέων τοι δύο τὰ μέγιστα πάντων ἐόντα πολεμιώτατα."

Ξέρξης δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "[12] Δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, κοῖα ταῦτα λέγεις μοι εἶναι δύο πολεμιώτατα; κότερά τοι ὁ πεζὸς μεμπτὸς κατὰ τὸ πλῆ-

"θός ἐστι, καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα φαίνεται πολλαπλήσιον ἔσεσθαι τοῦ ἡμετέρου; ἢ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον λείψεσθαι τοῦ ἐκείνων; ἢ καὶ συναμφότερα ταῦτα; εἰ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ ἐνδεέστερα φαίνεται εἶναι τὰ ἡμέτερα πρήγματα, στρατοῦ ἂν ἄλλου τις τὴν ταχίστην ἄγερσιν ποιοῖτο."

Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο λέγων· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, [1] οὔτε στρατὸν τοῦτον, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμφοιτ' ἄν, οὔτε τῶν νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος· ἢν δὲ πλεῦνας συλλέξῃς, τὰ δύο τοι, τὰ λέγω, πολλῷ ἔτι πολεμιώτερα γίνεται· τὰ δὲ δύο ταῦτά ἐστι γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα. οὔτε γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστὶ λιμὴν τοσοῦτος οὐδαμόθι, (ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω,) ὅστις, ἐγειρομένου χειμῶνος, δεξάμενός σευ τοῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν, φερέγγυος ἔσται διασῶσαι τὰς νέας. Καί τοι οὐκὶ ἕνα αὐτὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἤπειρον, παρ' ἣν δὴ κομίζεαι. [2] Οὔκων δὴ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων, μάθε ὅτι αἱ συμφοραὶ [3] τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι, καὶ οὐκὶ ὥνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων.—Καὶ δὴ, τῶν δύο τοι τοῦ ἑτέρου εἰρημένου, τὸ ἕτερον ἔρχομαι ἐρέων.—Γῆ δὲ πολεμίη [4] τῇδέ τοι κατίσταται·—εἰ [5] ἐθέλει τοι μηδὲν ἀντίξοον καταστῆναι, τοσούτῳ τοι γίνεται πολεμιωτέρη, ὅσῳ ἂν προβαίνοις ἑκαστέρω, [6] τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος· εὐπρηξίης γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμίη πληθώρη. Καὶ δή τοι, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐναντιευμένου, λέγω τὴν χώρην, πλεῦνα ἐν πλεῦνι χρόνῳ γινομένην, λιμὸν τέξεσθαι. Ἀνὴρ δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ βουλευόμενος μὲν, ἀῤῥωδέοι, [7] πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρῆμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη."

Ἀμείβεται Ξέρξης τοῖσδε· "Ἀρτάβανε, εἰκότως μὲν σύ γε τουτέων ἕκαστα διαιρέεαι· ἀτὰρ μήτε πάντα φοβέο, μήτε πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεο. [8] εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο, ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρήγματι, τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως

“ἐπιλέγεσθαι, [1] ποιήσειας ἂν οὐδαμᾶ οὐδέν. Κρέσσον δὲ,
“πάντα θαρσέοντα, ἥμισυ τῶν δεινῶν πάσχειν μᾶλλον, ἢ
“πᾶν χρῆμα προδειμαίνοντα, μηδαμᾶ μηδὲν παθεῖν.
“[2] Εἰ δὲ, ἐρίζων πρὸς πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον, μὴ τὸ βέβαιον
“ἀποδέξῃς, σφάλλεσθαι ὀφείλεις, ἐν αὐτοῖσι, ὁμοίως καὶ
“ὁ ὑπεναντία τούτοισι λέξας. Τοῦτο μέν νυν ἐπίσης ἔχει
“Εἰδέναι δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα, κῶς χρὴ, τὸ βέβαιον,—δοκέω
“μὲν οὐδαμῶς. [3] Τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοισι ποιέειν, ὡς το
“επίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα· τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγο
“μένοισί τε πάντα καὶ ὀκνεῦσι, οὐ μάλα ἐθέλει. Ὁρᾷς
“τὰ Περσέων πρήγματα [4] ἐς ὃ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε;
“εἰ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πρὸ ἐμεῦ γενόμενοι βασιλῆες γνώ-
“μῃσι ἐχρέοντο ὁμοίῃσι καὶ σὺ, ἢ μὴ χρεόμενοι γνώ-
“μῃσι τοιαύτῃσι, ἄλλους συμβούλους εἶχον τοιούτους, οὐκ
“ἄν κοτε εἶδες αὐτὰ ἐς τοῦτο προελθόντα· νῦν δὲ, κινδύ-
“νους ἀναῤῥιπτέοντες, [5] ἐς τοῦτό σφεα προηγάγοντο. με-
“γάλα γὰρ πρήγματα μεγάλοισι κινδύνοισι [6] ἐθέλει
“καταιρέεσθαι. Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὁμοιεύμενοι κείνοισι, ὥρην
“τε τοῦ ἔτεος καλλίστην, πορευόμεθα· καὶ καταστρεψά-
“μενοι πᾶσαν τὴν Εὐρώπην, νοστήσομεν ὀπίσω, οὔτε λι-
“μῷ ἐντυχόντες οὐδαμόθι, οὔτε ἄλλο ἄχαρι οὐδὲν πα-
“θόντες. [7] τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, αὐτοὶ πολλὴν φορβὴν φερό-
“μεθα πορευόμενοι· τοῦτο δὲ, τῶν ἄν κου [8] ἐπιβέωμεν
“γῆν καὶ ἔθνος, τούτων τὸν σῖτον ἕξομεν· ἐπ' ἀροτῆρας
“δὲ, καὶ οὐ νομάδας, στρατευόμεθα, ἄνδρας.”

Λέγει Ἀρτάβανος μετὰ ταῦτα· “Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεί
“τε ἀῤῥωδέειν οὐδὲν ἐᾷς πρῆγμα, σὺ δέ μευ συμβου-
“λίην ἔνδεξαι· [9] ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχει, περὶ πολλῶν
“πρηγμάτων, πλεῦνα λόγον ἐκτεῖναι. Κῦρος ὁ Καμ-
“βύσεω Ἰωνίην πᾶσαν, πλὴν Ἀθηναίων, κατεστρέψατο
“δασμοφόρον εἶναι Πέρσῃσι. τούτους ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας συμ-
“βουλεύω τοι μηδεμιῇ μηχανῇ ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας·

"καὶ γὰρ, ἄνευ τουτέων, [1] οἷοί τε εἰμὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατυπέρτεροι γίνεσθαι. ἢ γάρ σφεας, ἢν ἕπωνται, δεῖ ἀδικωτάτους γίνεσθαι, καταδουλουμένους τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἢ δικαιοτάτους, συνελευθεροῦντας. Ἀδικώτατοι μέν νυν γινόμενοι, οὐδὲν κέρδος μέγα ἡμῖν προσβάλλουσι· δικαιότατοι δὲ γινόμενοι, οἷοί τε δηλήσασθαι μεγάλως τὴν σὴν στρατιὴν γίνονται. [2] Ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῦ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔπος, ὡς εὖ εἴρηται, τὸ μὴ ἅμα ἀρχῇ πᾶν τέλος καταφαίνεσθαι."

Ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· "Ἀρτάβανε, [3] τῶν ἀπεφήναο γνωμέων, σφάλλεαι κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα, ὃς Ἴωνας φοβέεαι μὴ μεταβάλλωσι· [4] τῶν ἔχομεν γνῶμα μέγιστον, τῶν σύ τε μάρτυς γίνεαι, καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι Δαρείῳ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὅτι [5] ἐπὶ τούτοισι ἡ πᾶσα Περσικὴ στρατιὴ ἐγένετο διαφθεῖραι καὶ περιποιῆσαι· οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ πιστότητα ἐνέδωκαν, ἄχαρι δὲ οὐδέν. πάρεξ δὲ τούτου, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ καταλιπόντας τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ χρήματα, οὐδ' ἐπιλέγεσθαι χρὴ νεώτερόν τι ποιήσειν. Οὕτω μηδὲ τοῦτο φοβέο, ἀλλὰ θυμὸν ἔχων ἀγαθὸν, σῶζε οἶκόν τε τὸν ἐμὸν, καὶ τυραννίδα τὴν ἐμήν· σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ μούνῳ ἐκ πάντων σκῆπτρα τὰ ἐμὰ ἐπιτράπω."

II.

[1] Ex THUCYDIDE.

[Ad Edit. Car. And. Dukeri. Amstel. 1731. Fol.]

Densus, et brevis, et semper instans sibi Thucydides.
Quinct. X. 1.

[2] *Ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ πρώτου.*

* * *

[3] *Περὶ τῶν πάλαι ἙΛΛΗΝΩΝ.*

ʽΟΙ μὲν Ἕλληνες τοπάλαι, [4] καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἵ τε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ παραθαλάσσιοι, καὶ ὅσοι νήσους εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ ἤρξαντο [5] μᾶλλον περαιοῦσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους, [6] ἐτράποντο πρὸς λῃστείαν, ἡγουμένων ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων, [7] κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἕνεκα, καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς· καὶ προσπίπτοντες πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις, [8] καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις, ἥρπαζον, καὶ [9] τὸν πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιοῦντο·—οὐκ ἔχοντός πω αἰσχύνην τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον.—δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν τε ἠπειρωτῶν τινες ἔτι καὶ νῦν, [10] οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾷν, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν, [11] τὰς πύστεις τῶν καταπλεόντων πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐρωτῶντες, εἰ λῃσταί εἰσιν· [12] ὡς οὔτε ὧν πυνθάνονται ἀπαξιούντων τὸ ἔργον, οἷς τ᾽ ἐπιμελὲς εἴη εἰδέναι, οὐκ ὀνειδιζόντων. Ἐλῄζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ᾽ ἤπειρον ἀλλήλους. καὶ [13] μέχρι τοῦδε πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος

τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ νέμεται, περί τε Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀζόλας, καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς, καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας, καὶ [1] τὴν ταύτῃ ἤπειρον. [2] τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις τοῖς ἠπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς λῃστείας ἐμμεμένηκε.

Πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσιδηροφόρει, διὰ τὰς ἀφράκτους τε οἰκήσεις, καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους· [3] καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι. Σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι οὕτω νεμόμενα, τῶν ποτὲ καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων διαιτημάτων. [4] Ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τόν τε σίδηρον κατέθεντο, καὶ, [5] ἀνειμένῃ τῇ διαίτῃ, ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν. [6] καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων, διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον, οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες, καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν. [7] ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς, ἐπιπολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχε. Μετρίᾳ δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι, [8] καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον, πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, [9] πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδίαιτοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν. Ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρῶτοι, καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀποδύντες, [10] λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἠλείψαντο. Τὸ δὲ πάλαι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ ἀγῶνι, διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἠγωνίζοντο· καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυνται. Ἔτι δὲ [11] καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς νῦν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς, πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἆθλα τίθεται, καὶ διεζωσμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσι. Πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τὶς ἀποδείξειε τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτώμενον.

Τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ᾠκίσθησαν, [12] καὶ ἤδη πλωϊμωτέρων ὄντων, περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἰσθ-

μοὺς ἀπελάμβανον, [1] ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκαστοι ἰσχύος. αἱ δὲ παλαιαί, διὰ τὴν λῃστείαν [2] ἐπιπολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαι, ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ᾠκίσθησαν, αἵ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἠπείροις· ([3] ἔφερον γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι, ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι, κάτω ᾤκουν) καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ἀνῳκισμένοι εἰσί.

Καὶ [4] οὐχ ἧσσον λῃσταὶ ἦσαν οἱ νησιῶται, Κᾶρές τε ὄντες καὶ Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων ᾤκησαν. Μαρτύριον δέ· [5] Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεισῶν, ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ, Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν, γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένῃ, καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ, ᾧ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσι. Καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ [6] Μίνω ναυτικοῦ, [7] πλωϊμώτερα ἐγένετο παρ᾽ ἀλλήλους· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακοῦργοι ἀνέστησαν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ὅτεπερ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κατῴκιζε. Καὶ οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ἤδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι, βεβαιότερον ᾤκουν· καί τινες καὶ τείχη περιεβάλλοντο, ὡς [8] πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι. ἐφιέμενοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν, οἵ τε ἥσσους ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν κρεισσόνων δουλείαν, οἵ τε δυνατώτεροι, περιουσίας ἔχοντες, προσεποιοῦντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἤδη ὄντες, ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσαν.

* * *

[9] Ἡ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου αἰτία καὶ θάνατος.

Ἐπειδὴ Παυσανίας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, τοπρῶτον μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ κριθεὶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, [10] ἀπελύθη μὴ ἀδικεῖν, δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐξεπέμφθη· ἰδίᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς [11] τρι-

ἥρη λαβὼν Ἑρμιονίδα, ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλήσποντον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ, τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα βουλόμενος πράσσειν·—ὥσπερ καὶ τοπρῶτον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐφιέμενος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς. [1] Εὐεργεσίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο, καὶ τοῦ παντὸς πράγματος ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο· Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἑλών, τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ, μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κύπρου ἀναχώρησιν, (εἶχον δὲ Μῆδοι αὐτὸ, καὶ βασιλέως προσήκοντές τινες καὶ ξυγγενεῖς, [2] οἳ ἑάλωσαν ἐν αὐτῷ,) τότε τούτους, οὓς ἔλαβεν, ἀποπέμπει βασιλεῖ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων· [3] τῷ δὲ λόγῳ, ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. Επρασσε δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ Γογγύλου τοῦ Ερετριέως, ᾧπερ ἐπέτρεψε τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους· ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τὸν Γόγγυλον φέροντα αὐτῷ· ἐνεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡς ὕστερον ἀνευρέθη.

"Παυσανίας ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῆς Σπάρτης [4] τούσδε τέ σοι "χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος ἀποπέμπει, δορὶ ἑλών· καὶ "γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, εἰ καί σοι δοκεῖ, θυγατέρα τε τὴν "σὴν γῆμαι, καί σοι Σπάρτην τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλ-"λάδα ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι· δυνατὸς δὲ δοκῶ εἶναι ταῦ-"τα πρᾶξαι, μετὰ σοῦ βουλευόμενος. Εἰ οὖν τι σὲ "τούτων ἀρέσκει, πέμπε ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, δι' "οὗ, τολοιπὸν, τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα."

Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Ξέρξης δὲ ἥσθη τε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, καὶ ἀποστέλλει Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Φαρνάκου ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν τήν τε [5] Δασκυλῖτιν σατραπείαν παραλαβεῖν, Μεγαβάτην ἀπαλλάξαντα, ὃς πρότερον ἦρχε· καὶ παρὰ Παυσανίαν, ἐς Βυζάντιον, [6] ἐπιστολὴν ἀντεπετίθει αὐτῷ, ὡς τάχιστα διαπέμψαι, καὶ τὴν σφραγῖδα ἀποδεῖξαι· καὶ ἤν τι αὐτῷ Παυσανίας παραγγέλλῃ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, πράσσειν

ὡς ἄριστα καὶ πιστότατα. Ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος, τά τε ἄλλα ἐποίησεν, ὥσπερ εἴρητο, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διέπεμψεν· ἀντεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε.

"Ὧδε λέγει βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης Παυσανίᾳ·—[1] Καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς μοι πέραν θαλάσσης ἐκ Βυζαντίου διέσωσας, κείσεταί σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἐσαεὶ ἀνάγραπτος, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀρέσκομαι. καί σε μήτε νὺξ, μήθ' ἡμέρα ἐπισχέτω, ὥστε ἀνεῖναι πράσσειν τι, ὧν ἐμοὶ ὑπισχνῇ· μηδὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου δαπάνῃ κεκωλύσθω, μηδὲ στρατιᾶς πλήθει, [2] εἴποι δεῖ παραγίγνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μετ' Ἀρταβάζου ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ὅν σοι ἔπεμψα, πράσσε θαρσῶν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ σὰ, ὅπῃ κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἕξει ἀμφοτέροις."

Ταῦτα λαβὼν ὁ Παυσανίας τὰ γράμματα, ὢν καὶ πρότερον ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν [3] Πλαταιάσιν ἡγεμονίαν, πολλῷ τότε μᾶλλον ἤρτο, καὶ οὐκέτι ἠδύνατο [4] ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν· ἀλλὰ, σκευάς τε Μηδικὰς ἐνδυόμενος, ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξῄει, καὶ διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης πορευόμενον αὐτὸν Μῆδοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδορυφόρουν. τράπεζάν τε Περσικὴν [5] παρετίθετο, καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἔργοις βραχέσι προὐδήλου, ἃ τῇ γνώμῃ μειζόνως ἐσέπειτα ἔμελλε πράξειν. δυσπρόσοδόν τε αὐτὸν παρεῖχε, καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρῆτο ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως, ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι προσιέναι. Διόπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους [6] οὐχ ἥκιστα ἡ ξυμμαχία μετέστη.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι, τό τε πρῶτον δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτόν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ, τῇ Ἑρμιονίδι νηῒ τοδεύτερον ἐκπλεύσας, οὐ κελευσάντων αὐτῶν, τοιαῦτα ἐφαίνετο ποιῶν· καὶ, ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου βίᾳ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκπολιορκηθεὶς, ἐς μὲν τὴν Σπάρτην οὐκ ἐπανεχώ-

ρει, ἐς δὲ Κολωνὰς τὰς Τρῳάδας ἱδρυθεὶς, πράσσων τε ἐσηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ οὐκ [1] ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν μονὴν ποιούμενος·—οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι [2] ἐπέσχον, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες κήρυκα οἱ Ἔφοροι, καὶ [3] σκυτάλην, εἶπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ λείπεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας προαγορεύειν. Ὁ δὲ, βουλόμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ὕποπτος εἶναι, καὶ πιστεύων χρήμασι διαλύσειν τὴν διαβολὴν, ἀνεχώρει τοδεύτερον ἐς Σπάρτην. Καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἐσπίπτει, τοπρῶτον, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφόρων· (ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς Ἐφόροις τὸν βασιλέα δρᾶσαι τοῦτο·) ἔπειτα διαπραξάμενος, ὕστερον ἐξῆλθε, [4] καὶ καθίστησιν ἑαυτὸν ἐς κρίσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγχειν.

Καὶ φανερὸν μὲν εἶχον οὐδὲν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται σημεῖον, οὔτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ, οὔτε ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, ὅτῳ ἂν πιστεύσαντες βεβαίως ἐτιμωροῦντο ἄνδρα γένους τε τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντα, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι τιμὴν ἔχοντα. Πλείσταρχον γὰρ τὸν Λεωνίδου, ὄντα βασιλέα καὶ νέον ἔτι, ἀνεψιὸς ὢν, ἐπετρόπευεν. Ὑποψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρεῖχε, τῇ τε παρανομίᾳ, καὶ ζηλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων, [5] μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι. Τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπουν, εἴτι που [6] ἐξεδεδιῄτητο τῶν καθεστώτων νομίμων, καὶ ὅτι, ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδά ποτε, τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνιον, [7] ἠξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι αὐτὸς, ἰδίᾳ, τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τόδε·

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς, ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων,
Παυσανίας, Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγεῖον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλαψαν, εὐθὺς τότε, ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος, τοῦτο· καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα. Τοῦ μέντοι Παυσανίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπεί γε δὴ [8] ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρούσῃ δια-

νοίᾳ. Ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς Εἵλωτας πράσσειν τὶ αὐτόν· καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως·—ἐλευθέρωσίν τε γὰρ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιτείαν, ἢν ξυνεπαναστῶσι, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ξυγκατεργάσωνται. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὧς, οὐδὲ τῶν Εἱλώτων μηνυταῖς τισι πιστεύσαντες, ἠξίωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν εἰς αὐτόν· χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ, ᾧπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου, ἄνευ ἀναμφισβητήτων τεκμηρίων, βουλεῦσαί τι ἀνήκεστον· πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, ὁ μέλλων τὰς τελευταίας βασιλεῖ ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον κομιεῖν, ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος, παιδικά ποτε ὢν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πιστότατος ἐκείνῳ, μηνυτὴς γίγνεται· δείσας, κατὰ ἐνθύμησίν τινα, ὅτι οὐδείς πω τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγγέλων πάλιν ἀφίκετο· καὶ [1] παραποιησάμενος σφραγῖδα, ἵνα, ἢν ψευσθῇ τῆς δόξης, [2] ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνος μεταγράψαι τὶ αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπιγνῷ,—λύει τὰς ἐπιστολὰς, [3] ἐν αἷς, ὑπονοήσας τὶ τοιοῦτον προσεπεστάλθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν εὗρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν.

Τότε δὴ οἱ Ἔφοροι, δείξαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα, μᾶλλον μὲν ἐπίστευσαν· αὐτήκοοι δὲ βουληθέντες ἔτι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ Παυσανίου τὶ λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἱκέτου οἰχομένου, καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλῆν διαφράγματι καλύβην, ἐς ἣν τῶν τε Ἐφόρων ἐντὸς τινὰς ἔκρυψε, καὶ Παυσανίου [4] ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος, καὶ ἐρωτῶντος τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἱκετείας, ᾔσθοντο πάντα σαφῶς· αἰτιωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα, καὶ τἆλλα ἀποφαίνοντος [5] καθ᾽ ἕκαστον, [6] ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις, παραβάλοιτο, [7] προτιμηθείη δ᾽ ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων ἀποθανεῖν· κἀκείνου αὐτά τε ταῦτα ξυνομολογοῦντος, καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος οὐκ ἐῶντος ὀργίζεσθαι, [8] ἀλλὰ πίστιν, ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, διδόντος, τῆς ἀναστά-

σεως, [1] καὶ ἀξιοῦντος ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι, καὶ μὴ [2] τὰ πρασσόμενα διακωλύειν.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀκριβῶς, τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον οἱ Ἔφοροι· βεβαίως δὲ ἤδη εἰδότες, ἐν τῇ πόλει [3] τὴν ξύλληψιν ἐποιοῦντο. Λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ξυλληφθήσεσθαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἑνὸς μὲν τῶν Ἐφόρων τὸ πρόσωπον προσιόντος ὡς εἶδε, γνῶναι [4] ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχώρει· ἄλλου δὲ νεύματι ἀφανεῖ χρησαμένου, καὶ δηλώσαντος εὐνοίᾳ, πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς [5] Χαλκιοίκου χωρῆσαι δρόμῳ, καὶ προκαταφυγεῖν· ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ τέμενος· καὶ ἐς οἴκημα οὐ μέγα, [6] ὃ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἐσελθὼν, [7] ἵνα μὴ ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωροίη, ἡσύχαζεν. Οἱ δὲ τοπαραυτίκα μὲν ὑστέρησαν τῇ διώξει· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ τε οἰκήματος τὸν ὄροφον ἀφεῖλον, καὶ τὰς θύρας, ἔνδον ὄντα τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν, καὶ [8] ἀπολαβόντες εἴσω, ἀπῳκοδόμησαν· προσκαθεζόμενοί τε, ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ. Καὶ μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποψύχειν, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι, αἰσθόμενοι, ἐξάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔτι ἔμπνουν ὄντα· καὶ ἐξαχθεὶς ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν, οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους ἐμβάλλειν εἰώθεισαν. Ἔπειτα ἔδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς—"τόν "τε τάφον"—ὕστερον ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις— "μετενεγκεῖν, οὗπερ ἀπέθανε," (καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι, ὃ γραφῇ στῆλαι δηλοῦσι,) "[9] καὶ ὡς "ἄγος αὐτοῖς ὂν τὸ πεπραγμένον, δύο σώματα ἀνθ' ἑνὸς "τῇ Χαλκιοίκῳ ἀποδοῦναι." Οἱ δὲ, ποιησάμενοι χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάντας δύο, ὡς ἀντὶ Παυσανίου ἀνέθεσαν.

[1] Ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ΞΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ δευτέρου

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[2] Ὁ τῶν ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΛΟΙΜΟΣ.

Τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου, Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι [3] τὰ δύο μέρη, ὥσπερ καὶ τοπρῶτον, [4] ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, (ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς,) καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν. Καὶ ὄντων αὐτῶν ȣ̓ πολλάς πω ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, [5] ἡ νόσος πρῶτον ἤρξατο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· λεγόμενον μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλαχόσε ἐγκατασκῆψαι, καὶ περὶ Λῆμνον καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις χωρίοις. οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτός γε λοιμὸς, οὐδὲ φθορὰ οὕτως ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμοῦ ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἰατροὶ ἤρκουν τοπρῶτον θεραπεύοντες ἀγνοίᾳ, (ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μάλιστα ἔθνησκον, ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα προσῄεσαν,) οὔτε ἄλλη ἀνθρωπεία [6] τέχνη οὐδεμία. Ὅσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἱκέτευσαν, ἢ μαντείοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῆ ἦν. [7] Τελευτῶντές τε αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν, ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι.

Ἤρξατο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς λέγεται, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας τῆς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην κατέβη, καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλέως γῆν τὴν πολλήν. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἐξαπιναίως ἐνέπεσε· καὶ τοπρῶτον ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ [8] ἥψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα· κρῆναι γὰρ οὔπω ἦσαν αὐτόθι. Ὕστερον δὲ, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἔθνησκον πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἤδη.—Λεγέτω μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἕκαστος γιγνώσκει,—καὶ ἰατρὸς, καὶ ἰδιώτης,—[9] ἀφ' ὅτου εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι αὐτὸ, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, ἅστινας νομίζει, τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς, ἱκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι

σχεῖν· ἐγὼ δὲ, οἷόν τε ἐγίγνετο, λέξω, καὶ ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἄν τις σκοπῶν,—εἴποτε καὶ αὖθις ἐπιπέσοι,—μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἔχοι, τὶ προειδὼς, μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ταῦτα δηλώσω, αὐτός τε νοσήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας.

[1] Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος, ὡς ὡμολογεῖτο, ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα δὴ ἐκεῖνο ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ προέκαμνέ τι, ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. Τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους ἀπ᾽ οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξαίφνης, ὑγιεῖς ὄντας, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς θέρμαι ἰσχυραὶ, καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρυθήματα καὶ φλόγωσις ἐλάμβανε. καὶ [2] τὰ ἐντὸς, ἥ τε φάρυγξ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα, εὐθὺς αἱματώδη ἦν, καὶ [3] πνεῦμα ἄτοπον καὶ δυσῶδες ἠφίει· ἔπειτα, ἐξ αὐτῶν πταρμὸς καὶ βράγχος ἐπεγίγνετο. καὶ, ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, κατέβαινεν ἐς τὰ στήθη ὁ πόνος, μετὰ βηχὸς ἰσχυροῦ· καὶ ὁπότε [4] ἐς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίξαι, ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτὴν, καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς πᾶσαι, ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὠνομασμέναι εἰσὶν, ἐπήεσαν, καὶ αὗται μετὰ ταλαιπωρίας μεγάλης. [5] Λύγξ τε τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐνέπιπτε κενὴ, σπασμὸν ἐνδιδοῦσα ἰσχυρὸν, τοῖς μὲν [6] μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν, ἁπτομένῳ, σῶμα οὐκ ἄγαν θερμὸν ἦν, οὔτε χλωρὸν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπέρυθρον, [7] πελιδνὸν, φλυκταίναις μικραῖς καὶ ἕλκεσιν ἐξηνθηκός· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκαίετο, ὥστε μήτε τῶν πάνυ λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ σινδόνων τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, [8] μήτ᾽ ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνὸν ἀνέχεσθαι, ἥδιστά τε ἂν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ῥίπτειν· καὶ πολλοὶ, τοῦτο, τῶν ἠμελημένων (ἀνθρώπων,) καὶ ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα, ἀπαύστῳ τῇ δίψῃ ξυνεχόμενοι. [9] Καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καθειστήκει τό τε πλέον καὶ ἔλασσον ποτόν. καὶ [10] ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία ἐπέκειτο διαπαντός. καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὅσον περ χρόνον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἀκμάζοι, οὐκ ἐμαραίνετο, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντεῖχε, παρὰ δόξαν,

τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ· ὥστε ἢ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐνναταῖοι καὶ ἑβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος, [1] ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως· ἤ, εἰ διαφύγοιεν, ἐπικατιόντος τοῦ νοσήματος ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν, καὶ ἑλκώσεώς τε [2] αὐτῇ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐγγιγνομένης, καὶ διαῤῥοίας ἅμα ἀκράτου ἐπιπιπτούσης, οἱ πολλοὶ ὕστερον διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν διεφθείροντο. [καὶ,—] διεξῄει γὰρ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον τὸ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ πρῶτον ἱδρυθὲν κακόν·— [3] καί, εἴτις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο, [4] τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμαινε. κατέσκηπτε γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ ἐς ἄκρας χεῖρας, καὶ πόδας· καὶ πολλοὶ στερισκόμενοι τούτων διέφευγον· [5] εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. τοὺς δε καὶ λήθη ἐλάμβανε παραυτίκα ἀναστάντας τῶν πάντων ὁμοίως, καὶ ἠγνόησαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους.

Γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου, τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἑκάστῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα [6] ἄλλο τι ὂν ἢ τῶν ξυντρόφων τι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα καὶ τετράποδα, ὅσα ἀνθρώπων ἅπτεται, πολλῶν ἀτάφων γιγνομένων, ἢ οὐ προσῄει, ἢ γευσάμενα διεφθείρετο. τεκμήριον δὲ, τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ὀρνίθων ἐπίλειψις σαφὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ἑωρῶντο οὔτε ἄλλως, [7] οὔτε περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. οἱ δὲ κύνες μᾶλλον αἴσθησιν παρεῖχον τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος, [8] διὰ τὸ ξυνδιαιτᾶσθαι.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν νόσημα,—πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα [9] παραλιπόντι ἀτοπίας, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἐτύγχανέ τι διαφερόντως ἑτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον γιγνόμενον,—τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐπίπαν τὴν ἰδέαν. Καὶ ἄλλο παρελύπει, κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲν τῶν εἰωθότων· ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. Ἐθνῃσκον δὲ, οἱ μὲν ἀμελείᾳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ θεραπευόμενοι· ἕν τε οὐδὲν κατέστη ἴαμα, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅ τι χρῆν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν· τὸ γὰρ τῷ ξυνενεγκὸν, ἄλλον τοῦτο ἔβλαπτε. [10] Σῶμά τε

αὔταρκες ὂν οὐδὲν διεφάνη πρὸς αὐτὸ, ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ξυνῄρει, καὶ τὰ πάσῃ διαίτῃ θεραπευόμενα. Δεινότατον δὲ παντὸς ἦν τοῦ κακοῦ, ἥ τε ἀθυμία, ὁπότε τὶς [1] αἴσθοιτο κάμνων, (πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον εὐθὺς τραπόμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον προΐεντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, καὶ οὐκ ἀντεῖχον·) [2] καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι, ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα, ἔθνησκον· καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον φθόρον τοῦτο ἐνεποίει. εἴτε γὰρ μὴ θέλοιεν, δεδιότες, ἀλλήλοις προσιέναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἔρημοι· καὶ οἰκίαι πολλαὶ ἐκενώθησαν ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος· εἴ τε προσίοιεν, διεφθείροντο· καὶ μάλιστα [3] οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι. [4] αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐσιόντες παρὰ τοὺς φίλους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμνον, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι. Ἐπιπλέον δὲ ὅμως οἱ διαπεφευγότες τόν τε θνήσκοντα καὶ τὸν πονούμενον ᾠκτίζοντο, διὰ τὸ προειδέναι τε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἐν τῷ θαρσαλέῳ εἶναι· δὶς γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν, ὥστε καὶ κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐπελάμβανε. Καὶ ἐμακαρίζοντό τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ αὐτοὶ, τῷ παραχρῆμα περιχαρεῖ, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐλπίδος τὶ εἶχον κούφης, μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου νοσήματός ποτε ἔτι διαφθαρῆναι.

Ἐπίεσε δ' αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον, πρὸς τῷ ὑπάρχοντι πόνῳ, καὶ ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ [5] οὐχ ἧσσον τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. οἰκιῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς [6] ὥρᾳ ἔτους διαιτωμένων, ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔκειντο· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο, καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας ἁπάσας, ἡμιθνῆτες, τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίᾳ. τά τε ἱερὰ, ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο, νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν, αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνησκόντων· ὑπερβιαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται, ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων ὁμοίως. νόμοι

τε πάντες συνεταράχθησαν, οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον περὶ τὰς ταφάς· ἔθαπτον δὲ, ὡς ἕκαστος ἠδύνατο· καὶ πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο, σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, [1] διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν· [2] ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας, φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας, οἱ μὲν, ἐπιθέντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν νεκρὸν, ὑφῆπτον, οἱ δὲ, καιομένου ἄλλου, ἄνωθεν ἐπιβαλόντες, ὃν φέροιεν, ἀπῄεσαν.

[3] Πρῶτόν τε ἦρξε, καὶ ἐς τἆλλα, τῇ πόλει ἐπιπλέον ἀνομίας τὸ νόσημα· [4] ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις, ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν, ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες τῶν τ' εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνησκόντων, καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθὺς δὲ τἀκείνων ἐχόντων· ὥστε ταχείας τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν, ἠξίουν ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφήμερα τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως ἡγούμενοι. Καὶ τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν [5] τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων, εἰ, πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν, διαφθαρήσεται· ὅ τι δὲ ἤδει τε ἡδὺ, καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν κερδαλέον, τοῦτο καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. [6] Θεῶν δὲ φόβος, ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπεῖργε· τὸ μὲν, κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μὴ, ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὁρᾷν ἐν ἴσῳ ἀπολλυμένους· τῶν δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων, μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι βιοὺς, ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι· πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι, ἣν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν, εἰκὸς εἶναι τοῦ βίου τι ἀπολαῦσαι.

Τοιούτῳ μὲν πάθει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περιπεσόντες ἐπιέζοντο, ἀνθρώπων τε ἔνδον θνησκόντων, καὶ γῆς ἔξω δηουμένης. Εν δὲ τῷ κακῷ, οἷα εἰκὸς, ἀνεμνήσθησαν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους, φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι ᾄδεσθαι,'

'Ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος, καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ.

Ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι, ἐν τῷ ἔπει, ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμόν· ἐνίκησε

δὲ, ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, εἰκότως, λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον, τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο. ἢν δέ γε, οἶμαι, ποτὲ ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβῃ Δωρικὸς τοῦδε ὕστερος, καὶ ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμὸν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὕτως ᾄσονται. Μνήμη δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων χρηστηρίου τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ὅτε ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν, εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν, ἀνεῖλε—κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, [1] καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρηστηρίου, τὰ γιγνόμενα εἴκαζον ὅμοια εἶναι. [2] Ἐσβεβληκότων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ἡ νόσος ἤρξατο εὐθύς· καὶ ἐς μὲν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν· ἐπενείματο δὲ Ἀθήνας μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γενόμενα.

III.

[1] E XENOPHONTE.

Quid ego commemorem Xenophontis *jucunditatem illam inaffectatam, sed quam nulla possit affectatio consequi? ut ipsae finxisse sermonem Gratiae videantur.*

Quinct. X. 1.

[2] *Ἐκ τῆς ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ.*

[Juxta Edit. Thomae Hutchinson. Oxon. 1727. 4to.]

Ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου πρώτου.

* * *

[3] *Τὸ τοῦ ΚΥΡΟΥ γένος.*

ΠΑΤΡΟΣ μὲν δὴ λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος γενέσθαι Καμβύσου, Περσῶν βασιλέως· (ὁ δὲ Καμβύσης οὗτος τοῦ Περσειδῶν γένους ἦν· οἱ δὲ [4] Περσεῖδαι ἀπὸ Περσέως [5] κληΐζονται·) μητρὸς δὲ ὁμολογεῖται Μανδάνης γενέσθαι· ἡ δὲ Μανδάνη αὕτη Ἀστυάγους ἦν θυγάτηρ, τοῦ Μήδων [6] γενομένου βασιλέως. [7] Φῦναι δὲ ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται, καὶ ᾄδεται ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστος, ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος, καὶ φιλομαθέστατος, καὶ φιλοτιμότατος, ὥστε πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀνατλῆναι, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομεῖναι, τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἕνεκα. [8] Φύσιν μὲν δὴ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς μορφῆς τοιαύτην ἔχων διαμνημονεύεται· ἐπαιδεύθη γε μὴν ἐν Περσῶν νόμοις.

Περσῶν Νόμοι.

[1] Οὗτοι δὲ δοκοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιμελούμενοι· οὐχ ὁμοίως γὰρ ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσιν ἄρχονται. Αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται πόλεις, ἀφεῖσαι παιδεύειν, ὅπως τὶς ἐθέλοι, τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως ἐθέλουσι, διάγειν, ἐπιτάττουσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ κλέπτειν, μὴ ἁρπάζειν, μὴ βίᾳ εἰς οἰκίαν παριέναι, [2] μὴ παίειν ὃν μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ μοιχεύειν, μὴ ἀπειθεῖν ἄρχοντι, καὶ τἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡσαύτως· ἢν δέ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνῃ, [3] ζημίας αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν. [4] Οἱ δὲ Περσικοὶ νόμοι προλαβόντες ἐπιμέλονται, ὅπως [5] τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται οἱ πολῖται, ὥστε πονηροῦ τινος ἔργου ἢ αἰσχροῦ [6] ἐφίεσθαι. Ἐπιμέλονται δὲ ὧδε. Ἐστιν αὐτοῖς [7] ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, ἔνθα [8] τά τε βασίλεια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποίηται. Ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ὤνια, καὶ [9] οἱ ἀγοραῖοι, καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ [10] ἀπειροκαλίαι ἀπελήλανται εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, ὡς μὴ μιγνύηται ἡ τούτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων εὐκοσμίᾳ. Διήρηται δὲ αὕτη ἡ ἀγορά, ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα, εἰς τέτταρα μέρη· τούτων δ᾽ ἔστιν ἓν μὲν παισίν, ἓν δὲ ἐφήβοις, ἄλλο τελείοις ἀνδράσιν, ἄλλο τοῖς [11] ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἔτη γεγονόσι. Νόμῳ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν χώρας ἕκαστοι τούτων πάρεισιν, οἱ μὲν παῖδες, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ οἱ τέλειοι ἄνδρες· οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι, ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν ἑκάστῳ προχωρῇ, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς δεῖ αὐτοὺς παρεῖναι. Οἱ δὲ ἔφηβοι καὶ κοιμῶνται περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα σὺν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ὅπλοις, πλὴν τῶν γεγαμηκότων· οὗτοι δὲ οὔτε ἐπιζητοῦνται, ἢν μὴ προῤῥηθῇ παρεῖναι· οὔτε πολλάκις ἀπεῖναι καλόν. Ἄρχοντες δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τούτων τῶν μερῶν εἰσι δώδεκα· (δώδεκα γὰρ καὶ Περσῶν φυλαὶ διῄρηνται·) καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς παισὶν ἐκ τῶν γεραιτέρων ᾑρημένοι εἰσίν, οἳ ἂν δοκῶσι τοὺς παῖδας βελτίστους ἀποδεικνύναι·

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐφήβοις, ἐκ τῶν τελείων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ ἂν αὖ τοὺς ἐφήβους βελτίστους δοκῶσι παρέχειν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τελείοις ἀνδράσιν, οἳ ἂν δοκῶσι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τὰ τεταγμένα ποιοῦντας, καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν γεραιτέρων προστάται ᾑρημένοι, οἳ προστατεύουσιν, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ καθήκοντα ἀποτελῶσιν. Ἃ δὲ ἑκάστῃ ἡλικίᾳ προστέτακται ποιεῖν, διηγησόμεθα, ὡς μᾶλλον δῆλον γένηται, [1] ᾗ ἐπιμέλονται, ὡς ἂν βέλτιστοι εἶεν οἱ πολῖται.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ παῖδες, εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτῶντες, [2] διάγουσι μανθάνοντες δικαιοσύνην· καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι [3] ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔρχονται, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν οἱ τὰ γράμματα μαθησόμενοι. Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν διατελοῦσι, τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, δικάζοντες αὐτοῖς. Γίγνεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ παισὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὥσπερ ἀνδράσιν, ἐγκλήματα καὶ κλοπῆς, καὶ ἁρπαγῆς, καὶ βίας, καὶ ἀπάτης, καὶ κακολογίας, [4] καὶ ἄλλων οἵων εἰκός. Οὓς δ' ἂν γνῶσι τούτων τι ἀδικοῦντας, τιμωροῦνται. Κολάζουσι δὲ καί, οὓς ἂν ἀδίκως ἐγκαλοῦντας εὑρίσκωσι. Δικάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκλήματος, οὗ ἕνεκα ἄνθρωποι μισοῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους μάλιστα, [5] δικάζονται δὲ ἥκιστα,—ἀχαριστίας· καὶ ὃν ἂν γνῶσι δυνάμενον μὲν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ ἀποδιδόντα δέ, κολάζουσι καὶ τοῦτον ἰσχυρῶς. οἴονται γάρ, τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ περὶ θεοὺς [6] ἂν μάλιστα ἀμελῶς ἔχειν, καὶ περὶ γονέας, καὶ πατρίδα, καὶ φίλους. ἕπεσθαι δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἡ ἀναισχυντία· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἡγεμών. Διδάσκουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ σωφροσύνην· [7] μέγα δὲ συμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν σωφρονεῖν αὐτούς, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὁρῶσιν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν σωφρόνως διάγοντας. Διδάσκουσι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσι· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται, ὅτι ὁρῶσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ πειθομένους τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἰσχυρῶς. Διδάσκουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι

γαστρὸς καὶ ποτοῦ· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται, ὅτι ὁρῶσι καὶ τὲς πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρόσθεν ἀπιόντας γαστρὸς ἕνεκα, πρὶν ἂν ἀφῶσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ὅτι οὐ παρὰ μητρὶ σιτοῦνται οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ὅταν οἱ ἄρχοντες σημήνωσι. Φέρονται δὲ οἴκοθεν σῖτον μὲν, [1] ἄρτον, ὄψον δὲ, κάρδαμον· πιεῖν δὲ, ἤν τις διψῇ, κώθωνα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρύσασθαι. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μανθάνουσι τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ ἓξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς οἱ παῖδες ταῦτα πράττουσιν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐξέρχονται. Οὗτοι δ᾽ αὖ οἱ ἔφηβοι διάγουσιν ὧδε·

Δέκα ἔτη, ἀφ᾽ οὗ ἂν ἐκ παίδων ἐξέλθωσι, κοιμῶνται μὲν περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα, ὥσπερ προείρηται, καὶ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς πόλεως καὶ σωφροσύνης· (δοκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ ἡλικία μάλιστα ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι·) παρέχουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑαυτοὺς μάλιστα τοῖς ἄρχουσι χρῆσθαι, ἤν τι δέωνται ὑπὲρ τȣ̃ κοινȣ̃· καὶ ὅταν μὲν δέῃ, πάντες μένȣσι περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα. Ὅταν δὲ ἐξίῃ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ θήραν, ἐξάγει τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς φυλακῆς· ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις τοῦ μηνός. Ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐξιόντας τόξα παρὰ τὴν φαρέτραν, καὶ ἐν κολεῷ κοπίδα ἢ σάγαριν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ γέῤῥον, καὶ παλτὰ δύο, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἀφιέναι, τῷ δ᾽, ἂν δέῃ, ἐκ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ δημοσίᾳ τοῦ θηρᾶν ἐπιμέλονται, καὶ βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ, ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς ἐστι, καὶ αὐτός τε θηρᾷ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται, ὅπως ἂν θηρῷεν, ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη δοκεῖ αὕτη ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ πρωῒ ἀνίστασθαι ἐθίζει, καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη ἀνέχεσθαι· γυμνάζει δὲ καὶ ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ δρόμοις· ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τοξεῦσαι θηρίον, καὶ ἀκοντίσαι, ὅπου ἂν παραπίπτῃ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη θήγεσθαι ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ, ὅταν τὶ τῶν ἀλκίμων θηρίων ἀνθιστῆται· παίειν μὲν γὰρ δεῖ τὸ ὁμόσε γιγνόμενον, [2] φυλάξασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον. ὥστε οὐ ῥᾴ-

διον εὑρεῖν, τί ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ ἄπεστι τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ παρόντων. Ἐξέρχονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν, ἄριςον ἔχοντες πλεῖον μὲν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, τῶν παίδων, τἄλλα δὲ ὅμοιον. Καὶ θηρῶντες μὲν, οὐκ ἂν ἀριστήσαιεν· ἢν δέ τι δέῃ θηρίου ἕνεκα ἐπικαταμεῖναι, ἢ ἄλλως βουληθῶσι διατρίψαι περὶ τὴν θήραν, τὸ ἄριστον τοῦτο δειπνήσαντες, τὴν ὑστεραίαν αὖ θηρῶσι μέχρι δείπνου· καὶ μίαν ἄμφω ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας λογίζονται, ὅτι μιᾶς ἡμέρας σῖτον δαπανῶσι. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσι τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι ἕνεκα, ἵνα καὶ, ἐάν τι ἐν πολέμῳ δεήσῃ, δύνωνται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Καὶ ὄψον δὲ τοῦτο ἔχουσιν οἱ τηλικοῦτοι, ὅ τι ἂν θηράσωσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸ κάρδαμον. Εἰ δέ τις αὐτοὺς οἴεται ἢ ἐσθίειν ἀηδῶς, ὅταν κάρδαμον μόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ, ἢ πίνειν ἀηδῶς, ὅταν ὕδωρ πίνωσιν, ἀναμνησθήτω, πῶς μὲν ἡδὺ [1] μάζα καὶ ἄρτος πεινῶντι φαγεῖν, πῶς δὲ ἡδὺ ὕδωρ διψῶντι πιεῖν. Αἱ δ' αὖ μένουσαι φυλαὶ [2] διατρίβουσι μελετῶσαι τά τε ἄλλα, ἃ παῖδες ὄντες ἔμαθον, καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν· καὶ [3] διαγωνιζόμενοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διατελοῦσιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δημόσιοι τούτων ἀγῶνες, καὶ ἆθλα προτίθεται· ἐν ᾗ δ' ἂν τῶν φυλῶν πλεῖστοι ὦσι δαημονέστατοι καὶ ἀνδρικώτατοι καὶ εὐπιστότατοι, ἐπαινοῦσιν οἱ πολῖται καὶ τιμῶσιν οὐ μόνον τὸν νῦν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς παῖδας ὄντας ἐπαίδευσε. Χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς μένουσι τῶν ἐφήβων αἱ ἀρχαὶ, ἤν τι ἢ φρουρῆσαι δεήσῃ, ἢ κακούργους ἐρευνῆσαι, ἢ λῃστὰς ὑποδραμεῖν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι, ὅσα ἰσχύος ἢ τάχους ἔργα ἐστί. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι πράττουσιν. Επειδὰν δε τὰ δέκα ἔτη διατελέσωσιν, ἐξέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἄνδρας.

Ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἂν ἐξέλθωσι χρόνου ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων, οὗτοι αὖ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη διάγουσιν ὧδε· Πρῶτον μὲν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἔφηβοι, παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρῆσ-

σχεῖν· ἐγὼ δὲ, οἷόν τε ἐγίγνετο, λέξω, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἄν τις σκοπῶν,—εἴποτε καὶ αὖθις ἐπιπέσοι,—μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι, τὶ προειδὼς, μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ταῦτα δηλώσω, αὐτός τε νοσήσας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας.

[1] Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος, ὡς ὡμολογεῖτο, ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα δὴ ἐκεῖνο ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ προέκαμνέ τι, ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. Τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης, ὑγιεῖς ὄντας, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς θέρμαι ἰσχυραὶ, καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρυθήματα καὶ φλόγωσις ἐλάμβανε. καὶ [2] τὰ ἐντὸς, ἥ τε φάρυγξ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα, εὐθὺς αἱματώδη ἦν, καὶ [3] πνεῦμα ἄτοπον καὶ δυσῶδες ἠφίει· ἔπειτα, ἐξ αὐτῶν πταρμὸς καὶ βράγχος ἐπεγίγνετο. καὶ, ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ, κατέβαινεν ἐς τὰ στήθη ὁ πόνος, μετὰ βηχὸς ἰσχυροῦ· καὶ ὁπότε [4] ἐς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίξαι, ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτὴν, καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς πᾶσαι, ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὠνομασμέναι εἰσὶν, ἐπήεσαν, καὶ αὗται μετὰ ταλαιπωρίας μεγάλης. [5] Λύγξ τε τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐνέπιπτε κενὴ, σπασμὸν ἐνδιδοῦσα ἰσχυρὸν, τοῖς μὲν [6] μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν, ἁπτομένῳ, σῶμα οὐκ ἄγαν θερμὸν ἦν, οὔτε χλωρὸν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθρον, [7] πελιδνὸν, φλυκταίναις μικραῖς καὶ ἕλκεσιν ἐξηνθηκός· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκαίετο, ὥστε μήτε τῶν πάνυ λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ σινδόνων τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, [8] μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνὸν ἀνέχεσθαι, ἥδιστά τε ἂν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ῥίπτειν· καὶ πολλοὶ, τοῦτο, τῶν ἠμελημένων (ἀνθρώπων,) καὶ ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα, ἀπαύστῳ τῇ δίψῃ ξυνεχόμενοι. [9] Καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καθειστήκει τό τε πλέον καὶ ἔλασσον ποτόν. καὶ [10] ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία ἐπέκειτο διαπαντός. καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὅσον περ χρόνον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἀκμάζοι, οὐκ ἐμαραίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχε, παρὰ δόξαν,

τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ· ὥστε ἢ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐνναταῖοι καὶ ἑβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος, [1] ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως· ἤ, εἰ διαφύγοιεν, ἐπικατιόντος τοῦ νοσήματος ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν, καὶ ἑλκώσεώς τε [2] αὐτῇ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐγγιγνομένης, καὶ διαῤῥοίας ἅμα ἀκράτου ἐπιπιπτούσης, οἱ πολλοὶ ὕστερον διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν διεφθείροντο. [καί,—] διεξῄει γὰρ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον τὸ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ πρῶτον ἱδρυθὲν κακόν·— [3] καί, εἴτις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο, [4] τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμαινε. κατέσκηπτε γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὰ αἰδοῖα, καὶ ἐς ἄκρας χεῖρας, καὶ πόδας· καὶ πολλοὶ στερισκόμενοι τούτων διέφευγον· [5] εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. τοὺς δε καὶ λήθη ἐλάμβανε παραυτίκα ἀναστάντας τῶν πάντων ὁμοίως, καὶ ἠγνόησαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους.

Γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου, τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἑκάστῳ, καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα [6] ἄλλο τι ὂν ἢ τῶν ξυντρόφων τι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα καὶ τετράποδα, ὅσα ἀνθρώπων ἅπτεται, πολλῶν ἀτάφων γιγνομένων, ἢ οὐ προσῄει, ἢ γευσάμενα διεφθείρετο. τεκμήριον δὲ, τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ὀρνίθων ἐπίλειψις σαφὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ἑωρῶντο οὔτε ἄλλως, [7] οὔτε περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. οἱ δὲ κύνες μᾶλλον αἴσθησιν παρεῖχον τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος, [8] διὰ τὸ ξυνδιαιτᾶσθαι.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν νόσημα,—πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα [9] παραλιπόντι ἀτοπίας, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἐτύγχανέ τι διαφερόντως ἑτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον γιγνόμενον,—τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐπίπαν τὴν ἰδέαν. Καὶ ἄλλο παρελύπει, κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲν τῶν εἰωθότων· ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. Εθνησκον δὲ, οἱ μὲν ἀμελείᾳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ θεραπευόμενοι· ἕν τε οὐδὲν κατέστη ἴαμα, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ὅ τι χρῆν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν· τὸ γὰρ τῷ ξυνενεγκὸν, ἄλλον τοῦτο ἔβλαπτε. [10] Σῶμά τε

αὔταρκες ὂν οὐδὲν διεφάνη πρὸς αὐτὸ, ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ξυνῄρει, καὶ τὰ πάσῃ διαίτῃ θεραπευόμενα. Δεινότατον δὲ παντὸς ἦν τοῦ κακοῦ, ἥ τε ἀθυμία, ὁπότε τὶς [1] αἴσθοιτο κάμνων, (πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον εὐθὺς τραπόμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ, πολλῷ μᾶλλον προΐεντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, καὶ οὐκ ἀντεῖχον·) [2] καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι, ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα, ἔθνησκον· καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον φθόρον τοῦτο ἐνεποίει. εἴτε γὰρ μὴ θέλοιεν, δεδιότες, ἀλλήλοις προσιέναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἔρημοι· καὶ οἰκίαι πολλαὶ ἐκενώθησαν ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος· εἴ τε προσίοιεν, διεφθείροντο· καὶ μάλιστα [3] οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι. [4] αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐσιόντες παρὰ τοὺς φίλους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμνον, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι. Ἐπιπλέον δὲ ὅμως οἱ διαπεφευγότες τόν τε θνήσκοντα καὶ τὸν πονούμενον ᾠκτίζοντο, διὰ τὸ προειδέναι τε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἐν τῷ θαρσαλέῳ εἶναι· δὶς γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν, ὥστε καὶ κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐπελάμβανε. Καὶ ἐμακαρίζοντό τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ αὐτοὶ, τῷ παραχρῆμα περιχαρεῖ, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐλπίδος τὶ εἶχον κούφης, μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου νοσήματός ποτε ἔτι διαφθαρῆναι.

Ἐπίεσε δ' αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον, πρὸς τῷ ὑπάρχοντι πόνῳ, καὶ ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ [5] οὐχ ἧσσον τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. οἰκιῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς [6] ὥρᾳ ἔτους διαιτωμένων, ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔκειντο· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο, καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας ἁπάσας, ἡμιθνῆτες, τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίᾳ. τά τε ἱερὰ, ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο, νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν, αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνησκόντων· ὑπερβιαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦ, οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται, ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων ὁμοίως. νόμοι

τε πάντες συνεταράχθησαν, οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον περὶ τὰς ταφάς· ἔθαπτον δὲ, ὡς ἕκαστος ἠδύνατο· καὶ πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο, σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, [1] διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν· [2] ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας, φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας, οἱ μὲν, ἐπιθέντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν νεκρὸν, ὑφῆπτον, οἱ δὲ, καιομένου ἄλλου, ἄνωθεν ἐπιβαλόντες, ὃν φέροιεν, ἀπῄεσαν.

[3] Πρῶτόν τε ἦρξε, καὶ ἐς τἆλλα, τῇ πόλει ἐπιπλέον ἀνομίας τὸ νόσημα· [4] ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις, ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν· ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες τῶν τ' εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνησκόντων, καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθὺς δὲ τἀκείνων ἐχόντων· ὥστε ταχείας τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν, ἠξίουν ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφήμερα τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως ἡγούμενοι. Καὶ τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν [5] τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων, εἰ, πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν, διαφθαρήσεται· ὅ τι δὲ ἤδει τε ἡδὺ, καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν κερδαλέον, τοῦτο καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. [6] Θεῶν δὲ φόβος, ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπεῖργε· τὸ μὲν, κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μὴ, ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὁρᾷν ἐν ἴσῳ ἀπολλυμένους· τῶν δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων, μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι βιοὺς, ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι· πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι, ἣν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν, εἰκὸς εἶναι τοῦ βίου τι ἀπολαῦσαι.

Τοιούτῳ μὲν πάθει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περιπεσόντες ἐπιέζοντο, ἀνθρώπων τε ἔνδον θνησκόντων, καὶ γῆς ἔξω δῃουμένης. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κακῷ, οἷα εἰκὸς, ἀνεμνήσθησαν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους, φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι ᾄδεσθαι,

Ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος, καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ.

Ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι, ἐν τῷ ἔπει, ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμόν· ἐνίκησε

δὲ, ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, εἰκότως, λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον, τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο. ἢν δέ γε, οἶμαι, ποτὲ ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβῃ Δωρικὸς τοῦδε ὕστερος, καὶ ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμὸν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὕτως ᾄσονται. Μνήμη δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων χρηστηρίου τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ὅτε ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν, εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν, ἀνεῖλε—κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, [1] καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρηστηρίου, τὰ γιγνόμενα εἴκαζον ὅμοια εἶναι. [2] Ἐσβεβληκότων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ἡ νόσος ἤρξατο εὐθύς· καὶ ἐς μὲν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν, ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν· ἐπενείματο δὲ Ἀθήνας μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γενόμενα.

III.

[1] E XENOPHONTE.

Quid ego commemorem Xenophontis *jucunditatem illam inaffectatam, sed quam nulla possit affectatio consequi? ut ipsae finxisse sermonem Gratiae videantur.*

Quinct. X. 1.

[2] *Ἐκ τῆς ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ.*

[Juxta Edit. Thomae Hutchinson. Oxon. 1727. 4to.]

Ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου πρώτου.

* * *

[3] *Τὸ τοῦ ΚΥΡΟΥ γένος.*

ΠΑΤΡΟΣ μὲν δὴ λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος γενέσθαι Καμβύσου, Περσῶν βασιλέως· (ὁ δὲ Καμβύσης οὗτος τοῦ Περσειδῶν γένους ἦν· οἱ δὲ [4] Περσεῖδαι ἀπὸ Περσέως [5] κληΐζονται·) μητρὸς δὲ ὁμολογεῖται Μανδάνης γενέσθαι· ἡ δὲ Μανδάνη αὕτη Ἀστυάγους ἦν θυγάτηρ, τοῦ Μήδων [6] γενομένου βασιλέως. [7] Φῦναι δὲ ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται, καὶ ᾄδεται ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστος, ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος, καὶ φιλομαθέστατος, καὶ φιλοτιμότατος, ὥστε πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀνατλῆναι, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομεῖναι, τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἕνεκα. [8] Φύσιν μὲν δὴ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς μορφῆς τοιαύτην ἔχων διαμνημονεύεται· ἐπαιδεύθη γε μὴν ἐν Περσῶν νόμοις,

Περσῶν Νόμοι.

[1] Οὗτοι δὲ δοκοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιμελούμενοι· οὐχ ὁμοίως γὰρ ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσιν ἄρχονται. Αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται πόλεις, ἀφεῖσαι παιδεύειν, ὅπως τὶς ἐθέλοι, τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως ἐθέλουσι, διάγειν, ἐπιτάττουσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ κλέπτειν, μὴ ἁρπάζειν, μὴ βίᾳ εἰς οἰκίαν παριέναι, [2] μὴ παίειν ὃν μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ μοιχεύειν, μὴ ἀπειθεῖν ἄρχοντι, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡσαύτως· ἢν δέ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνῃ, [3] ζημίας αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν. [4] Οἱ δὲ Περσικοὶ νόμοι προλαβόντες ἐπιμέλονται, ὅπως [5] τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται οἱ πολῖται, ὥστε πονηροῦ τινος ἔργου ἢ αἰσχροῦ [6] ἐφίεσθαι. Επιμέλονται δὲ ὧδε. Εστιν αὐτοῖς [7] ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, ἔνθα [8] τά τε βασίλεια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποίηται. Εντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ὤνια, καὶ [9] οἱ ἀγοραῖοι, καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ [10] ἀπειροκαλίαι ἀπελήλανται εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, ὡς μὴ μιγνύηται ἡ τούτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων εὐκοσμίᾳ. Διῄρηται δὲ αὕτη ἡ ἀγορά, ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα, εἰς τέτταρα μέρη· τούτων δ᾽ ἔστιν ἓν μὲν παισίν, ἓν δὲ ἐφήβοις, ἄλλο τελείοις ἀνδράσιν, ἄλλο τοῖς [11] ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἔτη γεγονόσι. Νόμῳ δὲ εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν χώρας ἕκαστοι τούτων πάρεισιν, οἱ μὲν παῖδες, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ οἱ τέλειοι ἄνδρες· οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι, ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν ἑκάστῳ προχωρῇ, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς δεῖ αὐτοὺς παρεῖναι. Οἱ δὲ ἔφηβοι καὶ κοιμῶνται περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα σὺν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ὅπλοις, πλὴν τῶν γεγαμηκότων· οὗτοι δὲ οὔτε ἐπιζητοῦνται, ἢν μὴ προῤῥηθῇ παρεῖναι· οὔτε πολλάκις ἀπεῖναι καλόν. Αρχοντες δ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τούτων τῶν μερῶν εἰσι δώδεκα· (δώδεκα γὰρ καὶ Περσῶν φυλαὶ διῄρηνται·) καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς παισὶν ἐκ τῶν γεραιτέρων ᾑρημένοι εἰσίν, οἳ ἂν δοκῶσι τοὺς παῖδας βελτίστους ἀποδεικνύναι·

ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐφήβοις, ἐκ τῶν τελείων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ ἂν αὖ τοὺς ἐφήβους βελτίστους δοκῶσι παρέχειν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τελείοις ἀνδράσιν, οἳ ἂν δοκῶσι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τὰ τεταγμένα ποιοῦντας, καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν γεραιτέρων προστάται ᾑρημένοι, οἳ προστατεύουσιν, ὅπως καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ καθήκοντα ἀποτελῶσιν. Ἃ δὲ ἑκάστῃ ἡλικίᾳ προστέτακται ποιεῖν, διηγησόμεθα, ὡς μᾶλλον δῆλον γένηται, [1] ᾗ ἐπιμέλονται, ὡς ἂν βέλτιστοι εἶεν οἱ πολῖται.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ παῖδες, εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτῶντες, [2] διάγουσι μανθάνοντες δικαιοσύνην· καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι [3] ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔρχονται, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν οἱ τὰ γράμματα μαθησόμενοι. Οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν διατελοῦσι, τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, δικάζοντες αὐτοῖς. Γίγνεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ παισὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὥσπερ ἀνδράσιν, ἐγκλήματα καὶ κλοπῆς, καὶ ἁρπαγῆς, καὶ βίας, καὶ ἀπάτης, καὶ κακολογίας, [4] καὶ ἄλλων οἵων εἰκός. Οὓς δ' ἂν γνῶσι τούτων τι ἀδικοῦντας, τιμωροῦνται. Κολάζουσι δὲ καί, οὓς ἂν ἀδίκως ἐγκαλοῦντας εὑρίσκωσι. Δικάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκλήματος, οὗ ἕνεκα ἄνθρωποι μισοῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους μάλιστα, [5] δικάζονται δὲ ἥκιστα,—ἀχαριστίας· καὶ ὃν ἂν γνῶσι δυνάμενον μὲν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ ἀποδιδόντα δέ, κολάζουσι καὶ τοῦτον ἰσχυρῶς. οἴονται γάρ, τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ περὶ θεοὺς [6] ἂν μάλιστα ἀμελῶς ἔχειν, καὶ περὶ γονέας, καὶ πατρίδα, καὶ φίλους. ἕπεσθαι δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἡ ἀναισχυντία· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἡγεμών. Διδάσκουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ σωφροσύνην· [7] μέγα δὲ συμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν σωφρονεῖν αὐτοὺς, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὁρῶσιν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν σωφρόνως διάγοντας. Διδάσκουσι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσι· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται, ὅτι ὁρῶσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ πειθομένους τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἰσχυρῶς. Διδάσκουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι

γαστρὸς καὶ ποτοῦ· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται, ὅτι ὁρῶσι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρόσθεν ἀπιόντας γαστρὸς ἕνεκα, πρὶν ἂν ἀφῶσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ὅτι οὐ παρὰ μητρὶ σιτοῦνται οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ὅταν οἱ ἄρχοντες σημήνωσι. Φέρονται δὲ οἴκοθεν σῖτον μὲν, [1] ἄρτον, ὄψον δὲ, κάρδαμον· πιεῖν δὲ, ἤν τις διψῇ, κώθωνα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρύσασθαι. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μανθάνουσι τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ ἓξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς οἱ παῖδες ταῦτα πράττουσιν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐξέρχονται. Οὗτοι δ' αὖ οἱ ἔφηβοι διάγουσιν ὧδε·

Δέκα ἔτη, ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἐκ παίδων ἐξέλθωσι, κοιμῶνται μὲν περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα, ὥσπερ προείρηται, καὶ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς πόλεως καὶ σωφροσύνης· (δοκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη ἡ ἡλικία μάλιστα ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι·) παρέχουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑαυτοὺς μάλιστα τοῖς ἄρχουσι χρῆσθαι, ἤν τι δέωνται ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ· καὶ ὅταν μὲν δέῃ, πάντες μένουσι περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα. Ὅταν δὲ ἐξίῃ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ θήραν, ἐξάγει τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς φυλακῆς· ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις τοῦ μηνός. Ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐξιόντας τόξα παρὰ τὴν φαρέτραν, καὶ ἐν κολεῷ κοπίδα ἢ σάγαριν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ γέῤῥον, καὶ παλτὰ δύο, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἀφιέναι, τῷ δ', ἂν δέῃ, ἐκ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ δημοσίᾳ τοῦ θηρᾷν ἐπιμέλονται, καὶ βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ, ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς ἐστι, καὶ αὐτός τε θηρᾷ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται, ὅπως ἂν θηρῷεν, ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη δοκεῖ αὕτη ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ πρωῒ ἀνίστασθαι ἐθίζει, καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη ἀνέχεσθαι· γυμνάζει δὲ καὶ ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ δρόμοις· ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τοξεῦσαι θηρίον, καὶ ἀκοντίσαι, ὅπου ἂν παραπίπτῃ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη θήγεσθαι ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ, ὅταν τι τῶν ἀλκίμων θηρίων ἀνθιστῆται· παίειν μὲν γὰρ δεῖ τὸ ὁμόσε γιγνόμενον, [2] φυλάξασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον. ὥστε οὐ ῥᾴ-

διον εὑρεῖν, τί ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ ἄπεστι τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ παρόντων. Ἐξέρχονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν, ἄριστον ἔχοντες πλεῖον μὲν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, τῶν παίδων, τἆλλα δὲ ὅμοιον. Καὶ θηρῶντες μὲν, οὐκ ἂν ἀριστήσαιεν· ἢν δέ τι δέῃ θηρίου ἕνεκα ἐπικαταμεῖναι, ἢ ἄλλως βουληθῶσι διατρίψαι περὶ τὴν θήραν, τὸ ἄριστον τοῦτο δειπνήσαντες, τὴν ὑστεραίαν αὖ θηρῶσι μέχρι δείπνου· καὶ μίαν ἄμφω ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας λογίζονται, ὅτι μιᾶς ἡμέρας σῖτον δαπανῶσι. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσι τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι ἕνεκα, ἵνα καὶ, ἐάν τι ἐν πολέμῳ δεήσῃ, δύνωνται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Καὶ ὄψον δὲ τοῦτο ἔχουσιν οἱ τηλικοῦτοι, ὅ τι ἂν θηράσωσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὸ κάρδαμον. Εἰ δέ τις αὐτοὺς οἴεται ἢ ἐσθίειν ἀηδῶς, ὅταν κάρδαμον μόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ, ἢ πίνειν ἀηδῶς, ὅταν ὕδωρ πίνωσιν, ἀναμνησθήτω, πῶς μὲν ἡδὺ [1] μάζα καὶ ἄρτος πεινῶντι φαγεῖν, πῶς δὲ ἡδὺ ὕδωρ διψῶντι πιεῖν. Αἱ δ' αὖ μένουσαι φυλαὶ [2] διατρίβουσι μελετῶσαι τά τε ἄλλα, ἃ παῖδες ὄντες ἔμαθον, καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν· καὶ [3] διαγωνιζόμενοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διατελοῦσιν. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δημόσιοι τούτων ἀγῶνες, καὶ ἆθλα προτίθεται· ἐν ᾗ δ' ἂν τῶν φυλῶν πλεῖστοι ὦσι δαημονέστατοι καὶ ἀνδρικώτατοι καὶ εὐπιστότατοι, ἐπαινοῦσιν οἱ πολῖται καὶ τιμῶσιν οὐ μόνον τὸν νῦν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς παῖδας ὄντας ἐπαίδευσε. Χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς μένουσι τῶν ἐφήβων αἱ ἀρχαὶ, ἤν τι ἢ φρουρῆσαι δεήσῃ, ἢ κακούργους ἐρευνῆσαι, ἢ λῃστὰς ὑποδραμεῖν, ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι, ὅσα ἰσχύος ἢ τάχους ἔργα ἐστί. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι πράττουσιν. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη διατελέσωσιν, ἐξέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἄνδρας.

Ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἂν ἐξέλθωσι χρόνου ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων, οὗτοι αὖ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη διάγουσιν ὧδε· Πρῶτον μὲν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἔφηβοι, παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρῆσ-

θαι, [1] ἣν τι δέῃ περὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὅσα φρονούντων τε ἤδη ἔργα ἐστὶ καὶ ἔτι δυναμένων. Ην δέ πε δεήσῃ στρατεύεσθαι, τόξα μὲν οἱ οὕτω πεπαιδευμένοι οὐκέτι ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ παλτά, στρατεύονται· τὰ δ' ἀγχέμαχα ὅπλα καλούμενα, θώρακά τε περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις, καὶ γέῤῥον ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, οἷόν περ γράφονται οἱ Πέρσαι ἔχοντες· ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ, μάχαιραν ἢ κοπίδα. Καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ δὲ πᾶσαι ἐκ τούτων καθίστανται, πλὴν οἱ τῶν παίδων διδάσκαλοι. Επειδὰν δὲ τὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη διατελέσωσιν, εἴησαν μὲν ἂν οὗτοι πλεῖόν τι ἢ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες ἀπὸ γενεᾶς· ἐξέρχονται δὲ τηνικαῦτα εἰς τοὺς γεραιτέρους ὄντας τε καὶ καλουμένους. Οἱ δ' αὖ γεραίτεροι οὗτοι στρατεύονται μὲν οὐκέτι [2] ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οἴκοι δὲ μένοντες δικάζουσι τά τε κοινὰ πάντα καὶ τὰ ἴδια. Καὶ θανάτου δὲ οὗτοι κρίνουσι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὗτοι πάσας αἱροῦνται· καὶ ἥν τις, ἢ ἐν ἐφήβοις, ἢ ἐν τελείοις ἀνδράσιν, ἐλλίπῃ τι τῶν νομίμων, [3] φαίνουσι μὲν οἱ φύλαρχοι ἕκαστον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βουλόμενος· οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι ἀκούσαντες, [4] ἐκκρίνουσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς ἄτιμος τὸν λοιπὸν βίον διατελεῖ.

Ἵνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν πολιτεία, [5] μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι· νῦν γὰρ [6] ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἂν δηλωθείη, διὰ τὰ προειρημένα. Λέγονται μὲν γὰρ Πέρσαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἶναι· τούτων δ' οὐδεὶς ἀπελήλαται νόμῳ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι πᾶσι Πέρσαις πέμπειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης διδασκαλεῖα. Ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι τρέφειν τοὺς παῖδας ἀργοῦντας, πέμπουσιν· οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι, οὐ πέμπουσιν. Οἳ δ' ἂν παιδευθῶσι παρὰ τοῖς δημοσίοις διδασκάλοις, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις νεανισκεύεσθαι· τοῖς δὲ μὴ διαπαιδευθεῖσιν οὕτως οὐκ ἔξεστιν. Οἳ δ' ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις διατελέσωσι τὰ νόμιμα ποιοῦντες, ἔξεστι τούτοις εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἄνδρας συναυλίζεσθαι, καὶ ἀρχῶν

καὶ τιμῶν μετέχειν· οἳ δ' ἂν αὖ ἐν τοῖς παισὶ μὴ διατελέσωσιν, ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις, οὐκ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους· οἳ δ' ἂν αὖ ἐν τοῖς τελείοις διαγένωνται ἀνεπίληπτοι, οὗτοι τῶν γεραιτέρων γίνονται. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ γεραίτεροι διὰ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἐληλυθότες καθίστανται. [1] καὶ ἡ πολιτεία αὕτη, ᾗ οἴονται χρώμενοι βέλτιστοι ἂν εἶναι. Καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι ἐμμένει μαρτυρία καὶ τῆς μετρίας διαίτης αὐτῶν, καὶ [2] τοῦ ἐκπονεῖσθαι τὴν δίαιταν. Αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστι Πέρσαις καὶ τὸ ἀποπτύειν, καὶ τὸ ἀπομύττεσθαι, καὶ τὸ φύσης μεστοὺς φαίνεσθαι· αἰσχρὸν δὲ ἔτι καὶ [3] τὸ ἰόντα που φανερὸν γενέσθαι, ἢ τοῦ οὐρῆσαι ἕνεκα, ἢ καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τοιούτου. Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐδύναντο ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ διαίτῃ μετρίᾳ ἐχρῶντο, καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκπονοῦντες ἀνήλισκον, ὥστε ἄλλῃ ποι ἀποχωρεῖν. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κατὰ πάντων Περσῶν ἔχομεν λέγειν· οὗ δὲ ἕνεκα ὁ λόγος ὡρμήθη, νῦν λέξομεν τὰς Κύρου πράξεις, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ παιδός.

[4] Ἡ τοῦ ΚΥΡΟΥ παιδία.

Κῦρος μὲν γὰρ μέχρι δώδεκα ἐτῶν, ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλεῖον, ταύτῃ τῇ παιδείᾳ ἐπαιδεύθη, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλίκων [5] διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο, καὶ εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μανθάνειν ἃ δέοι, καὶ εἰς τὸ καλῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἕκαστα ποιεῖν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου μετεπέμψατο Ἀστυάγης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα, καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῆς· ἰδεῖν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει, ὅτι ἤκουε καλὸν κἀγαθὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι. Ἔρχεται δ' αὐτή τε ἡ Μανδάνη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Κῦρον τὸν υἱὸν ἔχουσα. Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο τάχιστα, καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Ἀστυάγην τῆς μητρὸς πατέρα ὄντα, εὐθὺς, οἷα δὴ παῖς φιλόστοργος ὢν φύσει, ἠσπάζετό τε αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις πάλαι συντεθραμμένος καὶ πάλαι φιλῶν ἀσπάζοιτο· καὶ ὁρῶν δὴ αὐτὸν κεκοσμημένον καὶ [6] ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῇ, καὶ χρώματος ἐντρίψει, καὶ κόμαις προσθέτοις, ἃ

δὴ νόμιμα ἦν ἐν Μήδοις,—(ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα Μηδικά ἐστι, καὶ οἱ πορφυροῖ χιτῶνες, καὶ οἱ κάνδυες, καὶ οἱ στρεπτοὶ περὶ τῇ δέρῃ, καὶ τὰ ψέλλια περὶ ταῖν χεροῖν· ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τοῖς οἴκοι, καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολὺ καὶ ἐσθῆτες φαυλότεραι, καὶ δίαιται εὐτελέστεραι·)—ὁρῶν δὴ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ πάππου, ἐμβλέπων αὐτῷ, ἔλεγεν—Ω μῆτερ, ὡς καλός μοι ὁ πάππος!—Ερωτώσης δὲ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτὸν, πότερος δοκεῖ καλλίων αὐτῷ εἶναι, ὁ πατὴρ, ἢ οὗτος· ἀπεκρίνατο ἄρα ὁ Κῦρος·—[1] Ω μῆτερ, Περσῶν μὲν πολὺ κάλλιστος ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ, Μήδων μέντοι, ὅσων ἑώρακα ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις, πολὺ οὗτος ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος κάλλιστος.—Ἀντασπαζόμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, καὶ στολὴν καλὴν ἐνέδυσε, καὶ στρεπτοῖς καὶ ψελλίοις ἐτίμα καὶ ἐκόσμει· καὶ εἴ που ἐξελαύνοι, ἐφ' ἵππου χρυσοχαλίνου περιῆγεν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰώθει πορεύεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ἅτε παῖς ὢν καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλότιμος, ἥδετο τῇ στολῇ· καὶ ἱππεύειν μανθάνων ὑπερέχαιρεν· ἐν Πέρσαις γὰρ, διὰ τὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ τρέφειν ἵππους καὶ ἱππεύειν, ἐν ὀρεινῇ οὔσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἰδεῖν ἵππον πάνυ σπάνιον ἦν. Δειπνῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀστυάγης σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ, βουλόμενος τὸν παῖδα ὡς ἥδιστα δειπνεῖν, ἵνα ἧσσον τὰ οἴκαδε ποθοίη, προσήγαγεν αὐτῷ καὶ παροψίδας, καὶ παντοδαπὰ [2] ἐμβάμματα καὶ βρώματα. Τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἔφασαν λέγειν—Ω πάππε, ὅσα πράγματα ἔχεις ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ, εἰ ἀνάγκη σοι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ λεκάνια ταῦτα διατείνειν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἀπογεύεσθαι τούτων τῶν παντοδαπῶν βρωμάτων!—Τί δέ; [3] φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, [4] Οὐ γὰρ πολύ σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιον τόδε τὸ δεῖπνον εἶναι τοῦ ἐν Πέρσαις; Τὸν δὲ Κῦρον πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγεται·—Οὐχὶ, ὦ πάππε· ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἁπλουστέρα καὶ εὐθυτέρα παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ ὁδός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι, ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν. Ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ

κρέας εἰς τοῦτο ἄγει· ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰς μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμῖν σπεύδετε, [1] πολλοὺς δέ τινας ἑλιγμοὺς ἄνω καὶ κάτω πλανώμενοι, μόλις ἀφικνεῖσθε, ὅποι ἡμεῖς πάλαι ἥκομεν.—Ἀλλ', ὦ παῖ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, οὐκ ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα περιπλανώμεθα· γενόμενος δ', ἔφη, καὶ σὺ γνώσῃ, ὅτι ἡδέα ταῦτά ἐστιν.—Ἀλλὰ καὶ σέ, φάναι τὸν Κῦρον, ὦ πάππε, μυσαττόμενον ταῦτα τὰ βρώματα ὁρῶ.—Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην ἐπερέσθαι·—Καὶ τίνι δὴ σὺ τεκμαιρόμενος, ὦ παῖ, ταῦτα λέγεις;—Ὅτι σέ, φάναι, ὁρῶ, ὅταν μὲν τοῦ ἄρτου ἅψῃ, εἰς οὐδὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἀποψώμενον· ὅταν δὲ τούτων τινὸς θίγῃς, εὐθὺς ἀποκαθαίρεις τὴν χεῖρα εἰς τὰ χειρόμακτρα, ὡς πάνυ ἀχθόμενος, ὅτι καταπλέα σοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγένετο.—Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν·—Εἰ τοίνυν οὕτω γιγνώσκεις, ὦ παῖ, ἀλλὰ κρέα γε εὐωχοῦ, ἵνα νεανίας οἴκαδε ἀπέλθῃς.—Ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντα πολλὰ αὐτῷ παραφέρειν, καὶ θήρεια καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων. Καὶ τὸν Κῦρον, ἐπεὶ ἑώρα πολλὰ τὰ κρέα, εἰπεῖν·—Ἦ καὶ δίδως, φάναι, μοί, ὦ πάππε, ταῦτα πάντα τὰ κρέα, [2] ὅ τι ἂν βούλωμαι, αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι;—Νὴ Δία, φάναι, ἐγώ σοι, ὦ παῖ. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸν Κῦρον, [3] λαβόντα τῶν κρεῶν, διαδιδόναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν πάππον θεραπευταῖς, ἐπιλέγοντα ἑκάστῳ·—Σοὶ μὲν τοῦτο, ὅτι προθύμως με ἱππεύειν διδάσκεις·—Σοὶ δέ, ὅτι μοι παλτὸν ἔδωκας· (τοῦτο γὰρ νῦν ἔχω·)—Σοὶ δέ, ὅτι τὸν πάππον καλῶς θεραπεύεις·—Σοὶ δέ, ὅτι μου τὴν μητέρα τιμᾷς·—τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, ἕως διεδίδου πάντα ἃ ἔλαβε κρέα.—Σάκᾳ δέ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, τῷ οἰνοχόῳ, ὃν ἐγὼ μάλιστα τιμῶ, οὐδὲν δίδως; [4] Ὁ δὲ Σάκας ἄρα καλός τε ὢν ἐτύγχανε, καὶ τιμὴν ἔχων προσάγειν τοὺς δεομένους Ἀστυάγους, καὶ ἀποκωλύειν, οὓς μὴ καιρὸς αὐτῷ [5] δοκοίη εἶναι προσάγειν.—Καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἐπερέσθαι [6] προπετῶς, ὡς ἂν [7] παῖς μηδέπω ὑποπτήσσων·—Διὰ τί, ὦ

πάππε, τοῦτον οὕτω τιμᾷς;—Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην σκώψαντα εἰπεῖν—Οὐχ ὁρᾷς, φάναι, ὡς καλῶς οἰνοχοεῖ καὶ εὐσχημόνως;—Οἱ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων οἰνοχόοι κομψῶς τε οἰνοχοοῦσι, καὶ καθαρίως ἐγχέουσι, [1] καὶ διδόασι, τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις ὀχοῦντες τὴν φιάλην, καὶ προσφέρουσιν, ὡς ἂν [2] ἐνδοῖεν τὸ ἔκπωμα [3] εὐληπτότατα τῷ μέλλοντι πίνειν.—Κέλευσον δή, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, τῷ Σάκᾳ καὶ εμοὶ δοῦναι τὸ ἔκπωμα, ἵνα κἀγὼ καλῶς σοι πιεῖν [4] ἐγχέας, ἀνακτήσωμαί σε, ἢν δύνωμαι.—[5] Καὶ τὸν κελεῦσαι δοῦναι. Λαβόντα δὲ τὸν Κῦρον, [6] οὕτω μὲν εὖ κλύσαι τὸ ἔκπωμα, ὥσπερ τὸν Σάκαν ἑώρα· οὕτω δὲ [7] στήσαντα τὸ πρόσωπον σπουδαίως καὶ εὐσχημόνως πως προσενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐνδοῦναι τὴν φιάλην τῷ πάππῳ, ὥστε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀστυάγῃ πολὺν γέλωτα παρασχεῖν. Καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κῦρον ἐκγελάσαντα ἀναπηδῆσαι πρὸς τὸν πάππον, καὶ φιλοῦντα ἅμα εἰπεῖν—Ὦ Σάκα, ἀπόλωλας· ἐκβαλῶ σε τῆς τιμῆς· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, φάναι, σοῦ κάλλιον οἰνοχοήσω, καὶ οὐκ ἐκπίομαι αὐτὸς τὸν οἶνον.—Οἱ γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων οἰνοχόοι, ἐπειδὰν ἐνδιδῶσι τὴν φιάλην, ἀρύσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς [8] τῷ κυάθῳ, [9] εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα ἐγχεάμενοι καταῤῥοφοῦσι· τοῦ δή, εἰ φάρμακα ἐγχέοιεν, μὴ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς.—Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐπισκώπτων ἔφη·—Καὶ τί δή, ὦ Κῦρε, τὰ ἄλλα μιμούμενος τὸν Σάκαν, οὐκ ἀπεῤῥόφησας τοῦ οἴνου;—Ὅτι νὴ Δί', ἔφη, [10] ἐδεδοίκειν, μὴ ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι φάρμακα μεμιγμένα εἴη. Καὶ γὰρ, ὅτε εἱστίας σὺ τοὺς φίλους ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις, σαφῶς [11] κατέμαθον φάρμακα αὐτὸν ὑμῖν ἐγχέαντα.—Καὶ πῶς δή, ἔφη, σύ, ὦ παῖ, τοῦτο κατέγνως;—Ὅτι νὴ Δί', ἔφη, ὑμᾶς ἑώρων καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασι σφαλλομένους. Πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἃ οὐκ ἐᾶτε ἡμᾶς τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖν, ταῦτα αὐτοὶ ἐποιεῖτε. Πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἅμα ἐκεκράγειτε, ἐμανθάνετε δὲ οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων· ᾔδετε δὲ καὶ μάλα

λα γελοίας· οὐκ ἀκροώμενοι δὲ τοῦ ᾄδοντος, ὠμνύετε ᾄδειν ἄριστα. Λέγων δὲ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ῥώμην, ἐπεὶ ἀνασταίητε ὀρχησόμενοι, μὴ ὅπως ὀρχεῖσθαι ἐν ῥυθμῷ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὀρθοῦσθαι, ἐδύνασθε. Ἐπιλέλησθε δὲ παντάπασι, σύ τε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἦσθα, οἵ τε ἄλλοι, ὅτι σὺ ἄρχων. Τότε γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε καὶ πρῶτον κατέμαθον, ὅτι τοῦτ' ἄρα ἦν ἡ [1] ἰσηγορία, ὃ ὑμεῖς τότε ἐποιεῖτε· οὐδέποτε γοῦν ἐσιωπᾶτε.—Καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἶπεν,—Ὁ δὲ σὸς πατὴρ, ὦ παῖ, πίνων οὐ μεθύσκεται;—Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη.—Ἀλλὰ πῶς ποιεῖ;—[2] Διψῶν παύεται· ἄλλο δὲ κακὸν οὐδὲν πάσχει· οὐ γὰρ, οἶμαι, ὦ πάππε, Σάκας αὐτῷ οἰνοχοεῖ. Καὶ ἡ μήτηρ εἶπεν,—Ἀλλὰ τί ποτε σὺ, ὦ παῖ, οὕτω τῷ Σάκᾳ πολεμεῖς;—Τὸν δὲ Κῦρον εἰπεῖν,—Ὅτι νὴ Δία, φάναι, μισῶ αὐτόν· πολλάκις γάρ με, πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐπιθυμοῦντα προσδραμεῖν, οὗτος ὁ μιαρώτατος ἀποκωλύει. Ἀλλὰ ἱκετεύω, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, δός μοι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἄρξαι αὐτοῦ. —Καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν,—Καὶ πῶς δὴ ἂν ἄρξαις αὐτοῦ;—Καὶ τὸν Κῦρον φάναι, [3] Στὰς ἂν, ὥσπερ οὗτος, ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ, ἔπειτα, ὁπότε βούλοιτο εἰσιέναι [4] ἐπ' ἄριστον, λέγοιμ' ἂν, ὅτι οὔπω δυνατὸν τῷ ἀρίστῳ ἐντυχεῖν· σπουδάζει γὰρ πρός τινας. Εἶθ' ὁπόταν ἥκῃ ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, λέγοιμ' ἂν, ὅτι λοῦται. Εἰ δὲ πάνυ σπουδάζοι φαγεῖν, εἴποιμ' ἂν, ὅτι παρὰ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐστιν· [5] ἕως παρατείναιμι τοῦτον, ὥσπερ οὗτος ἐμὲ παρατείνει, ἀπὸ σοῦ κωλύων.—Τοιαύτας μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθυμίας παρεῖχεν ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ· τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας, εἴ τινος αἴσθοιτο δεόμενον ἢ τὸν πάππον, ἢ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφὸν, [6] χαλεπὸν ἦν ἄλλον φθάσαι τοῦτο ποιήσαντα· ὅ τι γὰρ δύναιτο ὁ Κῦρος, ὑπερέχαιρεν αὐτοῖς χαριζόμενος.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ Μανδάνη παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπιοῦσα πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐδεῖτο αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀστυάγης κα-

ταλιπεῖν τὸν Κῦρον. Ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι βούλοιτο μὲν ἂν ἅπαντα τῷ πατρὶ χαρίζεσθαι, ἄκοντα μέντοι τὸν παῖδα χαλεπὸν νομίζειν εἶναι καταλιπεῖν. Ενθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης λέγει πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον·—Ὦ παῖ, ἢν μένῃς παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ, πρῶτον μὲν, τῆς παρ᾽ ἐμὲ εἰσόδου σοὶ οὐ Σάκας ἄρξει, ἀλλ᾽, ὁπόταν βούλῃ εἰσιέναι ὡς ἐμὲ, [1] ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔσται· καὶ [2] χάριν σοι, ἔφη, μᾶλλον εἴσομαι, ὅσῳ ἂν πλεονάκις εἰσίῃς ὡς ἐμέ. Επειτα δὲ, ἵπποις τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρήσῃ, καὶ ἄλλοις ὁπόσοις ἂν βούλῃ· καὶ ὅταν ἀπίῃς, ἔχων, [3] ἄπει, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθέλῃς. Επειτα δὲ, ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ, [4] ἐπὶ τὸ μετρίως σοι δοκοῦν ἔχειν, ὁποίαν βούλει ὁδὸν πορεύσῃ. Επειτα, τά τε νῦν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία δίδωμί σοι, καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ συλλέξω, ἃ σὺ, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἱππεύειν μάθῃς, διώξῃ, καὶ τοξεύων καὶ ἀκοντίζων καταβαλεῖς, ὥσπερ οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνδρες. Καὶ παῖδας δέ [5] σοι ἐγὼ συμπαίκτορας παρέξω· καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἂν βούλῃ, λέγων πρὸς ἐμὲ, οὐκ ἀτυχήσεις.—Επεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἡ μήτηρ διηρώτα τὸν Κῦρον, πότερα βούλοιτο μένειν, ἢ ἀπιέναι. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ εἶπεν, ὅτι μένειν βούλοιτο. Επερωτηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς, διὰ τί, εἰπεῖν λέγεται·—Ὅτι οἴκοι μὲν τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ εἰμὶ καὶ δοκῶ κράτιστος εἶναι, ὦ μῆτερ, καὶ τοξεύων καὶ ἀκοντίζων· ἐνταῦθα δὲ, εὖ οἶδα, ὅτι ἱππεύων ἥττων εἰμὶ τῶν ἡλίκων· καὶ τοῦτο, εὖ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὦ μῆτερ, οτι ἐμὲ πάνυ ἀνιᾷ. Ην δέ με καταλίπῃς ἐνθάδε, καὶ μάθω ἱππεύειν, ὅταν μὲν ἐν Πέρσαις ὦ, οἶμαί σοι ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πεζικὰ ῥᾳδίως νικήσειν· ὅταν δὲ εἰς Μήδους ἔλθω ἐνθάδε, πειράσομαι τῷ πάππῳ, ἀγαθῶν ἱππέων κράτιστος ὢν ἱππεὺς, συμμαχεῖν [6] αὐτῷ.—Τὴν δὲ μητέρα εἰπεῖν,—Τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην, ὦ παῖ, πῶς μαθήσῃ ἐνθάδε, ἐκεῖ ὄντων σοι τῶν διδασκάλων;—Καὶ τὸν Κῦρον φάναι,—Ἀλλ᾽, ὦ μῆτερ, ἀκριβῶς ταύτην γε

οἶδα.—Πῶς σὺ οἶσθα;—εἰπεῖν τὴν Μανδάνην.—Ὅτι, φάναι, ὁ διδάσκαλός με, ὡς ἤδη ἀκριβοῦντα τὴν δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἄλλοις καθίστη δικάζειν. Καὶ τοίνυν, φάναι, ἐπὶ μιᾷ ποτε δίκῃ πληγὰς ἔλαβον, ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικάσας. Ην δὲ ἡ δίκη τοιάδε·—Παῖς μέγας, μικρὸν ἔχων χιτῶνα, ἕτερον παῖδα μικρὸν, μέγαν ἔχοντα χιτῶνα, ἐκδύσας αὐτὸν, τὸν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκεῖνον ἠμφίεσε, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνου αὐτὸς ἐνέδυ. Εγὼ γοῦν τούτοις δικάζων, ἔγνων, βέλτιον εἶναι ἀμφοτέροις τὸν ἁρμόζοντα ἑκάτερον ἔχειν χιτῶνα. Εν δὲ τούτῳ με ἔπαισεν ὁ διδάσκαλος, λέγων ὅτι, ὁπότε μὲν κατασταθείην τοῦ ἁρμόττοντος κριτὴς, οὕτω δέοι ποιεῖν· ὁπότε δὲ κρῖναι δέοι, ὁποτέρου ὁ χιτὼν εἴη, τοῦτ' ἔφη σκεπτέον εἶναι, τίς κτῆσις δικαία ἐστί· [1] πότερα τὸν βίᾳ ἀφελόμενον ἔχειν, ἢ τὸν ποιησάμενον, ἢ πριάμενον κεκτῆσθαι. Επειτα δὲ ἔφη, τὸ μὲν νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἄνομον βίαιον. Σὺν τῷ νόμῳ οὖν ἐκέλευε δεῖν τὸν δικαστὴν [2] τὴν ψῆφον τίθεσθαι. Οὕτως ἐγώ [3] σοι, ἔφη, ὦ μῆτερ, τάγε δίκαια παντάπασιν οἶδα ἀκριβῶς· ἢν δέ τι ἄρα προσδέωμαι, ὁ πάππος με, ἔφη, οὗτος ἐπιδιδάξει.—Αλλ' οὐ ταὐτὰ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, παρά τε τῷ πάππῳ δίκαια καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις ὁμολογεῖται. Οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν Μήδοις πάντων δεσπότην ἑαυτὸν πεποίηκεν· ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν δίκαιον νομίζεται. Καὶ ὁ σὸς πρῶτος πατὴρ τεταγμένα μὲν ποιεῖ, ἃ ποιεῖ τῇ πόλει· τεταγμένα δὲ λαμβάνει· μέτρον δὲ αὐτῷ οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος ἐστίν. [4] Ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπολῇ μαστιγούμενος, ἐπειδὰν οἴκοι εἴης, ἂν, παρὰ τούτου μαθὼν, ἥκῃς, ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ, τὸ τυραννικὸν, [5] ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τὸ πλέον οἴεσθαι χρῆναι ἁπάντων ἔχειν. Αλλ' ὅγε σὸς πατὴρ, εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος, δεινότερός ἐστιν, ὦ μῆτερ, διδάσκειν μεῖον ἢ πλεῖον ἔχειν. Η οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ Μήδους ἅπαντας δεδίδαχεν ἑαυτοῦ μεῖον ἔχειν; Ὥστε θάρσει, ὡς ὁ σός γε πατὴρ

οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὔτ' ἐμὲ πλεονεκτεῖν μαθόντα ἀποπέμψεται.

*Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐλάλει ὁ **Κῦρος**· τέλος δέ, ἡ μὲν μήτηρ ἀπῆλθε, Κῦρος δὲ κατέμενε, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐτρέφετο. Καὶ ταχὺ μὲν τοῖς ἡλικιώταις [1] συνεκέκρατο, ὥστε οἰκείως διακεῖσθαι· ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν [2] ἀνήρτητο, προσιὼν, καὶ ἔνδηλος ὢν, ὅτι ἠσπάζετο αὐτῶν τοὺς υἱεῖς· ὥστε καὶ, εἴ τι τοῦ βασιλέως δέοιντο, τοὺς παῖδας ἐκέλευον Κύρου δεῖσθαι διαπράξασθαι σφίσιν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὅ τι δέοιντο αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες, διὰ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, [3] περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο διαπράττεσθαι. Καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης δὲ, ὅ τι δέοιτο αὐτοῦ ὁ Κῦρος, οὐδὲν ἐδύνατο ἀντιλέγειν, μὴ οὐ χαρίζεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ, ἀσθενήσαντος αὐτοῦ, οὐδέποτε ἀπέλειπε τὸν πάππον, οὐδὲ [4] κλαίων ποτὲ ἐπαύετο· δῆλός τε ἦν πᾶσιν, ὅτι ὑπερεφοβεῖτο, μή οἱ ὁ πάππος ἀποθάνοι. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ νυκτὸς, εἴ τινος δέοιτο Ἀστυάγης, πρῶτος ᾐσθάνετο Κῦρος, καὶ πάντων ἀοκνότατα ἀνεπήδα, ὑπηρετήσων, ὅ τι [5] οἴοιτο χαριεῖσθαι· ὥστε παντάπασιν ἀνεκτήσατο τὸν Ἀστυάγην.*

Καὶ ἦν μὲν ἴσως ὁ Κῦρος πολυλογώτερος, ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν παιδείαν, ὅτι ἠναγκάζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ διδόναι λόγον, ὧν ἐποίει, καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἄλλων, ὁπότε δικάζοι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ, διὰ τὸ φιλομαθὴς εἶναι, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀεὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀνηρώτα, [6] πῶς ἔχοντα τυγχάνοι· καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐρωτῷτο, διὰ τὸ ἀγχίνους εἶναι, ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνετο· ὥστε ἐκ πάντων τούτων ἡ πολυλογία συνελέγετο αὐτῷ. Ἀλλ', ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν σώμασιν, ὅσοι νέοι ὄντες μέγεθος ἔλαβον, ομως ἐμφαίνεταί τι αὐτοῖς νεαρὸν, ὃ κατηγορεῖ τὴν ὀλιγοετίαν· οὕτω καὶ Κύρου ἐκ τῆς πολυλογίας, οὐ θράσος διεφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ἁπλότης καὶ φιλοστοργία· ὥστε ἐπιθυ-

μίαν τις εἶχεν ἔτι πλείω ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ, ἢ σιωπῶντι παρεῖναι. Ὡς δὲ προῆγεν ὁ χρόνος αὐτὸν, σὺν τῷ μεγέθει, εἰς ὥραν τοῦ πρόσηβον γενέσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ, τοῖς μὲν λόγοις βραχυτέροις ἐχρῆτο, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἡσυχαιτέρᾳ· αἰδοῦς δὲ ἐνεπίμπλατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐρυθραίνεσθαι, ὁπότε συντυγχάνοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· [1] καὶ τὸ σκυλακῶδες, τὸ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως προσπίπτειν, οὐκέτι ὁμοίως προπετῶς εἶχεν. Οὕτω δὴ ἡσυχαίτερος μὲν ἦν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνουσίαις πάμπαν ἐπίχαρις. Καὶ γὰρ ὅσα διαγωνίζονται πολλάκις ἥλικες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐχ, ἃ κρείσσων ᾔδει ὢν, ταῦτα προὐκαλεῖτο τοὺς συνόντας, ἀλλ', ἅπερ εὖ ᾔδει ἑαυτὸν ἥττονα ὄντα, [2] ταῦτα ἐξῆρχε, φάσκων κάλλιον αὐτῶν ποιήσειν. Καὶ κατῆρχεν ἤδη ἀναπηδῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἢ διακοντιούμενος, ἢ διατοξευσόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, οὔπω πάνυ ἔποχος ὤν· ἡττώμενος δὲ, αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μάλιστα ἐγέλα. [3] Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀπεδίδρασκεν, ἐκ τοῦ ἡττᾶσθαι, εἰς τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν, ἃ ἡττῷτο, ἀλλ' ἐκαλινδεῖτο ἐν τῷ πειρᾶσθαι αὖθις βέλτιον ποιεῖν, ταχὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἀφίκετο τῇ ἱππικῇ τοῖς ἡλικιώταις· ταχὺ δὲ παρῄει, διὰ τὸ ἐρᾶν τοῦ ἔργου· ταχὺ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἀνηλώκει, διώκων καὶ βάλλων καὶ κατακαίνων· ὥστε ὁ Ἀστυάγης οὐκέτ' εἶχεν αὐτῷ συλλέγειν θηρία. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος αἰσθόμενος, ὅτι βουλόμενος οὐ δύναιτό οἱ ζῶντα παρέχειν, πολλάκις ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν·—Ὦ πάππε, [4] τί σε δεῖ θηρία ζητοῦντα πράγματα ἔχειν; Ἀλλ' ἢν ἐμὲ ἐκπέμπῃς ἐπὶ θήραν σὺν τῷ θείῳ, νομιῶ, ὅσα ἂν ἴδω θηρία, σέ μοι ταῦτα τρέφειν.— Επιθυμῶν δὲ σφόδρα ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν, οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως λιπαρεῖν ἐδύνατο, ὥσπερ παῖς ὤν, ἀλλ' ὀκνηρότερον [5] προσῄει. Καὶ ἃ πρόσθεν τῷ Σάκᾳ ἐμέμφετο, ὅτι οὐ [6] παρίει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν πάππον, αὐτὸς ἤδη Σάκας ἑαυτῷ ἐγίγνετο· οὐ γὰρ προσῄει, εἰ μὴ προΐδοι, εἰ καιρὸς

εἴη· καὶ τοῦ Σάκα ἐδεῖτο πάντως σημαίνειν αὐτῷ, ὁπότε ἐν καιρῷ εἴη εἰσιέναι, καὶ ὁπότε οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ· ὥστε ὁ Σάκας ἤδη ὑπερεφίλει αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες.

Επεὶ δ' οὖν ἔγνω ὁ Ἀστυάγης σφόδρα αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῆς ἔξω θήρας, ἐκπέμπει αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ θείῳ, καὶ φύλακας συμπέμπει ἐφ' ἵππων πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωριῶν φυλάττοιεν αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰ τῶν ἀγρίων τι φανείη θηρίων. Ὁ οὖν Κῦρος τῶν ἑπομένων προθύμως ἐπυνθάνετο, ὁποίοις οὐ χρὴ θηρίοις πελάζειν, καὶ ὁποῖα χρὴ θαῤῥοῦντα διώκειν. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἄρκτοι τε πολλοὺς ἤδη πλησιάσαντας διέφθειραν, καὶ λέοντες, καὶ κάπροι, καὶ παρδάλεις· αἱ δὲ ἔλαφοι, καὶ δορκάδες, καὶ ἄγριοι ὄϊες, καὶ οἱ ὄνοι οἱ ἄγριοι, ἀσινεῖς εἰσιν. Ελεγον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, τὰς δυσχωρίας ὅτι δέοι φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ τὰ θηρία· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἤδη [1] αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις κατακρημνισθῆναι. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ταῦτα πάντα ἐμάνθανε προθύμως· ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἔλαφον ἐκπηδήσασαν, πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενος, ὧν ἤκουεν, ἐδίωκεν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὁρῶν, ἢ ὅποι ἔφευγε. Καί πως διαπηδῶν αὐτῷ ὁ ἵππος πίπτει εἰς γόνατα, [2] καὶ μικροῦ κἀκεῖνον ἐξετραχήλισεν· [3] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπέμενεν ὁ Κῦρος μόλις πως, καὶ [4] ὁ ἵππος ἐξανέστη. Ὡς δὲ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἦλθεν, ἀκοντίσας καταβάλλει τὴν ἔλαφον, [5] καλόν τι χρῆμα καὶ μέγα. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ὑπερέχαιρεν· οἱ δὲ φύλακες προσελάσαντες, [6] ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἔλεγον, εἰς οἷον κίνδυνον ἔλθοι· καὶ ἔφασαν [7] κατερεῖν αὐτοῦ τῷ πάππῳ. Ὁ οὖν Κῦρος [8] εἱστήκει, καταβεβηκὼς, καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα [9] ἠνιᾶτο. Ὡς δ' ᾔσθετο κραυγῆς, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν· καὶ ὡς εἶδεν ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου κάπρον [10] προσφερόμενον, ἀντίος ἐλαύνει· καὶ [11] διατεινάμενος εὐστόχως, βάλλει εἰς τὸ μέτωπον, καὶ κατέσχε τὸν κάπρον. Ενταῦθα μέντοι ἤδη καὶ [12] ὁ θεῖος αὐτῷ ἐλοιδορεῖτο, τὴν θρασύτητα ὁρῶν. Ὁ δ', αὐτοῦ

λοιδορουμένου, ὅμως ἐδεῖτο, ὅσα αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, ταῦτα ἐᾶσαι αὐτὸν δοῦναι εἰσκομίσαντα τῷ πάππῳ. Τὸν δὲ θεῖον εἰπεῖν φασιν·—Ἀλλ' ἢν αἴσθηται, ὅτι ἐδίωκες, οὐ σοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοὶ λοιδορήσεται, ὅτι σε εἴων.—Κἂν βούληται,—φάναι αὐτὸν,—μαστιγωσάτω, ἐπειδάν γε ἐγὼ δῶ αὐτῷ. Καὶ σύ γε, εἰ βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ θεῖε, τιμωρησάμενος, ὅ τι βούλει, τοῦτο ὅμως χάρισαί μοι.—Καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης μέντοι τελευτῶν εἶπε·—Ποίει ὅπως βούλει· σὺ γὰρ νῦν γε ἡμῶν ἔοικας βασιλεὺς εἶναι.—Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος εἰσκομίσας τὰ θηρία, ἐδίδου τε τῷ πάππῳ, καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ταῦτα [1] θηράσειεν ἐκείνῳ. Καὶ τὰ ἀκόντια ἐδείκνυε μὲν οὔ, κατέθηκε δὲ ᾑματωμένα, ὅπου ᾤετο τὸν πάππον ὄψεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης ἄρα εἶπεν·—Ἀλλ', ὦ παῖ, δέχομαι μὲν ἔγωγε ἡδέως, ὅσα μοι δίδως· οὐ μέντοι δέομαί γε τούτων οὐδενὸς, ὥστε σὲ κινδυνεύειν.—Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη·—Εἰ τοίνυν μὴ σὺ δέῃ, ἱκετεύω, ὦ πάππε, ἐμοὶ δὸς αὐτὰ, ὅπως ἐγὼ διαδῶ τοῖς ἡλικιώταις.—Ἀλλ', ὦ παῖ, ἔφη ὁ Ἀστυάγης, καὶ ταῦτα λαβὼν διαδίδου, ὅτῳ σὺ βούλει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁπόσα ἐθέλεις.—Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν, ἐδίδου τε ἄρα τοῖς παισὶ, καὶ ἅμα ἔλεγεν·—

[2] Ὦ παῖδες, ὡς ἄρα ἐφλυαροῦμεν, ὅτε τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἐθηρῶμεν· ὅμοιον γάρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, οἷόνπερ εἴ τις δεδεμένα ζῶα θηρῴη. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ἐν μικρῷ χωρίῳ ἦν· ἔπειτα, καὶ μικρὰ καὶ ψωραλέα· καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν, χωλὸν ἦν· τὸ δὲ, κολοβόν. Τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ λειμῶσι θηρία,—ὡς μὲν καλὰ, ὡς δὲ μεγάλα, ὡς δὲ λιπαρὰ ἐφαίνετο! Καὶ αἱ μὲν ἔλαφοι, ὥσπερ πτηναὶ, ἥλλοντο πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν· οἱ δὲ κάπροι, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄνδρας φασὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους, ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς πλατύτητος [3] οὐδὲ ἁμαρτεῖν οἷόν τε ἦν αὐτῶν· καλλίω δὲ, ἔφη, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ τεθνηκότα ταῦτα εἶ-

ναι, ἢ ζῶντα ἐκεῖνα τὰ περιῳκοδομημένα.—Ἀλλ' ἆρα ἄν, ἔφη, ἀφεῖεν καὶ ὑμᾶς οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν;—Καὶ ῥᾳδίως γ' ἄν, ἔφασαν, εἰ Ἀστυάγης κελεύοι.—Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε·—Τίς ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν πρὸς Ἀστυάγην μνησθείη;—[1] Τίς γὰρ ἄν, ἔφασαν, σοῦ γε ἱκανώτερος πεῖσαι;—Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἔφη, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ', ὅστις ἄνθρωπος γεγένημαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ λέγειν [2] οἷός τ' εἰμί, οὐδ' ἀναβλέπειν πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἔτι δύναμαι. [3] Ἢν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδιδῶ, δέδοικα, ἔφη, μὴ παντάπασι βλάξ τις καὶ ἠλίθιος γένωμαι. Παιδάριον δὲ ὤν, δεινότατος λαλεῖν ἐδόκουν εἶναι.—Καὶ οἱ παῖδες εἶπον·—Πονηρὸν λέγεις τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ μηδὲ [4] ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἄν τι δέῃ, δυνήσῃ πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἡμᾶς [5] τὸ ἐπὶ σοὶ ἀνάγκῃ δεῖσθαι.—Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδήχθη· καὶ σιγῇ ἀπελθών, διακελευσάμενος ἑαυτῷ τολμᾶν, εἰσῆλθεν, ἐπιβουλεύσας, ὅπως ἂν ἀλυπότατα εἴποι πρὸς τὸν πάππον, καὶ [6] διαπράξειεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισίν, ὧν ἐδέοντο. Ἤρξατο οὖν ὧδε·

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἤν τις ἀποδράσῃ τῶν οἰκετῶν, καὶ λάβῃς αὐτόν, τί αὐτῷ χρήσῃ;—Τί δὴ ἄλλο, ἔφη, ἢ δήσας ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκάσω;—Ἢν δὲ αὐτόματός σοι πάλιν ἐπέλθῃ, πῶς ποιήσεις;—Τί δέ, ἔφη, ἢ μαστιγώσας αὐτόν γε, ἵνα μὴ αὖθις τοῦτο ποιῇ, ἔπειτα ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν αὐτῷ χρήσομαι;—[7] Ὥρα οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, παρασκευάζεσθαί σοι εἴη, ὅτῳ μαστιγώσεις με, ὡς βουλευόμενόν γε, ὅπως ἀποδρῶ, λαβὼν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἐπὶ θήραν.—Καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης,—Καλῶς, ἔφη, ἐποίησας προειπών· ἔνδοθεν γὰρ ἀπαγορεύω σοι μὴ κινεῖσθαι. Χαρίεν γάρ, ἔφη, εἰ ἕνεκα κρεαδίων τῇ θυγατρὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀποβουκολήσαιμι.—Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, ἐπείθετο μὲν καὶ ἔμενεν· ἀνιαρὸς δὲ καὶ σκυθρωπὸς ὤν, σιωπῇ διῆγεν. Ὁ μέντοι Ἀστυάγης, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω

αὐτὸν λυπούμενον ἰσχυρῶς, βουλόμενος αὐτῷ χαρίσασθαι, ἐξάγει ἐπὶ θήραν· καὶ πεζοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἱππέας συναλίσας, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ συνελάσας εἰς τὰ ἱππάσιμα χωρία τὰ θηρία, ἐποίησε μεγάλην θήραν. Καὶ βασιλικῶς δὴ αὐτὸς παρὼν, ἀπηγόρευε μηδένα βάλλειν, πρὶν Κῦρος ἐμπλησθείη βάλλων. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος οὐκ εἴα κωλύειν·—Ἀλλ', εἰ βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἡδέως με θηρᾶν, ἄφες πάντας τοὺς κατ' ἐμὲ διώκειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι, ὅπως ἕκαστος τὰ κράτιστα δύναιτο.—Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀφίησι· καὶ στὰς ἐθεᾶτο τοὺς ἁμιλλωμένους ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία, καὶ φιλονεικοῦντας, καὶ διώκοντας, καὶ ἀκοντίζοντας. Καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ ἥδετο, οὐ δυναμένῳ σιγᾷν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ σκύλακι γενναίῳ, ἀνακλάζοντι, ὁπότε πλησιάζοι θηρίῳ, καὶ παρακαλοῦντι ὀνομαστὶ ἕκαστον. Καὶ [1] τοῦ μὲν καταγελῶντα αὐτὸν ὁρῶν εὐφραίνετο, τὸν δέ τινα καὶ ἐπαινοῦντα αὐτὸν ᾐσθάνετο, [2] οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν φθονερῶς. Τέλος δ' οὖν, πολλὰ θηρία ἔχων ὁ Ἀστυάγης [3] ἀπῄει. Καὶ τολοιπὸν οὕτως ἥσθη τῇ τότε θήρᾳ, ὥστε ἀεὶ, [4] ὁπότε οἷόν τε εἴη, [5] συνεξῄει τῷ Κύρῳ, καὶ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς παρελάμβανε, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, Κύρου ἕνεκα. Τὸν μὲν δὴ πλεῖστον χρόνον οὕτω διῆγεν ὁ Κῦρος, πᾶσιν ἡδονῆς μὲν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος συναίτιος ὤν, κακοῦ δὲ οὐδενί.

* * *

Καμβύσης δὲ, ὁ τοῦ Κύρου πατὴρ, ἥδετο μὲν πυνθανόμενος ταῦτα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤκουσεν ἀνδρὸς ἤδη ἔργα διαπραττόμενον τὸν Κῦρον, ἀπεκάλει, ὅπως [6] τὰ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπιχώρια ἀποτελοίη. Καὶ τὸν Κῦρον δὴ ἐνταῦθα λέγεται εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἀπιέναι βούλοιτο, μὴ ὁ πατήρ τι ἄχθοιτο, καὶ ἡ πόλις μέμφοιτο. Τῷ οὖν Ἀστυάγει ἐδόκει ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἀποπέμπειν αὐτόν. Ἔνθα δὴ ἵππους τε αὐτῷ δοὺς οὓς αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμει λαβεῖν, καὶ ἄλλα συσκευ

δόσας παντοδαπά, ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν αὐτόν. καὶ ἅμα ἐλπίδας μεγάλας ἔχων ἐν αὐτῷ, ἄνδρα ἔσεσθαι ἱκανὸν καὶ φίλους ὠφελεῖν, καὶ ἐχθροὺς ἀνιᾷν. Ἀπιόντα δὲ τὸν Κῦρον προὔπεμπον ἅπαντες, καὶ παῖδες, καὶ ἥλικες, καὶ ἄνδρες, καὶ γέροντες, ἐφ' ἵππων, καὶ Ἀστυάγης αὐτός· καὶ οὐδένα ἔφασαν ὅντιν' οὐ δακρύοντ' ἀποστρέφεσθαι. Καὶ Κῦρον δὲ αὐτὸν σὺν πολλοῖς δακρύοις λέγεται ἀποχωρῆσαι. Πολλὰ δε δῶρα διαδοῦναι αὐτόν φασι τοῖς ἡλικιώταις, ὧν Ἀστυάγης αὐτῷ ἐδεδώκει· τέλος δέ, καὶ ἣν εἶχε στολὴν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐκδύντα δοῦναί τινι, δηλῶν ὅτι τοῦτον μάλιστα ἠσπάζετο. Τοὺς μέντοι λαβόντας καὶ δεξαμένους τὰ δῶρα λέγεται Ἀστυάγει ἀπενεγκεῖν· Ἀστυάγην δὲ δεξάμενον Κύρῳ ἀποπέμψαι· τὸν δὲ πάλιν τε ἀποπέμψαι εἰς Μήδους, καὶ εἰπεῖν—Ὦ πάππε, εἰ βούλει με καὶ πάλιν ἰέναι ὡς σὲ μὴ αἰσχυνόμενον, ἔα ἔχειν, [1] εἴ τῳ τί ἐγὼ δέδωκα·—Ἀστυάγην δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα ποιῆσαι, ὥσπερ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπέστειλεν.

* * *

Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος οὕτως ἀπελθὼν εἰς Πέρσας, ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν λέγεται ἔτι ἐν τοῖς παισὶ γενέσθαι. Καί, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, οἱ παῖδες ἔσκωπτον αὐτόν, [2] ὡς ἡδυπαθεῖν μεμαθηκὼς ἐν Μήδοις ἥκοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐσθίοντα αὐτὸν ἑώρων, ὥσπερ αὐτοί, ἡδέως, καὶ πίνοντα, καὶ εἴ ποτ' ἐν ἑορτῇ εὐωχία προσγένοιτο, ἐπιδιδόντα [3] μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μέρους ᾐσθάνοντο, ἢ προσδεόμενον· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δέ, καὶ τἆλλα κρατιστεύοντα αὐτὸν ἑώρων, περὶ ἅπαντα, ἑαυτῶν ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάλιν ὑπέπτησσον οἱ ἥλικες αὐτῷ. Ἐπεὶ δέ, διελθὼν τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην, ἤδη εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους, ἐν τούτοις αὖ [4] ἐδόκει κρατιστεύειν, καὶ μελετῶν ἃ χρῆν, καὶ καρτερῶν ἃ ἔδει, καὶ αἰδούμενος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ πειθόμενος τοῖς ἄρχουσι.

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Ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου πέμπτου.

ΠΑΝΘΕΙΑ

Καλέσας δὲ ὁ Κῦρος Ἀράσπην Μῆδον, (ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ παιδὸς ἑταῖρος, [1] ᾧ καὶ τὴν στολὴν ἐκδὺς ἔδωκε τὴν Μηδικὴν, ὅτε παρὰ Ἀστυάγους εἰς Πέρσας ἀπῄει,) τοῦτον ἐκέλευσε διαφυλάξαι αὐτῷ [2] τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν σκηνήν· ἦν δὲ αὕτη, ἡ γυνὴ Ἀβραδάτα τοῦ Σούσων βασιλέως· ὅτε δὲ ἡλίσκετο τὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων στρατόπεδον, ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς [3] οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὤν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τῶν Βακτριανῶν βασιλέα πρεσβεύων ᾤχετο· ἔπεμψε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσσύριος περὶ συμμαχίας· ξένος γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγχανε τῷ τῶν Βακτριανῶν βασιλεῖ·—ταύτην οὖν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κῦρος διαφυλάττειν τὸν Ἀράσπην, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς λάβῃ. Κελευόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀράσπης ἐπήρετο·—Ἑώρακας δ', ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, τὴν γυναῖκα, ἥν με κελεύεις φυλάττειν;—Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐκ ἔγωγε.—Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, ἔφη, ἡνίκα ἐξῃροῦμέν σοι αὐτήν· καὶ δῆτα, ὅτε μὲν εἰσήλθομεν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῆς, τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διέγνωμεν αὐτήν· (χαμαί τε γὰρ ἐκάθητο, καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι πᾶσαι περὶ αὐτήν· καὶ τοίνυν ὁμοίαν ταῖς δούλαις εἶχε τὴν ἐσθῆτα·) ἐπεὶ δὲ, γνῶναι βουλόμενοι, ποία εἴη ἡ δέσποινα, πάσας περιεβλέψαμεν, ταχὺ πάνυ καὶ πασῶν [4] ἐφαίνετο διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων, καίπερ καθημένη, κεκαλυμμένη τε καὶ εἰς γῆν ὁρῶσα. Ὡς δὲ [5] ἀναστῆναι αὐτὴν ἐκελεύσαμεν, συνανέστησαν μὲν αὐτῇ πᾶσαι αἱ ἀμφ' αὐτήν· διήνεγκε δὲ ἐνταῦθα, πρῶτον μὲν, τῷ μεγέθει, ἔπειτα δὲ, [6] τῇ ῥώμῃ, καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ, καὶ τῇ εὐσχημοσύνῃ, καίπερ ἐν ταπεινῷ σχήματι [7] ἑστηκυῖα. [8] Δῆλα δ' ἦν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ δάκρυα καταστάζοντα—τὰ μὲν κατὰ τῶν πέπλων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας. Ὡς δ' ἡμῶν ὁ γεραίτερος

εἶπε,—Θάῤῥει, ὦ γύναι· καλὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἀκούομεν καὶ τὸν σὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι· νῦν μέντοι ἐξαιροῦμεν ἀνδρί σε,—[1] εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι—οὔτε τὸ εἶδος ἐκείνου χείρονι, οὔτε τὴν γνώμην, οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν· ἀλλ', ὡς ἡμεῖς γε νομίζομεν, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ, καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἄξιός εστι θαυμάζεσθαι, [2] οὗ σὺ ἔσῃ τὸ ἀπὸ τῦδε·—ὡς οὖν τοῦτο ἤκουσεν ἡ γυνὴ,[3] περικατεῤῥήξατό τε τὸν ἄνωθεν πέπλον, καὶ ἀνωδύρατο· συνανεβόησαν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ αἱ δμωαί. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἐφάνη μὲν αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τοῦ προσώπε, ἐφάνη δὲ ἡ δέρη καὶ αἱ χεῖρες·—καὶ εὖ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ὡς ἐμοί τε ἔδοξε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι τοῖς ἰδοῦσι, μήπω [4] φῦναι, μηδὲ γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἀπὸ θνητῶν, τοιαύτην ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ.—ἀλλὰ πάντως, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ θεάσῃ αὐτήν. —Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη,—Ναὶ μὰ Δία, πολύ γε ἧττον, εἰ τοιαύτη ἐστὶν, οἵαν σὺ λέγεις.—Τί δαί; ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος.—Ὅτι, ἔφη, καὶ νῦν [5] σοῦ ἀκούσας, ὅτι καλή ἐστιν, εἰ πεισθήσομαι ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενος, οὐ πάνυ μοι σχολῆς οὔσης, δέδοικα, μὴ πολὺ θᾶττον ἐκείνη με αὖθις ἀναπείσῃ καὶ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἴσως ἂν ἀμελήσας, ὧν με δεῖ πράττειν, καθοίμην ἐκείνην θεώμενος.

Καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀναγελάσας εἶπεν·—[6] Οἴει γὰρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἱκανὸν εἶναι κάλλος ἀνθρώπου, ἀναγκάζειν τὸν μὴ βουλόμενον [7] πράττειν παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον; Εἰ μέντοι τοῦτο, ἔφη, [8] οὕτως ἐπεφύκει, πάντας ἂν ἠνάγκαζεν ὁμοίως. Ὅρα, ἔφη, τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πάντας ὁμοίως καίει· (πέφυκε γὰρ τοιοῦτον·) τῶν δὲ καλῶν, [9] τῶν μὲν ἐρῶσι, τῶν δ' οὔ· καὶ ἄλλος γε ἄλλου. Ἐθελούσιον γὰρ, ἔφη, ἐςὶ, καὶ ἐρᾷ ἕκαστος, ὧν ἂν βούληται. [10] Αὐτίκα δὲ οὐκ ἐρᾷ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῆς, ἄλλος δὲ ταύτης· οὐδὲ πατὴρ θυγατρὸς, ἄλλος δὲ ταύτης. Καὶ γὰρ [11] φόβος καὶ νόμος ἱκανὸς ἔρωτα κωλύειν. Εἰ δέ γ', ἔφη, νόμος τεθείη, μὴ ἐσθίοντας μὴ πεινῆν, καὶ μὴ πίνοντας μὴ διψῆν, μηδὲ ῥιγοῦν τοῦ χειμῶ-

νος, μηδὲ θάλπεσθαι τοῦ θέρους, οὐδεὶς ἂν νόμος δυνηθείη διαπράξασθαι ἀνθρώπους ταῦτα πείθεσθαι· πεφύκασι γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων κρατεῖσθαι. Τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν ἐθελούσιόν ἐστιν· ἕκαστος [1] γοῦν τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἐρᾷ, ὥσπερ ἱματίων καὶ ὑποδημάτων.—Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος,—[2] εἰ ἐθελούσιόν ἐστι τὸ ἐρασθῆναι, οὐ καὶ παύσασθαί ἐστιν, ὅταν τις βούληται; Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἑώρακα καὶ κλαίοντας ὑπὸ λύπης δι' ἔρωτα· καὶ δουλεύοντάς γε τοῖς ἐρωμένοις, καὶ μάλα κακὸν νομίζοντας, πρίν γε ἐρᾶν, τὸ δουλεύειν· καὶ διδόντας γε πολλὰ, ὧν οὐ βέλτιον αὐτοῖς στέρεσθαι· καὶ εὐχομένους [3] ὥσπερ καί τινος ἄλλης νόσου απαλλαγῆναι, καὶ οὐ δυναμένους μέντοι ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεδεμένους ἰσχυροτέρᾳ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ, ἢ εἰ σιδήρῳ ἐδέδεντο. Παρέχουσι γοῦν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἐρωμένοις [4] πολλὰ καὶ εἰκῆ ὑπηρετοῦντας· καὶ μέντοι οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐπιχειροῦσι, τοιαῦτα κακὰ ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλάττουσι τοὺς ἐρωμένους, μή ποι ἀποδρῶσι.

Καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα· [5] Ποιουσι γὰρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα· εἰσὶ μέντοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ἔφη, μοχθηροί· διόπερ, οἶμαι, καὶ εὔχονται μὲν ἀεὶ, ὡς ἄθλιοι ὄντες, ἀποθανεῖν· [6] μυρίων δ' οὐσῶν μηχανῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου, οὐκ ἀπαλλάττονται. Οἱ αὐτοὶ δέ γε οὗτοι καὶ κλέπτειν ἐπιχειροῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχονται τῶν ἀλλοτρίων· ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τι ἁρπάσωσιν ἢ κλέψωσιν, ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὅτι σὺ πρῶτος, ὡς οὐκ [7] ἀναγκαῖον τὸ κλέπτειν, αἰτιᾷ τὸν κλέπτοντα καὶ ἁρπάζοντα, καὶ οὐ συγγινώσκεις, ἀλλὰ κολάζεις; Οὕτω μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ οἱ καλοὶ οὐκ ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐρᾶν ἑαυτῶν, οὐδὲ ἐφίεσθαι ἀνθρώπους, ὧν μὴ δεῖ· ἀλλὰ τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀνθρώπια πασῶν, οἶμαι, ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀκρατῆ ἐστι, κἄπειτα [8] ἔρωτα αἰτιῶνται. Οἱ δὲ καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ, ἐπιθυμοῦντες καὶ χρυσίου, καὶ ἵππων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ γυναικῶν καλῶν, ὅμως ἁπάντων τούτων ῥᾳδίως δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι, [9] ὥστε μὴ ἅπτεσθαι αὐτῶν, παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. Ἐγωγ' οὖν, ἔφη, ταῦ-

την ἑωρακὼς, καὶ πάνυ μοι καλῆς δοξάσης εἶναι, ὅμως παρὰ σοί εἰμι, καὶ ἱππεύω, καὶ τἄλλα τὰ ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα ἀποτελῶ.—Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· [1] ἴσως γὰρ θᾶττον ἀπῆλθες, ἢ ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ ὁ ἔρως πέφυκε συσκευάζεσθαι ἄνθρωπον. [2] Καὶ πυρὸς γάρ τοι ἐστὶ θίγοντα μὴ εὐθὺς καίεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ξύλα οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀναλάμπει· ὅμως δὲ ἔγωγε οὔτε πυρὸς [3] ἑκὼν εἶναι ἅπτομαι, οὔτε τοὺς καλοὺς ἐσορῶ. Οὐδέ γε σοὶ συμβουλεύω, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀράσπα, ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἐᾶν τὴν ὄψιν ἐνδιατρίβειν· ὡς τὸ μὲν πῦρ τοὺς ἁπτομένους καίει, οἱ δὲ καλοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἄποθεν θεωμένους ὑφάπτουσιν, ὥστε αἴθεσθαι τῷ ἔρωτι.—Θάῤῥει, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐδὲ, ἢν μηδέποτε παύσωμαι θεώμενος, οὐ μὴ κρατηθῶ, ὥστε ποιεῖν τι, ἃν μὴ χρὴ ποιεῖν.—Κάλλιστα, ἔφη, λέγεις· φύλαττε τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὥσπερ σε κελεύω, καὶ [4] ἐπιμελοῦ αὐτῆς· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν καὶ πάνυ ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ τι γένοιτο αὕτη ἡ γυνή. Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἰπόντες διελύθησαν.

Ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος, ἅμα μὲν ὁρῶν ὑπερκαλλῆ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἅμα δὲ αἰσθόμενος τὴν καλοκἀγαθίαν αὐτῆς, ἅμα δὲ θεραπεύων αὐτὴν, καὶ οἰόμενος χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῇ, ἅμα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος οὐκ ἀχάριστον οὖσαν, ἀλλ' ἀντεπιμελουμένην, διὰ τῶν αὑτῆς οἰκετῶν, ὡς καὶ εἰσιόντι εἴη αὐτῷ τὰ δέοντα, καὶ, εἴ ποτε ἀσθενήσειεν, ὡς μηδενὸς ἂν δέοιτο· ἐκ πάντων τούτων ἡλίσκετο ἔρωτι· καὶ ἴσως οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἔπασχε. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐπράττετο.

* * *

Ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου ἕκτου.

[5] Βουλόμενος δέ τινα κατάσκοπον πέμψαι ἐπὶ Λυδίας, καὶ μαθεῖν, ὅ τι πράσσει ὁ Ἀσσύριος, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι Ἀράσπας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦτο, ὁ φυλάττων

τὴν καλὴν γυναῖκα. Συνεβεβήκει γὰρ τῷ Ἀράσπᾳ τοιάδε· ληφθεὶς ἔρωτι τῆς γυναικὸς, ἠναγκάσθη προσενεγκεῖν λόγους αὐτῇ περὶ συνουσίας. Ἡ δὲ ἀπέφησε μὲν, καὶ ἦν πιστὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, καίπερ ἀπόντι· (ἐφίλει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς·) οὐ μέντοι κατηγόρησε τοῦ Ἀράσπου πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, [1] ὀκνοῦσα συμβαλεῖν φίλους ἄνδρας. Επεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀράσπας, δοκῶν [2] ὑπηρετήσειν τῷ τυχεῖν, ἃ ἐβούλετο, ἠπείλησε τῇ γυναικὶ, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο ἑκοῦσα, ἄκουσα ποιήσοι ταῦτα· ἐκ τούτου ἡ γυνὴ, ὡς ἔδεισε τὴν βίαν, οὐκέτι κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ πέμπει [3] τὸν εὐνοῦχον πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ κελεύει λέξαι ἅπαντα. Ὁ δ' ὡς ἤκουσεν, ἀναγελάσας ἐπὶ τῷ κρείττονι τοῦ ἔρωτος φάσκοντι εἶναι, πέμπει Ἀρτάβαζον σὺν τῷ εὐνούχῳ, καὶ κελεύει αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν, βιάζεσθαι μὲν μὴ τοιαύτην γυναῖκα· πείθειν δὲ, εἰ δύναιτο, οὐκ ἔφη κωλύειν. Ελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος πρὸς τὸν Ἀράσπαν ἐλοιδόρησεν αὐτὸν, παρακαταθήκην τε ὀνομάζων τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀσέβειάν τε αὐτοῦ λέγων, ἀδικίαν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν· ὥστε τὸν Ἀράσπαν πολλὰ μὲν δακρύειν ὑπὸ λύπης, καταδύεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης, ἀπολωλέναι δὲ τῷ φόβῳ, μή τι καὶ πάθη ὑπὸ Κύρου.

Ὁ οὖν Κῦρος καταμαθὼν ταῦτα, ἐκάλεσέ τε αὐτὸν, καὶ μόνος μόνῳ ἔλεξεν—Ὁρῶ σε, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀράσπα, φοβούμενόν τε ἐμὲ καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ δεινῶς ἔχοντα. Παῦσαι οὖν τούτων· ἐγὼ γὰρ θεούς τε ἀκούω ἔρωτος ἡσσῆσθαι· [4] ἀνθρώπους τε οἶδα, καὶ μάλα φρονίμους δοκοῦντας εἶναι, οἷα πεπόνθασιν ὑπ' ἔρωτος· [5] καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἐμαυτοῦ κατέγνων μὴ ἂν καρτερῆσαι, ὥστε συνὼν καλοῖς ἀμελῆσαι αὐτῶν. Καὶ σοὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἐγὼ αἴτιός εἰμι· ἐγὼ γάρ σε συγκαθεῖρξα τούτῳ τῷ ἀμάχῳ πράγματι.—Καὶ ὁ Ἀράσπας ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν—Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ὦ Κῦρε, καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοιος εἶ, οἷός περ καὶ τἆλλ-

λα, πρᾷός τε καὶ συγγνώμων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἁμαρτημάτων· ἐμὲ δ', ἔφη, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καταδύουσι τῷ ἄχει. Ὡς γὰρ ὁ θροῦς διῆλθε τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ ἐφήδονταί μοι, οἱ δὲ φίλοι προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσιν [1] ἐκποδὼν ἔχειν ἐμαυτὸν, μή τι καὶ πάθω ὑπὸ σοῦ, [2] ὡς ἠδικηκότος ἐμοῦ μεγάλα.—Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν·—Εὖ τοίνυν ἴσθι, ὦ Ἀράσπα, ὅτι ταύτῃ τῇ δόξῃ [3] οἷός τ' εἶ ἐμοί τε ἰσχυρῶς χαρίσασθαι, καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους μεγάλα ὠφελῆσαι.—[4] Εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο, ἔφη ὁ Ἀράσπας, ὅ τι ἐγώ σοι ἐν καιρῷ ἂν γενοίμην αὖ χρήσιμος.—Εἰ τοίνυν, ἔφη, προσποιησάμενος ἐμὲ φεύγειν, ἐθέλοις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλθεῖν, οἶμαι ἄν σε πιστευθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμιων. Εγωγε, ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀράσπας, [5] καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων οἶδα ὅτι, ὡς σὲ πεφευγὼς, λόγον ἂν παρέχοιμι.—Ελθοις ἂν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἡμῖν, πάντα εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ λόγων καὶ βουλευμάτων κοινωνὸν ἄν σε ποιοῖντο, διὰ τὸ πιστεύειν ὥστε μηδε ἓν σε λεληθέναι, ὧν βουλόμεθα εἰδέναι.—[6] Ὡς πορεύσομαι οὖν, ἔφη, ἤδη νυνί· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο, ἴσθι, ἓν τῶν πιστῶν ἔσται, [7] τὸ δοκεῖν με, ὑπὸ σοῦ μελλήσοντά τι παθεῖν, ἐκπεφευγέναι.—Η καὶ δυνήσῃ, ἔφη, ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν καλὴν Πάνθειαν; [8] Δύο γὰρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, σαφῶς ἔχω ψυχάς. Νῦν τοῦτο πεφιλοσόφηκα μετὰ τοῦ ἀδίκου σοφιστοῦ τοῦ Ερωτος. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ μία γε οὖσα, ἅμα ἀγαθή τέ ἐστι καὶ κακὴ, οὐδ' ἅμα καλῶν τε καὶ αἰσχρῶν ἔργων ἐρᾷ, καὶ ταὐτὰ ἅμα βούλεταί τε καὶ οὐ βούλεται πράττειν· ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι δύο ἐστὸν ψυχά· καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἡ ἀγαθὴ κρατῇ, τὰ καλὰ πράττεται· ὅταν δὲ ἡ πονηρὰ, τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐπιχειρεῖται. Νῦν δὲ, ὡς σὲ σύμμαχον ἔλαβε, κρατεῖ ἡ ἀγαθὴ, καὶ πάνυ πολύ.—Εἰ τοίνυν καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ πορεύεσθαι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὧδε χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἵνα κἀκείνοις πιστότερος ᾖς· ἐξάγγελλέ τε αὐτοῖς τὰ παρ'

ἡμῶν, οὕτω τε ἐξάγγελλε, [1] ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ σοῦ λεγόμενα ἐμποδὼν μάλιστ' ἂν εἴη, ὧν βούλονται πράττειν. Εἴη δ' ἂν ἐμποδὼν, εἰ ἡμᾶς φαίης παρασκευάζεσθαι [2] ἐμβαλεῖν που τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκούοντες, ἧττον ἂν παντὶ σθένει ἀθροίζοιντο, ἕκαστός τις φοβούμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν οἴκοι. Καὶ μένε, ἔφη, παρ' ἐκείνοις [3] ὅτιπλεῖστον χρόνον· ἃ γὰρ ἂν ποιῶσιν, ὅταν ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν ὦσι, ταῦτα μάλιστα ἡμῖν καιρὸς εἰδέναι ἔσται. Συμβούλευε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκτάττεσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν δοκῇ κράτιστον εἶναι· ὅταν γὰρ σὺ ἀπέλθῃς, εἰδέναι δοκῶν τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον οὕτω τετάχθαι αὐτοῖς· [4] μετατάσσεσθαι γὰρ ὀκνήσουσι· καὶ ἤν πῃ ἄλλῃ μετατάττωνται, [5] ἐξ ὑπογύου ταράξονται.—Ἀράσπας μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξελθὼν, συλλαβὼν τοὺς πιστοτάτους θεράποντας, καὶ εἰπὼν πρός τινας, οἷα ᾤετο συμφέρειν τῷ πράγματι, ᾤχετο.

Ἡ δὲ Πάνθεια, ὡς ᾔσθετο οἰχόμενον τὸν Ἀράσπαν, πέμψασα πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον εἶπε· Μὴ λυποῦ, ὦ Κῦρε, ὅτι Ἀράσπας οἴχεται εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐμὲ ἐάσῃς πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα, ἐγώ σοι ἀναδέχομαι, ἥξειν πολὺ Ἀράσπου πιστότερόν σοι φίλον· [6] καὶ δύναμιν δ' οἶδ' ὅτι, ὁπόσην ἂν δύνηται, ἔχων παρέσται σοι. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ νῦν βασιλεύων καὶ ἐπεχείρησέ ποτε ἐμὲ καὶ τον ἄνδρα διασπάσαι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ὑβριστὴν οὖν νομίζων αὐτὸν, οἶδ' ὅτι ἀσμένως ἂν πρὸς ἄνδρα, οἷος σὺ εἶ, ἀπαλλαγείη.—Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος κελεύει πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα· ἡ δ' ἔπεμψεν. Ὡς δ' ἔγνω ὁ Ἀβραδάτης τὰ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς σύμβολα, καὶ τἆλλα δὲ ᾔσθετο ὡς εἶχεν, ἄσμενος πορεύεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, ἵππους ἔχων ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. Ὡς δ' ἦν πρὸς τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν σκοποῖς, πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, εἰπὼν ὃς ἦν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εὐθὺς ἄγειν κελεύει αὐτὸν πρὸς

τὴν γυναῖκα. Ὡς δ' ἰδέτην ἀλλήλους ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτης, ἠσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους ὡς εἰκὸς ἐκ δυσελπίστου. Ἐκ τούτου δὴ λέγει ἡ Πάνθεια τοῦ Κύρου τὴν ὁσιότητα καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην, καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν κατοίκτισιν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτης ἀκούσας εἶπε·—Τί ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ποιῶν, ὦ Πάνθεια, χάριν Κύρῳ ὑπέρ τε σοῦ καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀποδιδοίην;—Τί δὲ ἄλλο, ἔφη ἡ Πάνθεια, ἢ πειρώμενος ὅμοιος περὶ ἐκεῖνον εἶναι, οἷός περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος περὶ σέ;

Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀβραδάτης· καὶ ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν, λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν·—Ἀνθ' ὧν σὺ εὖ πεποίηκας ἡμᾶς, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐκ ἔχω, τί μεῖζον εἴπω, ἢ ὅτι φίλον σοι ἐμαυτὸν δίδωμι καὶ θεράποντα καὶ σύμμαχον· καὶ, ὅσα ἂν ὁρῶ σε σπουδάζοντα, συνεργός σοι πειράσομαι γίγνεσθαι, ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι κράτιστος.—Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν·—Ἐγὼ δὲ δέχομαι· καὶ νῦν μέν σε ἀφίημι, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν· αὖθις δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ δεήσει σε σκηνοῦν σὺν τοῖς σοῖς τε καὶ ἐμοῖς φίλοις.

Ἐκ τούτου ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀβραδάτης σπουδάζοντα τὸν Κῦρον περὶ τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἅρματα, καὶ περὶ τοὺς τεθωρακισμένους ἵππους τε καὶ ἱππέας, ἐπειρᾶτο συντελεῖν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ ἑκατὸν ἅρματα ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ, [1] ὅμοια ἐκείνῳ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἡγησόμενος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος παρεσκευάζετο. [2] Συνεζεύξατο δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἅρμα τετράρρυμόν τε καὶ ἐξ ἵππων ὀκτώ. ἡ δὲ Πάνθεια ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς χρημάτων, χρυσοῦν τε αὐτῷ θώρακα ἐποιήσατο, καὶ χρυσοῦν κράνος, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περιβραχιόνια. τοὺς δ' ἵππους τοῦ ἅρματος χαλκοῖς πᾶσι προβλήμασι κατεσκευάσατο. Ἀβραδάτης μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραττε.

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Ἀβραδάτης δὲ ὁ Σούσων βασιλεὺς εἶπεν—Ἐγώ σοι, ὦ Κῦρε, [1] ἐθελούσιος ὑφίσταμαι τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀντίας φάλαγγος τάξιν ἔχειν, εἰ μή τι σοὶ ἄλλο δοκεῖ. —Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος, ἐπήρετο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅρμασι Πέρσας·—Ἦ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, ταῦτα συγχωρεῖτε;—Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι οὐ καλὸν εἴη ταῦτα ὑφίεσθαι, διεκλήρωσεν αὐτοὺς, [2] καὶ ἔλαχεν Ἀβραδάτης, ἧπερ ὑφίστατο, καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους. Τότε μὲν δὴ ἀπιόντες, καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντες ὧν προεῖπον, ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο, καὶ, φύλακας καταστησάμενοι, ἐκοιμήθησαν. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πρωῒ μὲν ὁ Κῦρος ἐθύετο· ὁ δ' ἄλλος στρατὸς, ἀριστήσας καὶ [3] σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, [4] ἐξωπλίζετο πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ καλοῖς χιτῶσι, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ καλοῖς θώραξι καὶ κράνεσιν· ὥπλιζον δὲ καὶ ἵππους προμετωπιδίοις καὶ προστερνιδίοις· [5] καὶ τοὺς μὲν μονίππους παραμηριδίοις, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ τοῖς ἅρμασι παραπλευριδίοις· ὥστε ἤστραπτε μὲν χαλκῷ, ἤνθει δὲ φοινικίσι πᾶσα ἡ στρατιά.

Καὶ τῷ Ἀβραδάτῃ δὲ τὸ τετράρυμον ἅρμα καὶ ἵππων ὀκτὼ παγκάλως ἐκεκόσμητο. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμελλε τὸν λινοῦν θώρακα, ὃς ἐπιχώριος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐνδύεσθαι, προσφέρει αὐτῷ ἡ Πάνθεια χρυσοῦν, καὶ κράνος, καὶ περιβραχιόνια, καὶ ψέλλια πλατέα περὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν, [6] ποδήρη, στολιδωτὸν τὰ κάτω, καὶ λόφον ὑακινθινοβαφῆ. [7] Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποιήσατο, λάθρα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἐκμετρησαμένη τὰ ἐκείνου ὅπλα. Ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασέ τε, καὶ ἐπήρετο τὴν Πάνθειαν—Σὺ δή που, ὦ γύναι, συγκόψασα τὸν σαυτῆς κόσμον, τὰ ὅπλα μοι ἐποιήσω;—Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ἡ Πάνθεια, οὐκ οὖν τόν γε πλείστου ἄξιον· σὺ γάρ ἔμοιγ', ἢν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φανῇς, οἷος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς εἶναι, μέγιστος κόσμος ἔσῃ.—Ταῦτα δὲ λέ-

γουσα ἐνέδυέ τε τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ λανθάνειν μὲν ἐπειρᾶτο, ἐλείβετο δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ δάκρυα κατὰ τῶν παρειῶν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ, καὶ πρόσθεν ὢν ἀξιοθέατος, ὁ Ἀβραδάτης ὡπλίσθη τοῖς ὅπλοις τούτοις, ἐφάνη μὲν κάλλιστος καὶ ἐλευθεριώτατος, ἅτε καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχούσης· λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ὑφηνιόχου τὰς ἡνίας, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀναβησόμενος ἤδη ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἡ Πάνθεια, ὑποχωρῆσαι κελεύσασα τοὺς παρόντας πάντας, ἔλεξεν· "[1] Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν, ὦ Ἀβραδάτα, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλη πώποτε γυνὴ τὸν αὑτῆς ἄνδρα μεῖζον τῆς ἑαυτῆς ψυχῆς ἐτίμησεν, οἶμαί σε γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ μία τούτων εἰμί. Τί οὖν με δεῖ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον λέγειν; τὰ γὰρ ἔργα οἶμαί [2] σοι πιθανώτερα παρεσχῆσθαι τῶν νῦν λεχθέντων λόγων. Ὅμως δ' οὕτως ἔχουσα πρὸς σὲ, ὥσπερ σὺ οἶσθα, [3] ἐπομνύω σοι τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλίαν, ἦ μὴν ἐγὼ, βούλεσθαι ἂν μετὰ σοῦ, ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γενομένου, κοινῇ γῆν ἐπιέσασθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ ζῆν μετ' αἰσχυνομένου αἰσχυνομένη· οὕτως ἐγὼ καὶ σὲ τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ἐμαυτὴν ἠξίωκα. Καὶ Κύρῳ δὲ δοκῶ μεγάλην τινὰ ἡμᾶς χάριν ὀφείλειν, ὅτι με, αἰχμάλωτον γεγενημένην καὶ ἐξαιρεθεῖσαν ἑαυτῷ, οὔτε με ὡς δούλην ἠξίωσε κεκτῆσθαι, οὔτε ὡς ἐλευθέραν—ἐν ἀτίμῳ ὀνόματι· διεφύλαξε δὲ σοὶ ὥσπερ ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα λαβών. [4] Πρὸς δὲ καὶ, ὅτε ὁ Ἀράσπας ἀπέστη αὐτοῦ, ὁ ἐμὲ φυλάττων, ὑπεσχόμην αὐτῷ, εἴ με ἐάσειε πρὸς σὲ πέμψαι, ἥξειν αὐτῷ σὲ πολὺ Ἀράσπου πιστότερον καὶ ἀμείνονα."

Ἡ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτης, ἀγασθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ θίγων αὐτῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἐπεύξατο·—Ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ μέγιστε, δός μοι φανῆναι ἀξίῳ μὲν Πανθείας ἀνδρὶ, ἀξίῳ δὲ Κύρου φίλῳ τοῦ ἡμᾶς τιμήσαντος.—Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, κατὰ τὰς θύρας

τοῦ ἁρματείου δίφρου ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρμα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἀναβάντος αὐτοῦ, κατέκλεισε τὸν δίφρον ὁ ὑφηνίοχος, οὐκ ἔχουσα ἡ Πάνθεια, πῶς ἂν ἔτι ἄλλως ἀσπάσαιτο αὐτὸν, [1] κατεφίλησε τὸν δίφρον. καὶ τῷ μὲν προῄει ἤδη τὸ ἅρμα, ἡ δὲ λαθοῦσα αὐτὸν συνεφείπετο, ἕως ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀβραδάτης εἶπε·—Θάῤῥει, Πάνθεια! καὶ χαῖρε, καὶ ἄπιθι ἤδη.—Ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι λαβοῦσαι αὐτὴν ἀπῆγον εἰς τὴν ἁρμάμαξαν, καὶ κατακλίναντες κατεκάλυψαν [2] τῇ σκηνῇ. Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι, καλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ θεάματος τοῦ Ἀβραδάτου καὶ τοῦ ἅρματος, οὐ πρόσθεν ἐδύναντο θεάσασθαι αὐτὸν, πρὶν ἡ Πάνθεια ἀπῆλθεν.

* * *

Ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου ἑβδόμου.

Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, καλέσας τινὰς τῶν παρόντων ὑπηρετῶν, —Εἴπατέ μοι, ἔφη, ἑώρακέ τις ὑμῶν Ἀβραδάτην; θαυμάζω γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι, πρόσθεν θαμίζων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, νῦν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται.—Τῶν οὖν ὑπηρετῶν τις ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι, ὦ δέσποτα, οὐ ζῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανεν, ἐμβαλὼν τὸ ἅρμα εἰς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, πλὴν τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτοῦ, ἐξέκλιναν, ὥς φασιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ στίφος εἶδον τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Καὶ νῦν γε, ἔφη, λέγεται αὐτοῦ ἡ γυνὴ, ἀνελομένη τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ ἐνθεμένη εἰς τὴν ἁρμάμαξαν, ἐν ᾗπερ αὐτὴ ὠχεῖτο, προσκεκομικέναι αὐτὸν ἐνθάδε πη πρὸς τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ ὀρύττειν φασὶν ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς θήκην τῷ τελευτήσαντι· τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα λέγουσιν, ὡς κάθηται χαμαὶ, κεκοσμηκυῖα, οἷς εἶχε, τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι.—Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος [3] ἐπαίσατο ἄρα τὸν μηρὸν, καὶ

εὐθὺς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, λαβὼν χιλίους ἱππέας, [1] ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος. Γαδάταν δὲ καὶ Γωβρύαν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅ τι δύναιντο λαβόντας καλὸν κόσμημα ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τετελευτηκότι, μεταδιώκειν. καὶ ὅστις εἶχε τὰς ἑπομένας ἀγέλας, καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἵππους εἶπε τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα πολλὰ ἐλαύνειν, [2] ὅποι ἂν αὐτὸν πυνθάνηται ὄντα, ὡς ἐπισφαγείη τῷ Ἀβραδάτῃ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδε τὴν γυναῖκα χαμαὶ καθημένην καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν κείμενον, ἐδάκρυσέ τε ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει, καὶ εἶπε·—Φεῦ, ὦ ἀγαθὴ καὶ πιστὴ ψυχή! οἴχῃ δὴ ἀπολιπὼν ἡμᾶς· —καὶ ἅμα ἐδεξιοῦτο αὐτὸν, καὶ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐπηκολούθησεν· ἀπεκέκοπτο γὰρ κοπίδι ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἤλγησε· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀνωδύρατο, καὶ δεξαμένη δὴ παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου ἐφίλησέ τε τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ πάλιν, ὡς οἷόν τ' ἦν, προσήρμοσε· καὶ εἶπε,—Καὶ [3] τἄλλα τοι, ὦ Κῦρε, οὕτως ἔχει·—ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ σε ὁρᾷν; Καὶ ταῦτ', ἔφη, οἶδ' ὅτι δι' ἐμὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔπαθεν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ διὰ σὲ, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐδὲν ἧττον. Ἐγώ τε γὰρ ἡ μωρὰ πολλὰ διεκελευόμην αὐτῷ οὕτω ποιεῖν, ὅπως σοι φίλος ἄξιος λόγου φανείη· αὐτός τε οἶδ' ὅτι οὗτος οὐ τοῦτο ἐνενόει, ὅ τι πείσοιτο, ἀλλὰ τί ἄν σοι ποιήσας χαρίσαιτο. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμέμπτως τετελεύτηκεν, [4] ἐγὼ δ' ἡ παρακελευομένη ζῶσα παρακάθημαι.—Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος χρόνον μέν τινα σιωπῇ κατεδάκρυσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐφθέγξατο·—Ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν δὴ, ὦ γύναι, ἔχει τὸ κάλλιστον τέλος· νικῶν γὰρ τετελεύτηκε· σὺ δὲ, λαβοῦσα, τοῖσδε ἐπικόσμει αὐτὸν τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ· (παρῆν δὲ ὁ Γωβρύας καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας πολὺν καὶ καλὸν κόσμον φέροντες·) ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἴσθι, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ἄλλα ἄτιμος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μνῆμα πολλοὶ χώσουσιν ἀξίως ὑμῶν, καὶ [5] ἐπισφαγήσεται αὐτῷ, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ. Καὶ σὺ δὲ, ἔφη, οὐκ ἔρημος ἔσῃ, ἀλλ' ἐγώ

σε, καὶ σωφροσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς, καὶ τἄλλα τιμήσω, καὶ συστήσω, ὅστις ἀποκομιεῖ σε, ὅποι ἂν αὐτὴ ἐθέλῃς· μόνον, ἔφη, δήλωσον, πρὸς ὅντινα χρῄζεις κομισθῆναι.—Καὶ ἡ Πάνθεια εἶπεν·—Ἀλλὰ θάῤῥει, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐ μή σε κρύψω, πρὸς ὅντινα βούλομαι ἀφικέσθαι.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπῄει, [1] κατοικτείρων τήν τε γυναῖκα, οἵου ἀνδρὸς στεροῖτο, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, οἵαν γυναῖκα καταλιπὼν οὐκέτ' ὄψοιτο. Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους ἐκέλευσεν [2] ἀποστῆναι· (ἕως ἄν, ἔφη, τόνδε ἐγὼ ὀδύρωμαι, ὡς βούλομαι·) τῇ δὲ τροφῷ εἶπε παραμένειν, καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτῇ, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνῃ, περικαλύψαι αὐτήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν ἑνὶ ἱματίῳ. Ἡ δὲ τροφὸς πολλὰ ἱκετεύουσα μὴ ποιεῖν τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἤνυε, καὶ χαλεπαίνουσαν ἑώρα, ἐκάθητο κλαίουσα. Ἡ δὲ, ἀκινάκην πάλαι [3] παρεσκευασμένη, σφάττει ἑαυτὴν, καὶ, ἐπιθεῖσα ἐπὶ τὰ στέρνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς κεφαλὴν, ἀπέθνησκεν. Ἡ δὲ τροφὸς ἀνωλοφύρατό τε καὶ περιεκάλυπτεν ἄμφω, ὥσπερ ἡ Πάνθεια ἐπέστελλεν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὡς ᾔσθετο τὸ ἔργον τῆς γυναικὸς, ἐκπλαγεὶς, ἵεται, εἴ τι δύναιτο βοηθῆσαι. Οἱ δὲ εὐνοῦχοι, ἰδόντες τὸ γεγενημένον, τρεῖς ὄντες, [4] σπασάμενοι κἀκεῖνοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας, ἀποσφάττονται, οὗπερ ἔταξεν αὐτοὺς, ἑστηκότες. ([5] Καὶ νῦν τὸ μνῆμα μέχρι [τοῦ νῦν] τῶν εὐνούχων κεχῶσθαι λέγεται· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ ἄνω στήλῃ, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιγεγράφθαι φασὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, Σύρια γράμματα· κάτω δὲ εἶναι τρεῖς λέγουσι στήλας, καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι, [6] ΣΚΗΠΤΟΥΧΩΝ.) Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὡς ἐπλησίασε τῷ πάθει, ἀγασθείς τε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ κατολοφυράμενος, ἀπῄει· [7] καὶ τούτων μὲν, ᾗ εἰκὸς, ἐπεμελήθη, ὡς τύχοιεν πάντων τῶν καλῶν, καὶ τὸ μνῆμα ὑπερμέγεθες ἐχώσθη, ὥς φασιν.

* * *

Ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου ὀγδόου.

Τα τοῦ ΚΥΡΟΥ ἀποθνήσκοντος.

Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ αἰῶνος προκεχωρηκότος, μάλα δὴ πρεσβύτης ὢν ὁ Κῦρος ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Πέρσας, [1] τὸ ἕβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς. Καὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ πάλαι δή, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐτετελευτήκεσαν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔθυσε τὰ νομιζόμενα ἱερά, [2] καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ ἡγήσατο Πέρσαις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, καὶ τὰ δῶρα πᾶσι διέδωκεν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει. Κοιμηθεὶς δ' ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ, ὄναρ εἶδε τοιόνδε· ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ προσελθὼν κρείττων τις, ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, εἰπεῖν·—Συσκευάζου, ὦ Κῦρε· ἤδη γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς ἄπει.—Τοῦτο δὲ ἰδὼν τὸ ὄναρ ἐξηγέρθη, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐδόκει εἰδέναι, ὅτι τοῦ βίου ἡ τελευτὴ παρείη. Εὐθὺς οὖν λαβὼν ἱερεῖα, ἔθυε Διΐ τε πατρῴῳ καὶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς Πέρσαι θύουσιν, ὧδε ἐπευχόμενος· "Ζεῦ πατρῷε καὶ Ἥλιε, καὶ πάντες θεοί, δέχεσθε τάδε καὶ τελεστήρια πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πράξεων, καὶ χαριστήρια, ὅτι ἐσημήνατέ μοι, καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς, καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις σημείοις, καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς, καὶ ἐν φήμαις, ἅ τ' ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν, καὶ ἃ οὐκ ἐχρῆν. Πολλὴ δ' ὑμῖν χάρις, ὅτι κἀγὼ ἐγίγνωσκον τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐφρόνησα. Αἰτοῦμαι δ' ὑμᾶς, δοῦναι καὶ νῦν παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πατρίδι εὐδαιμονίαν· ἐμοὶ δέ, οἷόν περ αἰῶνα δεδώκατε, τοιαύτην καὶ τελευτὴν δοῦναι." Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιήσας, καὶ οἴκαδε ἐλθών, ἔδοξεν ἡδέως ἀναπαύσεσθαι, καὶ κατεκλίθη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρα ἦν, οἱ τεταγμένοι προσιόντες λούσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἡδέως ἀνα-

παύοιτο. Οἱ δ' αὖ τεταγμένοι, ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν, δεῖπνον παρετίθεσαν· τῷ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σῖτον μὲν οὐ προσίετο· διψῆν δ' ἐδόκει, καὶ ἔπινεν ἡδέως. Ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ ταὐτά, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς παῖδας· [1] οἱ δ' ἔτυχον συνηκολουθηκότες αὐτῷ, καὶ ὄντες ἐν Πέρσαις. Ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους, καὶ τὰς Περσῶν ἀρχάς· παρόντων δὲ πάντων, ἤρχετο τοιοῦδε λόγου·

"Παῖδες ἐμοί, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες φίλοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ἤδη πάρεστιν· (ἐκ πολλῶν τοῦτο σαφῶς γιγνώσκω·) ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή, ὅταν τελευτήσω, ὥσπερ εὐδαίμονος ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάντα. Ἐγὼ γάρ, παῖς τε ὤν, τὰ ἐν παισὶ νομιζόμενα καλὰ δοκῶ κεκαρπῶσθαι· ἐπεί τε ἥβησα, τὰ ἐν νεανίσκοις· τέλειός τε ἀνὴρ γενόμενος, τὰ ἐν ἀνδράσι. [2] Σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ τε προϊόντι ἀεὶ συναυξανομένην ἐπιγιγνώσκειν ἐδόκουν καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ τοὐμὸν γῆρας οὐδεπώποτε ᾐσθόμην τῆς ἐμῆς νεότητος ἀσθενέστερον γιγνόμενον· καὶ οὔτ' ἐπιχειρήσας, οὔτ' ἐπιθυμήσας οἶδα, ὅτου ἠτύχησα. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐπεῖδον δι' ἐμοῦ εὐδαίμονας γενομένους, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δουλωθέντας· καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, πρόσθεν [3] ἰδιωτεύουσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, νῦν προτετιμημένην καταλείπω· ὧν τ' ἐκτησάμην, οὐδὲν οἶδα, ὅ τι οὐ διεσωσάμην. Καὶ τὸν μὲν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἔπραττον οὕτως, ὥσπερ ηὐχόμην· φόβος δέ μοι συμπαρομαρτῶν, μή τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ἢ ἴδοιμι ἢ ἀκούσαιμι ἢ πάθοιμι χαλεπόν, οὐκ εἴα τελέως μέγα φρονεῖν, [4] οὐδ' εὐφραίνεσθαι ἐκπεπταμένως. Νῦν δ' ἢν τελευτήσω, καταλείπω μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες, ζῶντας, οὕσπερ ἔδοσάν μοι οἱ θεοὶ γενέσθαι· καταλείπω δὲ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους εὐδαιμονοῦντας· [5] ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ, δικαίως μακαριζόμενος τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον μνήμης τυγχάνοιμι; Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν

“ βασιλείαν μὲ ἤδη [1] σαφηνίσαντα καταλιπεῖν· ὡς ἂν
“ μὴ, ἀμφίλογος γενομένη, πράγματα ὑμῖν παράσχῃ.
“ Ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν φιλῶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς ὁμοίως, ὦ
“ παῖδες· τὸ δὲ προβουλεύειν καὶ προηγεῖσθαι, ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι
“ ἂν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι, τοῦτο προστάττω τῷ προτέρῳ γε-
“ νομένῳ, καὶ πλειόνων, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς, ἐμπείρῳ. Ἐπαι-
“ δεύθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἐμῆς τε καὶ
“ ὑμετέρας πατρίδος, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, οὐ μόνον ἀδελ-
“ φοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίταις, [2] καὶ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων καὶ
“ λόγων ὑπείκειν· καὶ ὑμᾶς δὲ, ὦ παῖδες, οὕτως ἐξ ἀρ-
“ χῆς ἐπαίδευον, τοὺς μὲν γεραιτέρους προτιμᾷν, τῶν δὲ
“ νεωτέρων προτετιμῆσθαι. [3] ὡς οὖν παλαιὰ καὶ εἰθισ-
“ μένα καὶ ἔννομα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ, οὕτως ἀποδέχεσθε.
“ Καὶ σὺ μὲν, ὦ Καμβύση, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχε, θεῶν
“ τε διδόντων καὶ ἐμοῦ, ὅσον ἐν ἐμοί. σοὶ δὲ, ὦ Ταναοξάρη,
“ σατράπην εἶναι δίδωμι Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων, καὶ
“ τρίτων Καδουσίων. ταῦτα δέ σοι διδοὺς, νομίζω ἀρχὴν
“ μὲν μείζω καὶ τοὔνομα τῆς βασιλείας τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ
“ καταλιπεῖν, εὐδαιμονίαν δέ σοι ἀλυποτέραν. Ὁποίας
“ μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφροσύνης ἐπιδεὴς ἔσῃ, οὐχ ὁρῶ·
“ ἀλλὰ πάντα σοι τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀνθρώπους εὐφραίνειν παρ-
“ έσται. [4] Τὸ δὲ δυσκαταπρακτοτέρων ἐρᾷν, καὶ τὸ πολλὰ
“ μεριμνᾷν, καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, κεντριζό-
“ μενον ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τἀμὰ ἔργα φιλονεικίας, καὶ τὸ
“ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, ταῦτα τῷ βασι-
“ λεύοντι ἀνάγκη σοῦ μᾶλλον συμπαρομαρτεῖν· ἅ, σάφ᾽
“ ἴσθι, τῷ εὐφραίνεσθαι πολλὰς ἀσχολίας παρέχει.
“ [5] Οἶσθα μὲν οὖν καὶ σὺ, ὦ Καμβύση, ὅτι οὐ τόδε τὸ
“ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζόν ἐστιν,
“ ἀλλ᾽ οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον
“ καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον. Πιστοὺς δὲ μὴ νόμιζε φύσει φύεσ-
“ θαι ἀνθρώπους· (πᾶσι γὰρ ἂν οἱ αὐτοὶ πιστοὶ φαίνοιντο,

"ὥσπερ καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πεφυκότα πᾶσι τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνεται·) ἀλλὰ τοὺς πιστοὺς τίθεσθαι δεῖ ἕκαστον ἑαυτῷ· ἡ δὲ κτῆσις αὐτῶν ἐστιν οὐδαμῶς σὺν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ. Εἰ οὖν καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς πειράσῃ συμφύλακας τῆς βασιλείας ποιεῖσθαι, [1] μηδαμόθεν πρότερον ἄρχου, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμόθεν γενομένου. Καὶ πολῖταί τοι ἄνθρωποι ἀλλοδαπῶν οἰκειότεροι, καὶ σύσσιτοι ἀποσκήνων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπέρματος φύντες, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μητρὸς τραφέντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐξηθέντες, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων ἀγαπώμενοι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα προσαγορεύοντες,—πῶς οὐ πάντων οὗτοι οἰκειότατοι; Μὴ οὖν, ἃ οἱ θεοὶ ὑφήγηνται ἀγαθὰ εἰς οἰκειότητα ἀδελφοῖς, μάταιά ποτε ποιήσητε, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα εὐθὺς οἰκοδομεῖτε ἄλλα φιλικὰ ἔργα· καὶ οὕτως ἀεὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος ἄλλοις ἔσται ἡ ὑμετέρα φιλία. Ἑαυτοῦ τοι κήδεται ὁ προνοῶν ἀδελφοῦ· τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ ἀδελφὸς, μέγας ὢν, οὕτω καλὸν, ὡς ἀδελφῷ; τίς δ' ἄλλος τιμήσεται δὴ ἄνδρα μέγα δυνάμενον οὕτως, ὡς ἀδελφός; τίνα δὲ φοβήσεταί τις ἀδικεῖν, ἀδελφοῦ μεγάλου ὄντος, οὕτως ὡς τὸν ἀδελφόν; Μήτε οὖν θᾶττον μηδείς σου τούτῳ ὑπακουέτω, μήτε προθυμότερον παρέστω· οὐδενὶ γὰρ οἰκειότερα τὰ τούτου οὔτε ἀγαθὰ, οὔτε δεινὰ, ἢ σοί. Ἐννόει δὲ καὶ τάδε· τίνι χαρισάμενος ἐλπίσαις ἂν μειζόνων τυχεῖν, ἢ τούτῳ; τίνι δ' ἂν βοηθήσας ἰσχυρότερον σύμμαχον ἀντιλάβοις; τίνα δ' αἴσχιον μὴ φιλεῖν, ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν; τίνα δὲ ἁπάντων κάλλιον προτιμᾷν, ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν; [2] Μόνου τοι, ὦ Καμβύση, πρώτου ὄντος ἀδελφοῦ παρ' ἀδελφῷ, οὐδὲ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφικνεῖται.—Ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων, ὦ παῖδες, τιμᾶτε ἀλλήλους, εἴ τι καὶ τοῦ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι μέλει ὑμῖν. οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔσομαι ἐγὼ ἔτι,

" ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τελευτήσω. Οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν " τοι τήν γ' ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἑωρᾶτε, ἀλλ', οἷς διεπράττετο, " τούτοις αὐτὴν ὡς ἔσαν κατεφωρᾶτε. [1] Τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄδικα " παθόντων ψυχὰς οὔπω κατενοήσατε, οἵους μὲν φόβους " τοῖς μιαιφόνοις ἐμβάλλουσιν; οἵους δὲ παλαμναίους τοῖς " ἀνοσίοις ἐπιπέμπουσι; Τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις τὰς τιμὰς διαμένειν ἔτι ἂν δοκεῖτε, εἰ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ " κύριαι ἦσαν; Οὔτοι ἔγωγε, ὦ παῖδες, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πώ- " ποτε ἐπείσθην, ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐν θνητῷ "σώματι ᾖ, ζῇ· ὅταν δὲ τούτου ἀπαλλαγῇ, τέθνηκεν. "Ὁρῶ γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα, ὅσον ἂν ἐν αὐ- " τοῖς χρόνον ᾖ ἡ ψυχὴ, ζῶντα παρέχεται. Οὐδέ γε, " ὅπως ἄφρων ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἄφρονος σώ- " ματος δίχα γένηται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πέπεισμαι· ἀλλ', ὅταν " ἄκρατος καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐκκριθῇ, τότε καὶ φρο- " νιμώτατον εἰκὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι. Διαλυομένου δὲ ἀν- " θρώπου, δῆλά ἐστιν ἕκαστα ἀπιόντα πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον, " πλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς· αὕτη δὲ μόνη οὔτε παροῦσα οὔτε " ἀπιοῦσα ὁρᾶται. Ἐννοήσατε δὲ, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγγύτερον " μὲν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ θανάτῳ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὕπνου· ἡ δὲ τοῦ " ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ τότε δήπου θειοτάτη καταφαίνεται, καὶ " τότε τὶ τῶν μελλόντων προορᾷ· τότε γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, " μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦται. Εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα, " ὥσπερ ἐγὼ οἴομαι, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καταλείπει τὸ σῶμα, " καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι, ποιεῖτε, ἃ ἐγὼ " δέομαι. Εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μένουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν " τῷ σώματι συναποθνήσκει,—ἀλλὰ θεούς γε τοὺς ἀεὶ " ὄντας, καὶ πάντ' ἐφορῶντας, καὶ πάντα δυναμένους, " οἳ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων τήνδε τάξιν συνέχουσιν ἀτριβῆ " καὶ ἀγήρατον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ ὑπὸ κάλλους " καὶ μεγέθους ἀδιήγητον, τούτους φοβούμενοι, μήτε ἀσε- " βὲς μηδὲν, μηδὲ ἀνόσιον, μήτε ποιήσητε, μήτε βουλεύ-

"σητε. Μετὰ μέντοι θεοὺς, καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πᾶν γένος
"τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπιγιγνόμενον αἰδεῖσθε. οὐ γὰρ ἐν σκότῳ ὑμᾶς
"οἱ θεοὶ ἀποκρύπτονται, ἀλλ' ἐμφανῆ πᾶσιν ἀνάγκη ἀεὶ
"ζῆν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔργα· ἃ, ἢν μὲν καθαρὰ καὶ ἔξω τῶν
"ἀδίκων φαίνηται, δυνατοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
"ἀναδείξει· εἰ δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἄδικόν τι φρονήσετε, ἐκ
"πάντων ἀνθρώπων [1] τὸ ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι ἀποβαλεῖτε.
"Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἔτι πιστεῦσαι δύναιτο ὑμῖν, οὐδ' εἰ
"πάνυ προθυμοῖτο, ἰδὼν ἀδικούμενον τὸν μάλιστα φιλίᾳ
"προσήκοντα. [2] Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς διδάσκω,
"οἵους χρὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶναι·—εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ παρὰ
"τῶν προγεγενημένων μανθάνετε· αὕτη γὰρ ἀρίστη δι-
"δασκαλία. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διαγεγένηνται φίλοι μὲν
"γονεῖς παισὶ, φίλοι δὲ ἀδελφοὶ [3] ἀδελφοῖς· ἤδη δέ τινες
"τούτων καὶ ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἔπραξαν. ὁποτέροις ἂν
"οὖν αἰσθάνησθε τὰ πραχθέντα συνενεγκόντα, ταῦτα δὴ
"αἱρούμενοι, ὀρθῶς ἂν βουλεύοισθε.—Καὶ τούτων μὲν
"ἴσως ἤδη ἅλις.—Τὸ δ' ἐμὸν σῶμα, ὦ παῖδες, ὅταν τε-
"λευτήσω, μήτε ἐν χρυσῷ θῆτε, μήτε ἐν ἀργύρῳ, μήτε
"ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί· ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ ὡς τάχιστα ἀπόδοτε.
"Τί γὰρ τούτου μακαριώτερον, τοῦ γῇ μιχθῆναι, ἣ
"πάντα μὲν τὰ καλὰ, πάντα δὲ τἀγαθὰ φύει τε καὶ
"τρέφει; Ἐγὼ καὶ ἄλλως φιλάνθρωπος ἐγενόμην, καὶ
"νῦν ἡδέως [4] ἂν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ εὐεργετοῦντος
"ἀνθρώπους.—[5] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη, ἔφη, ἐκλείπειν μοι φαί-
"νεται ἡ ψυχὴ, [6] ὅθενπερ, [7] ὡς ἔοικε, πᾶσιν ἄρχεται
"ἀπολείπουσα. Εἴ τις οὖν ὑμῶν ἢ δεξιᾶς βούλεται τῆς
"ἐμῆς ἅψασθαι, ἢ ὄμμα τοὐμὸν ζῶντος ἔτι προσιδεῖν
"ἐθέλει, προσίτω· ὅταν δ' ἐγὼ ἐγκαλύψωμαι, αἰτοῦμαι
"ὑμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες, μηδεὶς ἔτ' ἀνθρώπων τοὐμὸν σῶμα
"ἰδέτω, μηδ' αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς. Πέρσας μέντοι πάντας καὶ
"τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα τοὐμὸν παρακαλεῖτε,

"συνησθησομένους ἐμοί, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη ἔσομαι, ὡς μηδὲν ἂν ἔτι κακὸν παθεῖν, μήτε ἢν μετὰ τοῦ θείου γένωμαι, μήτε ἢν μηδὲν ἔτι ὦ. ὁπόσοι δ' ἂν ἔλθωσι, τούτους εὖ ποιήσαντες, [1] ὁπόσα ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ εὐδαίμονι νομίζεται, ἀποπέμπετε. *Καὶ τοῦτο*, ἔφη, [2] μέμνησθέ μου τελευταῖον·—*Τοὺς* φίλους εὐεργετοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δυνήσεσθε κολάζειν.—*Καὶ* χαίρετε, ὦ φίλοι παῖδες, καὶ τῇ μητρὶ [3] ἀπαγγέλλετε ὡς παρ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ παρόντες καὶ οἱ ἀπόντες φίλοι χαίρετε." *Ταῦτ'* εἰπὼν, καὶ πάντας δεξιωσάμενος, συνεκαλύψατο, καὶ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

[1] ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ Α΄.

[Ex Edit. Thomae Hutchinson. Oxon. 1735. 4to.]

ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ καὶ Παρυσάτιδος [2] γίγνονται παῖδες δύο. πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κῦρος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠσθένει Δαρεῖος, καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὼ παῖδε ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος [3] παρὼν ἐτύγχανε· [4] Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἧς αὐτὸν [5] σατράπην ἐποίησε· καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων, ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζονται. Ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος, λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φίλον· καὶ, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων [6] ὁπλίτας, ἀνέβη, τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παῤῥάσιον.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος, καὶ [7] κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης διαβάλλει τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ πείθεταί τε καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κῦρον, ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ, [8] ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν, ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Ὁ δ᾽, ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, [9] βουλεύεται, ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ᾽, ἢν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου. Παρύσατις μεν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ [10] ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξην. Ὅστις δ᾽ ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν, πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀνεπέμπετο, ὥσθ᾽ ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι, ἢ βασιλεῖ.

Καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο, ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ [1] εἴησαν, καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. Τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἤθροιζεν, [2] ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως [3] ὅτι ἀπαρασκευαστότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. [4] Ὅτε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν, ὁπόσους εἶχε φύλακας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἑκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους, [5] ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, [6] ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. Καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις [7] Τισσαφέρνους τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι· τότε δ' [8] ἀπέστησαν πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι, πλὴν Μιλήτου. Εν Μιλήτῳ δ' ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, [ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κῦρον,] τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα, ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο [9] κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας.—Αὕτη οὖν ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα. Πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα πέμπων, ἠξίου, ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ, δοθῆναί οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον, ἢ Τισσαφέρνην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐκ ᾐσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾷν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ὧν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης [10] ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων.

Αλλο δὲ στράτευμα συνελέγετο αὐτῷ ἐν Χεῤῥονήσῳ, τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου, [11] τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.—Κλέαρχος ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος, φυγάς· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἠγάσθη τε αὐτὸν, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ [12] μυρίους δαρεικούς. Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον, στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει, ἐκ Χεῤῥονήσου ὁρμώμενος, τοῖς Θρᾳξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰ-

κοῦσι, καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ, εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, αἱ Ἑλλησποντικαὶ πόλεις ἑκοῦσαι. [1] Τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρεφόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ἐτύγχανε ξένος ὢν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ αἰτεῖται αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους, καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθὸν, [2] ὡς οὕτω περιγενόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, καὶ ἓξ μηνῶν μισθόν· καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ [3] μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας, πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλεύσηται. Οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ [4] ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιώτιον, φίλον ὄντα αὐτῷ, ἐκέλευσε, λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους, παραγενέσθαι, ὡς ἐπὶ Πεισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων Πεισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον, καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιὸν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνῃ σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων. Καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτως οὗτοι.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἤδη [5] πορεύεσθαι ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο, ὡς Πεισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐνταῦθα στράτευμα. καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ, λαβόντι, ἥκειν, ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα· καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ, [6] συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι, ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα. και Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι [7] ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παρήγγειλε, λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας, πλὴν ὁπόσοι ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. Ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκοῦντας· καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑπο-

σχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς [1] καταπράξειεν, ἐφ' ἃ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι, πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. Οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπείθοντο· (ἐπίστευον γὰρ αὐτῷ·) καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα, προσῄεσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. Ξενίας μὲν δὴ, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν, παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις, ὁπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· Πρόξενος δὲ παρῆν, ἔχων ὁπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνῆτας δὲ πεντακοσίους· Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος, ὁπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους· Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιὸς, ὁπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους· Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς, εἰς ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ἄνδρας, παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης [2] τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. Οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ, κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι, ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πεισίδας, τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται [3] ὡς βασιλέα, [4] ᾗ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα, ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. Καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο.

Κῦρος δὲ ἔχων, οὓς εἶπον, ὡρμᾶτο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ [5] ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας, [6] σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, [7] παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. Τούτου τὸ εὖρος δύο [8] πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπῆν ἐζευγμένη πλοίοις ἑπτά. Τοῦτον διαβὰς, ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας, σταθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ, εἰς [9] Κολοσσὰς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. Ενταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἑπτά· καὶ ἧκει Μένων ὁ Θετταλὸς, ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ [10] πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ολυνθίους. Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς Κελαινὰς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ενταῦθα Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἦν, καὶ παράδεισος μέγας, ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὁπότε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο

ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. Εστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασίλεια ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ, ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ, ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ [1] ἐμϐάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσύου τὸ εὖρος εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. Ενταῦθα λέγεται Απόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ, ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. Ενταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. Ενταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἧκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, φυγὰς, ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾷκας ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ τοξότας Κρῆτας διακοσίους. Ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σωσίας παρῆν ὁ Συρακούσιος, ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Αρκὰς, ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους. Ενταῦθα Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες, ὁπλῖται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους.

Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ενταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Αρκὰς [2] τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἦσαν [3] στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος. Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δώδεκα, εἰς [4] Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ. Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, εἰς Καΰστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ενταῦθα

“βασιλείαν μὲ ἤδη [1] σαφηνίσαντα καταλιπεῖν· ὡς ἂν μή, ἀμφίλογος γενομένη, πράγματα ὑμῖν παράσχῃ. Ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν φιλῶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς ὁμοίως, ὦ παῖδες· τὸ δὲ προβουλεύειν καὶ προηγεῖσθαι, ἐφ' ὅ τι ἂν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι, τοῦτο προστάττω τῷ προτέρῳ γενομένῳ, καὶ πλειόνων, κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, ἐμπείρῳ. Ἐπαιδεύθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἐμῆς τε καὶ ὑμετέρας πατρίδος, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, οὐ μόνον ἀδελφοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίταις, [2] καὶ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων καὶ λόγων ὑπείκειν· καὶ ὑμᾶς δέ, ὦ παῖδες, οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαίδευον, τοὺς μὲν γεραιτέρους προτιμᾷν, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων προτετιμῆσθαι. [3] ὡς οὖν παλαιὰ καὶ εἰθισμένα καὶ ἔννομα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ, οὕτως ἀποδέχεσθε. Καὶ σὺ μέν, ὦ Καμβύση, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχε, θεῶν τε διδόντων καὶ ἐμοῦ, ὅσον ἐν ἐμοί. σοὶ δέ, ὦ Ταναοξάρη, σατράπην εἶναι δίδωμι Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων, καὶ τρίτων Καδουσίων. ταῦτα δέ σοι διδούς, νομίζω ἀρχὴν μὲν μείζω καὶ τοὔνομα τῆς βασιλείας τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καταλιπεῖν, εὐδαιμονίαν δέ σοι ἀλυποτέραν. Ὁποίας μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφροσύνης ἐπιδεὴς ἔσῃ, οὐχ ὁρῶ· ἀλλὰ πάντα σοι τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀνθρώπους εὐφραίνειν παρέσται. [4] Τὸ δὲ δυσκαταπρακτοτέρων ἐρᾷν, καὶ τὸ πολλὰ μεριμνᾷν, καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, κεντριζόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τἀμὰ ἔργα φιλονεικίας, καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἀνάγκη σοῦ μᾶλλον συμπαρομαρτεῖν· ἅ, σάφ' ἴσθι, τῷ εὐφραίνεσθαι πολλὰς ἀσχολίας παρέχει. [5] Οἶσθα μὲν οὖν καὶ σύ, ὦ Καμβύση, ὅτι οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον. Πιστοὺς δὲ μὴ νόμιζε φύσει φύεσθαι ἀνθρώπους· (πᾶσι γὰρ ἂν οἱ αὐτοὶ πιστοὶ φαίνοιντο,

“ ὥσπερ καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πεφυκότα πᾶσι τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνε
“ ται·) ἀλλὰ τοὺς πιστοὺς τίθεσθαι δεῖ ἕκαστον ἑαυτῷ
“ ἡ δὲ κτῆσις αὐτῶν ἐστιν οὐδαμῶς σὺν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ
“ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ. Εἰ οὖν καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς
“ πειράσῃ συμφύλακας τῆς βασιλείας ποιεῖσθαι, [1] μη-
“ δαμόθεν πρότερον ἄρχου, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμόθεν γενομένου.
“ Καὶ πολῖταί τοι ἄνθρωποι ἀλλοδαπῶν οἰκειότεροι, καὶ
“ σύσσιτοι ἀποσκήνων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπέρματος
“ φύντες, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μητρὸς τραφέντες, καὶ ἐν
“ τῇ αὐτῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐξηθέντες, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων
“ ἀγαπώμενοι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν πα-
“ τέρα προσαγορεύοντες,—πῶς οὐ πάντων οὗτοι οἰκειότα-
“ τοι; Μὴ οὖν, ἃ οἱ θεοὶ ὑφήγηνται ἀγαθὰ εἰς οἰκειό-
“ τητα ἀδελφοῖς, μάταιά ποτε ποιήσητε, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταῦ-
“ τα εὐθὺς οἰκοδομεῖτε ἄλλα φιλικὰ ἔργα· καὶ οὕτως
“ ἀεὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος ἄλλοις ἔσται ἡ ὑμετέρα φιλία.
“ Ἑαυτοῦ τοι κήδεται ὁ προνοῶν ἀδελφοῦ· τίνι γὰρ ἄλλῳ
“ ἀδελφὸς, μέγας ὢν, οὕτω καλὸν, ὡς ἀδελφῷ; τίς
“ δ' ἄλλος τιμήσεται δὴ ἄνδρα μέγα δυνάμενον οὕτως,
“ ὡς ἀδελφός; τίνα δὲ φοβήσεταί τις ἀδικεῖν, ἀδελφοῦ
“ μεγάλου ὄντος, οὕτως ὡς τὸν ἀδελφόν; Μήτε οὖν
“ θᾶττον μηδείς σου τούτῳ ὑπακουέτω, μήτε προθυμότε-
“ ρον παρέστω· οὐδενὶ γὰρ οἰκειότερα τὰ τούτου οὔτε ἀγα-
“ θὰ, οὔτε δεινὰ, ἢ σοί. Ἐννόει δὲ καὶ τάδε· τίνι χαρι-
“ σάμενος ἐλπίσαις ἂν μειζόνων τυχεῖν, ἢ τούτῳ; τίνι
“ δ' ἂν βοηθήσας ἰσχυρότερον σύμμαχον ἀντιλάβοις;
“ τίνα δ' αἴσχιον μὴ φιλεῖν, ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν; τίνα δὲ
“ ἁπάντων κάλλιον προτιμᾶν, ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν; [2] Μόνου
“ τοι, ὦ Καμβύση, πρώτου ὄντος ἀδελφοῦ παρ' ἀδελ-
“ φῷ, οὐδὲ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφικνεῖται.—Ἀλλὰ
“ πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων, ὦ παῖδες, τιμᾶτε ἀλλήλους, εἴ τι
“ καὶ τοῦ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι μέλει ὑμῖν. οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό
“ γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔσομαι ἐγὼ ἔτι,

“ ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τελευτήσω. Οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν “ τοι τήν γ' ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἑωρᾶτε, ἀλλ', οἷς διεπράττετο, “ τούτοις αὐτὴν ὡς ἔσαν κατεφωρᾶτε. [1] Τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄδικα “ παθόντων ψυχὰς οὔπω κατενοήσατε, οἵους μὲν φόβους “ τοῖς μιαιφόνοις ἐμβάλλουσιν; οἵους δὲ παλαμναίους τοῖς “ ἀνοσίοις ἐπιπέμπουσι; Τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις τὰς τιμὰς διαμένειν ἔτι ἂν δοκεῖτε, εἰ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ “ κύριαι ἦσαν; Οὔτοι ἔγωγε, ὦ παῖδες, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πώποτε ἐπείσθην, ὡς ἡ ψυχὴ, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐν θνητῷ “ σώματι ᾖ, ζῇ· ὅταν δὲ τούτου ἀπαλλαγῇ, τέθνηκεν. “ Ὁρῶ γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα, ὅσον ἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς χρόνον ᾖ ἡ ψυχὴ, ζῶντα παρέχεται. Οὐδέ γε, “ ὅπως ἄφρων ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐπειδὰν τοῦ ἄφρονος σώματος δίχα γένηται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πέπεισμαι· ἀλλ', ὅταν “ ἄκρατος καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐκκριθῇ, τότε καὶ φρονιμώτατον εἰκὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι. Διαλυομένου δὲ ἀνθρώπου, δῆλά ἐστιν ἕκαστα ἀπιόντα πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον, “ πλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς· αὕτη δὲ μόνη οὔτε παροῦσα οὔτε “ ἀπιοῦσα ὁρᾶται. Ἐννοήσατε δὲ, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγγύτερον “ μὲν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ θανάτῳ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὕπνου· ἡ δὲ τοῦ “ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ τότε δήπου θειοτάτη καταφαίνεται, καὶ “ τότε τι τῶν μελλόντων προορᾷ· τότε γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, “ μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦται. Εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει ταῦτα, “ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ οἴομαι, καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καταλείπει τὸ σῶμα, “ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι, ποιεῖτε, ἃ ἐγὼ “ δέομαι. Εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μένουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν “ τῷ σώματι συναποθνήσκει,—ἀλλὰ θεούς γε τοὺς ἀεὶ “ ὄντας, καὶ πάντ' ἐφορῶντας, καὶ πάντα δυναμένους, “ οἳ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων τήνδε τάξιν συνέχουσιν ἀτριβῆ ‘ καὶ ἀγήρατον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ ὑπὸ κάλλους “ καὶ μεγέθους ἀδιήγητον, τούτους φοβούμενοι, μήτε ἀσεβὲς μηδὲν, μηδὲ ἀνόσιον, μήτε ποιήσητε, μήτε βουλεύ-

“ σητε. Μετὰ μέντοι θεοὺς, καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πᾶν γένος “ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπιγιγνόμενον αἰδεῖσθε. οὐ γὰρ ἐν σκότῳ ὑμᾶς “ οἱ θεοὶ ἀποκρύπτονται, ἀλλ' ἐμφανῆ πᾶσιν ἀνάγκη ἀεὶ “ ζῆν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔργα· ἃ, ἢν μὲν καθαρὰ καὶ ἔξω τῶν “ ἀδίκων φαίνηται, δυνατοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις “ ἀναδείξει· εἰ δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἄδικόν τι φρονήσετε, ἐκ “ πάντων ἀνθρώπων [1] τὸ ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι ἀποβαλεῖτε. “ Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἔτι πιστεῦσαι δύναιτο ὑμῖν, οὐδ' εἰ “ πάνυ προθυμοῖτο, ἰδὼν ἀδικούμενον τὸν μάλιστα φιλίᾳ “ προσήκοντα. [2] Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς διδάσκω, “ οἵους χρὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶναι·—εἰ δὲ μὴ, καὶ παρὰ “ τῶν προγεγενημένων μανθάνετε· αὕτη γὰρ ἀρίστη διδασκαλία. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διαγεγένηνται φίλοι μὲν “ γονεῖς παισὶ, φίλοι δὲ ἀδελφοὶ [3] ἀδελφοῖς· ἤδη δέ τινες “ τούτων καὶ ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἔπραξαν. ὁποτέροις ἂν “ οὖν αἰσθάνησθε τὰ πραχθέντα συνενεγκόντα, ταῦτα δὴ “ αἱρούμενοι, ὀρθῶς ἂν βουλεύοισθε.—Καὶ τούτων μὲν “ ἴσως ἤδη ἅλις.—Τὸ δ' ἐμὸν σῶμα, ὦ παῖδες, ὅταν τελευτήσω, μήτε ἐν χρυσῷ θῆτε, μήτε ἐν ἀργύρῳ, μήτε “ ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί· ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ ὡς τάχιστα ἀπόδοτε. “ Τί γὰρ τούτου μακαριώτερον, τοῦ γῇ μιχθῆναι, ἣ “ πάντα μὲν τὰ καλὰ, πάντα δὲ τἀγαθὰ φύει τε καὶ “ τρέφει; Ἐγὼ καὶ ἄλλως φιλάνθρωπος ἐγενόμην, καὶ “ νῦν ἡδέως [4] ἂν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνῆσαι τοῦ εὐεργετοῦντος “ ἀνθρώπους.—[5] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη, ἔφη, ἐκλείπειν μοι φαίνεται ἡ ψυχὴ, [6] ὅθενπερ, [7] ὡς ἔοικε, πᾶσιν ἄρχεται “ ἀπολείπουσα. Εἴ τις οὖν ὑμῶν ἢ δεξιᾶς βούλεται τῆς “ ἐμῆς ἅψασθαι, ἢ ὄμμα τοὐμὸν ζῶντος ἔτι προσιδεῖν “ ἐθέλει, προσίτω· ὅταν δ' ἐγὼ ἐγκαλύψωμαι, αἰτοῦμαι “ ὑμᾶς, ὦ παῖδες, μηδεὶς ἔτ' ἀνθρώπων τοὐμὸν σῶμα “ ἰδέτω, μηδ' αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς. Πέρσας μέντοι πάντας καὶ “ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα τοὐμὸν παρακαλεῖτε,

"συνησθησομένους ἐμοὶ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη ἔσομαι, ὡς μηδὲν ἂν ἔτι κακὸν παθεῖν, μήτε ἢν μετὰ τοῦ θείου γένωμαι, μήτε ἢν μηδὲν ἔτι ὦ. ὁπόσοι δ' ἂν ἔλθωσι, τούτους εὖ ποιήσαντες, [1] ὁπόσα ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ εὐδαίμονι νομίζεται, ἀποπέμπετε. Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, [2] μέμνησθέ μου τελευταῖον·—Τοὺς φίλους εὐεργετοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δυνήσεσθε κολάζειν.—Καὶ χαίρετε, ὦ φίλοι παῖδες, καὶ τῇ μητρὶ [3] ἀπαγγέλλετε ὡς παρ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ παρόντες καὶ οἱ ἀπόντες φίλοι χαίρετε." Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, καὶ πάντας δεξιωσάμενος, συνεκαλύψατο, καὶ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

[1] ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ Α΄.

[Ex Edit. Thomae Hutchinson. Oxon. 1735. 4to.]

ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ καὶ Παρυσάτιδος [2] γίγνονται παῖδες δύο. πρεσβύτερος μὲν Αρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κῦρος. Επεὶ δὲ ἠσθένει Δαρεῖος, καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὼ παῖδε ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι. Ο μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος [3] παρὼν ἐτύγχανε· [4] Κῦρον δὲ μετεπέμπετο ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἧς αὐτὸν [5] σατράπην ἐποίησε· καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων, ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζονται. Αναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος, λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φίλον· καὶ, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων [6] ὁπλίτας, ἀνέβη, τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παῤῥάσιον.

Επειδὴ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος, καὶ [7] κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Αρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης διαβάλλει τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ πείθεταί τε καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κῦρον, ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ, [8] ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν, ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Ὁ δ᾽, ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, [9] βουλεύεται, ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ᾽, ἢν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ [10] ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Αρταξέρξην. Ὅστις δ᾽ ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν, πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀνεπέμπετο, ὥσθ᾽ ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι, ἢ βασιλεῖ.

Καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο, ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ [1] εἴησαν, καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. Τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἤθροιζεν, [2] ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως [3] ὅτι ἀπαρασκευαστότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. [4] Ὅτε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν, ὁπόσους εἶχε φύλακας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἑκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους, [5] ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, [6] ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. Καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις [7] Τισσαφέρνους τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι· τότε δ' [8] ἀπέστησαν πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι, πλὴν Μιλήτου. Ἐν Μιλήτῳ δ' ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, [ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κῦρον,] τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα, ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειρᾶτο [9] κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας.—Αὕτη οὖν ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα. Πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα πέμπων, ἠξίου, ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ, δοθῆναί οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον, ἢ Τισσαφέρνην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐκ ᾐσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾷν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ὧν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης [10] ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων.

Ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα συνελέγετο αὐτῷ ἐν Χεῤῥονήσῳ, τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου, [11] τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.—Κλέαρχος ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος, φυγάς· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἠγάσθη τε αὐτὸν, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ [12] μυρίους δαρεικούς. Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον, στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει, ἐκ Χεῤῥονήσου ὁρμώμενος, τοῖς Θρᾳξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰ-

κοῦσι, καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεϐάλλοντο αὐτῷ, εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, αἱ Ἑλλησποντικαὶ πόλεις ἑκοῦσαι. [1] Τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρεφόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ἐτύγχανε ξένος ὢν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ αἰτεῖται αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους, καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθὸν, [2] ὡς οὕτω περιγενόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, καὶ ἓξ μηνῶν μισθόν· καὶ δεῖται αὐτᾶ [3] μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας, πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμϐουλεύσηται. Οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ [4] ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιώτιον, φίλον ὄντα αὐτῷ, ἐκέλευσε, λαϐόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους, παραγενέσθαι, ὡς ἐπὶ Πεισίδας βελόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων Πεισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον, καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιὸν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τέτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαϐόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνῃ σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων. Καὶ ἐποίουν οὕτως οὗτοι.

Επεὶ δ' ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἤδη [5] πορεύεσθαι ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο, ὡς Πεισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκϐαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρϐαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐνταῦθα στράτευμα. καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ, λαϐόντι, ἥκειν, ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα· καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ, [6] συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι, ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα. και Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι [7] ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παρήγγειλε, λαϐόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας, πλὴν ὁπόσοι ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. Εκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκοῦντας· καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑπο-

σχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς [1] καταπράξειεν, ἐφ' ἃ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι, πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. Οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπείθοντο· (ἐπίστευον γὰρ αὐτῷ·) καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα, προσῄεσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. Ξενίας μὲν δή, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβών, παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις, ὁπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· Πρόξενος δὲ παρῆν, ἔχων ὁπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνῆτας δὲ πεντακοσίους· Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος, ὁπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους· Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιός, ὁπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους· Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεύς, εἰς ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ἄνδρας, παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης [2] τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. Οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δέ, κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι, ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πεισίδας, τὴν παρασκευήν, πορεύεται [3] ὡς βασιλέα, [4] ᾗ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα, ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. Καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δή, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο.

Κῦρος δὲ ἔχων, οὓς εἶπον, ὡρμᾶτο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ [5] ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας, [6] σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, [7] παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. Τούτου τὸ εὖρος δύο [8] πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπῆν ἐζευγμένη πλοίοις ἑπτά. Τοῦτον διαβάς, ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας, σταθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας ὀκτώ, εἰς [9] Κολοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. Ενταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἑπτά· καὶ ἥκει Μένων ὁ Θετταλός, ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ [10] πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ολυνθίους. Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ενταῦθα Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἦν, καὶ παράδεισος μέγας, ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὁπότε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο

ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. Ἐστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασίλεια ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ, ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσύου ποταμοῦ, ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ [1] ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσύου τὸ εὖρος εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. Ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ, ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. Ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἧκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, φυγὰς, ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾷκας ὀκτακοσίους, καὶ τοξότας Κρῆτας διακοσίους. Ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σωσίας παρῆν ὁ Συρακούσιος, ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκὰς, ἔχων ὁπλίτας χιλίους. Ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες, ὁπλῖται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς [2] τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἦσαν [3] στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δώδεκα, εἰς [4] Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, εἰς Καΰστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα

ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφείλετο μισθὸς, πλέον ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν· καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπῄτουν. [1] Ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε· καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· [2] οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου, ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. Ενταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Επύαξα, ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως, παρὰ Κῦρον· καὶ ἐλέγετο Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. Τῇ οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε Κῦρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. Εἶχε δὲ ἡ Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπενδίους· ἐλέγετο δὲ Κῦρον καὶ συγγίνεσθαι τῇ Κιλίσσῃ.

Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ενταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη, τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως· ἐφ' ᾗ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι, οἴνῳ κεράσας αὐτήν. Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Τυριαῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην· ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς. Καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου, ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα ἑαυτῇ. βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. [3] Εκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στῆναι, συντάξαι δὲ ἕκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. Ετάχθησαν οὖν [4] ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου· τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. Εθεώρει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους, (οἱ δὲ παρήλαυνον τεταγμένοι κατ' ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις,) εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἅρματος, καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα [5] ἐφ' ἁρμαμάξης. Εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ, καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικοῦς, καὶ κνημῖδας, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαθαρμένας. [6] Επεὶ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἅρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος [μέσης,]

πέμψας Πίγρητα, τὸν ἑρμηνέα, παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπήεσαν. [1] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου, θᾶττον προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ, [2] ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ ἥ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς ἁρμαμάξης· καὶ [3] οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, καταλιπόντες τὰ ὤνια, ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον. Ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα, ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐθαύμαζε. Κῦρος δὲ ἥσθη, τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδών.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας, σταθμοὺς πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. Ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὡς πολεμίαν οὖσαν. Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Κῦρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει, τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας, οὓς Μένων εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸν [Μένωνα τὸν Θεσσαλόν.] Κῦρος δέ, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας, σταθμοὺς τέσσαρας, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, πρὸς Δάναν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, Μεγαφέρνην, [4] φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον, καὶ [5] ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο [6] ἐσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἁμαξιτός, ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συέννεσιν εἶναι

ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, φυλάττοντα τὴν εἰσβολήν· δι' ὃ ἔμεινεν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἧκεν ἄγγελος λέγων, ὅτι λελοιπὼς εἴη Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, [1] ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο τό τε Μένωνος στράτευμα, ὅτι ἐν Κιλικίᾳ εἴη εἴσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπὸ Ιωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμὼν ἔχοντα, τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. Κῦρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἷλε τὰς σκηνὰς, οὗ ἐφύλαττον οἱ Κίλικες. Εντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς πεδίον μέγα, καλὸν καὶ ἐπίῤῥυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν ἔμπλεων, καὶ ἀμπέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ [2] σήσαμον καὶ μελίνην καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. Ορος δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὀχυρὸν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.

Καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου, ἤλασε σταθμοὺς τέσσαρας, παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, εἰς Ταρσοὺς, πόλιν τῆς Κιλικίας μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ενταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συεννέσιος βασίλεια, τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ ποταμὸς, Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλέθρων. Ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες, μετὰ Συεννέσιος, [3] εἰς χωρίον ὀχυρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεῖα ἔχοντες· ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ισσοῖς. Επύαξα δὲ, ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ, προτέρα Κύρου πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφίκετο. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὀρέων, τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο. οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν, ἁρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλίκων· οἱ δὲ, ὑπολειφθέντας, καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὑρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς, εἶτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὁπλῖται. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ἐπειδὴ ἧκον, τήν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν

ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κῦρος δὲ, ἐπεὶ εἰσήλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπετο Συέννεσιν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. Ὁ δὲ οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενί πω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφη· οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἰέναι ἤθελε, πρὶν ἡ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε, καὶ πίστεις ἔλαβε. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συέννεσις μὲν Κύρῳ ἔδωκε χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν, Κῦρος δ' ἐκείνῳ δῶρα, ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῦσι τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον, καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν, καὶ ψέλλια, καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν, καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν,—[1] καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἁρπάζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἡρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἤν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

Ενταῦθ' ἔμεινε Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται [2] οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω· ὑπώπτευον γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἰέναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. Πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας [3] ἐβιάζετο ἰέναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε ἔβαλλον, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προϊέναι. Κλέαρχος δὲ τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε τοῦ μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι· ὕστερον δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω, ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε πολὺν χρόνον ἑστώς· (οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώπων·)—εἶτα ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ θαυμάζετε, ὅτι [4] χαλεπῶς
"φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. Ἐμοὶ γὰρ Κῦρος ξένος
"ἐγένετο, καί με, φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, τά τε
"ἄλλα ἐτίμησε, καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς· οὓς ἐγὼ
"λαβὼν, οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοὶ, [5] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
"καθηδυπάθησα, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνων. Καὶ πρῶ-
"τον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐπολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς
"Ἑλλάδος ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χεῤῥονήσου

"αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων, [1] βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν-
"οικοῦντας Ἕλληνας τὴν γῆν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει,
"λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορευόμην, ἵνα, εἴ τι δέοιτο, [2] ὠφελοίην
"αὐτὸν, ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς
"οὐ βούλεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη δή μοι, ἢ ὑμᾶς
"προδόντα τῇ Κύρου φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι, ἢ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον
"ψευσάμενον [3] μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι. Εἰ μὲν δὴ δίκαια ποι-
"ήσω, οὐκ οἶδα· αἱρήσομαι δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς, καὶ συν ὑμῖν,
"ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ, πείσομαι. Καὶ οὔποτ' ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς, ὡς
"ἐγὼ Ἕλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, προδοὺς τοὺς
"Ἕλληνας, τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἱλόμην. Ἀλλὰ,
"ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐθέλετε πείθεσθαι, οὐδὲ ἕπεσθαι, ἐγὼ
"σὺν ὑμῖν ἕψομαι, καὶ, ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ, πείσομαι. [4] Νο-
"μίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ εἶναι πατρίδα, καὶ φίλους, καὶ
"συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν εἶναι τίμιος, ὅπου
"ἂν ὦ· ὑμῶν δ' ἐρημωθεὶς, οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι οἶμαι,
"οὔτ' ἂν φίλον ὠφελῆσαι, οὔτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλεξήσασθαι.
"[5] Ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος, ὅπη ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὕτω τὴν γνώμην
"ἔχετε." Ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, οἵ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπῄνεσαν· παρὰ δὲ Ξενίου καὶ Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι, λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ.

[6] Κῦρος δὲ, τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος, μετεπέμπετο τὸν Κλέαρχον. ὁ δ' ἰέναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε, λάθρα δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον, [7] ἔλεγε θαῤῥεῖν, ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον· μεταπέμπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἰέναι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας,—καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον,—ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως

"ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔτι ἐκείνου στρατιῶται, (ἐπεί γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ,) οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἡμῖν ἔτι μισθοδότης. Ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζει ὑφ' ἡμῶν, οἶδα· ὥστε καὶ, μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, [1] τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, αἰσχυνόμενος, ὅτι σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτόν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δεδιὼς, μὴ, λαβών με, [2] δίκην ἐπιθῇ, ὧν νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἠδικῆσθαι. Ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν, οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλα βουλεύεσθαι, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων. Καὶ εἴτε μένομεν αὐτοῦ, σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα μένωμεν· εἴτε δὴ δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ἀπίωμεν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἕξομεν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων, οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ἰδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν. Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος, ᾧ ἂν φίλος ᾖ· χαλεπώτατος δ' ἐχθρὸς, ᾧ ἂν πολέμιος ᾖ. Ἔτι δὲ δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν, ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὁρῶμέν τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόῤῥω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθέζεσθαι· ὥστε ὥρα λέγειν, ὅ τι τὶς γιγνώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι." Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, "ἐπαύσατο.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λέξοντες, ἃ ἐγίγνωσκον· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες, [3] οἷα εἴη ἀπορία, ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης, καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. Εἷς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἑλέσθαι ἄλλους ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράζεσθαι, (ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι,) καὶ [4] συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας δὲ Κῦρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὡς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῷ ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κῦρον, ὅστις ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει· ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ ἡγεμόνα

διδῷ, συντάττεσθαι [1] τὴν ταχίστην· πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως [2] μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε ὁ Κῦρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες· ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἡρπακότες. Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον·

[3] Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσοντα ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· (πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ, δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον·) ὡς δὲ—τῷ ἀνδρί, ὃν ἂν ἕλησθε, πείσομαι ᾗ δυνατὸν μάλιστα· ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου μὴ ποιουμένου· ἐπιδεικνὺς δέ, ὡς εὔηθες εἴη, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου, [4] ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. Εἰ δέ τι καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι πιστεύσομεν, ᾧ ἂν Κῦρος διδῷ, τί κωλύει, καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν κελεύειν Κῦρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; Ἐγὼ γὰρ [5] ὀκνοίην μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν, ἃ ἡμῖν δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ· φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι, ᾧ ἂν δοίη, ἕπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγοι, ὅθεν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν· βουλοίμην δ' ἄν, ἄκοντος ἀπιὼν Κύρου, λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν.—Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε φημὶ ταῦτα μὲν φλυαρίας εἶναι· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κῦρον, οἵτινες ἐπιτήδειοι, σὺν Κλεάρχῳ, ἐρωτᾶν ἐκεῖνον, τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις ᾖ παραπλησία, οἵαπερ καὶ πρότερον ἐχρῆτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἕπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων· ἐὰν δὲ μείζων ἡ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνηται, καὶ ἐπιπονωτέρα καὶ [6] ἐπικινδυνοτέρα, ἀξιοῦν, ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἄγειν, ἢ πεισθέντα [7] πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἑπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἑποίμεθα, καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίοιμεν·—ὅ τι δ' ἂν

πρὸς ταῦτα λέγῃ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι δεῦρο· ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύεσθαι. Εδοξε δὲ ταῦτα.

Καὶ ἄνδρας ἑλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν, οἳ ἠρώτων Κῦρον τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. ῾Ο δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι ἀκούοι Αβροκόμαν, ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· κἂν μὲν ᾖ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη χρῄζειν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ· ἢν δὲ φεύγῃ, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα. Ακούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἱρετοὶ, ἀναγγέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία μὲν ἦν, [1] ὅτι ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἕπεσθαι. [2] Προσαιτοῦσι δὲ μισθὸν ὁ Κῦρος ὑπισχνεῖται [3] ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν, οὗ πρότερον ἔφερον,—ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ, τρία ἡμιδαρεικὰ, [4] τοῦ μηνὸς, τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δ' ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄγοι, οὐδ' ἐνταῦθ' ἤκουεν οὐδεὶς,—ἔν γε τῷ φανερῷ.

Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Σάρον ποταμὸν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία πλέθρα. Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας πέντε, ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμὸν, οὗ τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, εἰς Ισσοὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ενταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρῆσαν αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες, τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύταις ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. ῾Ηγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ταμὼς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Εφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἑτέρας Κύρου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν· αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον, ὅτι Τισσαφέρνῃ φίλη ἦν· καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. Παρῆν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετάπεμπτος ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἑπτακοσίους ἔχων ὁπλίτας, ὧν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. Αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμουν παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. Εν-

ταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες [1] ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κῦρον, τετρακόσιοι ὁπλῖται, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας πέντε, ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. Ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν, πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας, Συέννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλίκων φυλακή· τὸ δ' ἔξω, τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας, βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τούτων ῥεῖ ποταμός, Κέρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. Ἅπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βίᾳ· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενή, καὶ τὰ τείχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὕπερθεν δὲ ἦσαν [2] πέτραι ἠλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις [3] ἐφειστήκεσαν πύλαι. Ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κῦρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὁπλίτας [4] ἀποβιβάσειεν εἴσω καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους παρέλθοιεν, εἰ φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις· ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσειν τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν ὁ Κῦρος, ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ [5] τοῦτο ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ ἤκουε Κῦρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήλαυνεν, ἔχων, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας, σταθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας πέντε, εἰς Μυρίανδρον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὁλκάδες πολλαί. Ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτά· καὶ Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς στρατηγός, καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεύς, ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον, καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐνθέμενοι, ἀπέπλευσαν, [6] ὡς μέντοι πλείστοις ἐδόκει, φιλοτιμηθέντες, ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας, ὡς ἀπιόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα, εἴα Κῦρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν.

Επεὶ δ' οὖν ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς, διῆλθεν ὁ λόγος, ὅτι διώκοι αὐτοὺς Κῦρος τριήρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὔχοντο, ὡς δολίους ὄντας, αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι· [1] οἱ δ' ᾤκτειρον, εἰ ἁλώσοιντο.

Κῦρος δὲ, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, εἶπεν· “Απολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων· ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν, ὅτι [2] οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν, οἶδα γὰρ, ὅπη οἴχονται· οὔτε ἀποπεφεύγασιν, ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις, ὥστε ἑλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον. Αλλὰ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διώξω· οὐδὲ ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς, ὡς ἐγὼ, ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ τις, χρῶμαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσυλῶ. Αλλὰ [3] ἰόντων [ἂν,] εἰδότες, ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. Καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα· [4] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται, ἀλλ' ἀπολήψονται, τῆς πρόσθεν ἕνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς.” Και ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εἴ τις καὶ ἀθυμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκέσαντες τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν, ἥδιον καὶ προθυμότερον συνεπορεύοντο.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τέσσαρας, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμὸν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πρᾳέων, οὓς οἱ Σύροι θεὲς ἐνόμιζον, καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴων, οὐδὲ τὰς περιστεράς. Αἱ δὲ κῶμαι, ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν, Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν, [5] εἰς ζώνην δεδομέναι. Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δαράδακος ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου. Ενταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσιος βασίλεια, τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλὸς, ἔχων πάντα, ὅσα ὧραι φύουσι. Κῦρος δ' αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατέκαυσεν. Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρα-

σάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων σταδίων· [1] καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι ᾠκεῖτο, μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων, Θάψακος ὀνόματι. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ Κῦρος, μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν, εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ ἀναπείθειν ἕπεσθαι. Οἱ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν, ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἔφασαν, αὐτοὺς πάλαι ταῦτα εἰδότας κρύπτειν· καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι, ἂν μή τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβᾶσι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύρου· καὶ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Κῦρον. Ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπήγγελλον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο, ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ δώσειν πέντε ἀργυρίου μνᾶς, ἐπὰν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἥκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ, μέχρις ἂν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπείσθη.—Μένων δὲ, πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι, τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται, πότερον ἕψονται Κύρῳ, ἢ οὔ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὑτοῦ στράτευμα χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε·

"Ἄνδρες, ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, οὔτε κινδυνεύσαντες, οὔτε πονήσαντες, τῶν ἄλλων πλέον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου.—Τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι;—Νῦν δεῖται Κῦρος ἕπεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ἐγὼ οὖν φημὶ, ἡμᾶς χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι, ὅ τι οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται Κύρῳ. Ἢν μὲν γὰρ [2] ψηφίσωνται ἕπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι, ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν· καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις ὑμῖν οὖσι χάριν εἴσεται Κῦρος, καὶ ἀποδώσει· (ἐπίσταται δ' εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος·) ἢν δ'

“ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, [1] ἄπιμεν μὲν πάντες εἰς τοὔμπαλιν· ὑμῖν δ᾽, ὡς μόνοις πειθομένοις, πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται, καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας· καὶ ἄλλου οὗτινος ἂν δέησθε, οἶδα, ὅτι [2] ὡς φίλου τεύξεσθε Κύρου.” Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπείθοντο, καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κῦρος δ᾽, ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο διαβεβηκότας, ἥσθη τε, καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμψας Γλοῦν, εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσητε, ἐμοὶ μελήσει· ἢ μηκέτι με Κῦρον νομίζετε.” Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται, ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ὄντες, εὔχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι· Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι μεγαλοπρεπῆ. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ [3] τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν· καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν μασθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Οἱ δὲ Θαψακηνοὶ ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐ πώποθ᾽ οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς γένοιτο πεζῇ, εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις· ἃ τότε Ἀβροκόμας προϊὼν κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κῦρος διαβῇ. Ἐδόκει δὲ θεῖον εἶναι, καὶ σαφῶς ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν ποταμὸν Κύρῳ, ὡς βασιλεύσοντι.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας, σταθμοὺς ἐννέα, παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμόν. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαὶ, μεσταὶ σίτου καὶ οἴνου. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίον ἅπαν ὁμαλὸν ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πλῆρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνῆν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη, ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐνῆν. Θηρία δὲ, πλεῖστοι μὲν οἱ ἄγριοι ὄνοι, οὐκ ὀλίγαι δὲ [4] στρουθοὶ αἱ μεγάλαι· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ

ωτίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐδίωκον ἐνίοτε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεί τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες [1] ἂν εἱστήκεσαν· (πολὺ γὰρ τοῦ ἵππου θᾶττον ἔτρεχον·) καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοι ὁ ἵππος, [2] ταὐτὰ ἐποίουν· [3] ὥστε οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἱππεῖς θηρῷεν διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις. Τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἁπαλώτερα δέ. Στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἱππέων ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· [4] πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέσπα ἀποφεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν, αἴρασα, ὥσπερ ἱστίῳ, χρωμένη. Τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας, ἄν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ, ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχὺ, ὥσπερ πέρδικες, καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. Τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἥδιστα ἦν.

Πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασκᾶν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν [5] πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιεῤῥεῖτο δὲ αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μασκᾶ κύκλῳ. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσατο τὸ στράτευμα. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρισκαίδεκα, παρασάγγας ἐννενήκοντα, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος, οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα. οἱ δὲ ἐνοικοῦντες, [6] ὄνους ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες, εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦγον καὶ ἐπώλουν, καὶ ἀνταγοράζοντες σῖτον ἔζων. Τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σῖτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ ἦν, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ ἀγορᾷ, [7] ἐν τῷ Κύρου βαρβαρικῷ, τὴν καπίθην [8] ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων, τεττάρων σίγλων. [9] Ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιωβόλιον Ἀττικούς· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικοὺς ἐχώρει. Κρέα οὖν ἐσ-

θέοντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο. [1] Ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν, οὓς πάνυ μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὁπότε ἢ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιτο διατελέσαι ἢ πρὸς χιλόν. Καὶ δή ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἁμάξαις δυσπορεύτου, [2] ἐπέστη ὁ Κῦρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις, καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν καὶ Πίγρητα, [3] λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεκβιβάζειν τὰς ἁμάξας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους συνεπισπεῦσαι τὰς ἁμάξας. Ἔνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. Ῥίψαντες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροῦς κάνδυς, ὅπου ἕκαστος [4] ἔτυχεν ἑστηκὼς, ἵεντο, ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης, καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γηλόφου· ἔχοντες τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας, καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ, και ψέλλια ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν· εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν, θᾶττον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν ᾤετο, μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἁμάξας. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν, δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν, καὶ οὐ διατρίβων, ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἤ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο· [5] νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν ἂν θᾶττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι· ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαιότερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον βασιλεῖ συναγείρεσθαι στράτευμα. [6] Καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἡ βασιλέως ἀρχὴ, πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τῷ δὲ μήκει τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ τῷ διεσπάσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις, ἀσθενὴς, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖτο.

Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου, κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς, ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη. ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαις διαβαίνοντες ὧδε· διφθέρας, ἃς εἶχον στεγάσματα, ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου, εἶτα [7] συνῆγον καὶ συνέσπων, ὡς

καλεῖ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν Περσῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτά· καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ὁπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας. Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἴσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅς γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Επεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθεν, ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ορόντου, ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόῤῥητον ἦν. Εφη δὲ Κῦρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὧδε·

“Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος, ὅ τι δικαιότατον καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ορόντου [1] τουτουΐ. Τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον ἐμοὶ εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ, ταχθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτὸς, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοὶ, ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα, ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι,—καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα.” Μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Ορόντα, ἔστιν ὅ τι σε ἠδίκησα;—Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι οὔ. Πάλιν ὁ Κῦρος ἠρώτα·—Οὐκοῦν ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος, [2] ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσοὺς, κακῶς ἐποίεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν, ὅ τι ἐδύνω;—Εφη ὁ Ορόντης.—Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὁπότ' αὖ ἔγνως τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Αρτέμιδος βωμὸν, [3] μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα, καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ, πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι, καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ;—Καὶ ταῦθ' ὡμολόγει ὁ Ορόντης.—Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, νῦν τοτρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας;—Εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ορόντου, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεὶς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτόν·—Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος εἶναι;—[4] Η γὰρ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη ὁ Ορόν-

ιης.—Εκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος·—Ετι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ φίλος καὶ πιστός;—῾Ο δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι—οὐδ᾽, εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κῦρε, σοί γ᾽ ἂν ἔτι ποτὲ δόξαιμι.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν·—῾Ο μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην, ὅ τι σοὶ δοκεῖ.—Κλέαρχος δὲ εἶπε τάδε·—Συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα· ὡς μηκέτι δέοι τοῦτον φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολὴ ἡμῖν, [2] τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς φίλους τούτους εὖ ποιεῖν. Ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ [3] τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. Μετὰ ταῦτα, κελεύοντος Κύρου, ἐλάβοντο τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ορόντην, [4] ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δὲ ἐξῆγον αὐτὸν, οἷς προσετάχθη. Επεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν, οἵπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες, ὅτι ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἄγοιτο. Επεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Αρταπάτα σκηνὴν εἰσήχθη, τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου [5] σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα Ορόντην, οὔτε [6] τεθνεῶτα οὐδεὶς πώποτε εἶδεν, οὐδ᾽, ὅπως ἀπέθανεν, οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἴκαζον δ᾽ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τάφος δ᾽ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ [7] ἐφάνη.

Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας, σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας δώδεκα. Εν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν ῾Ελλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, περὶ μέσας νύκτας· (ἐδόκει γὰρ, εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἕω ἥξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχούμενον·) καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν [8] τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετταλὸν τοῦ εὐωνύμου· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταττε. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν, ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτόμολοι παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἥκοντες ἀπήγγελλον Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς.

Κῦρος δὲ, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, [1] συνεβουλεύετό τε, πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο, καὶ αὐτὸς παρῄνει θαῤῥύνων τοιάδε· "Ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων [2] ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. [3] Ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἧς κέκτησθε, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. Εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἑλοίμην ἂν, ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίων. Ὅπως δὲ εἰδῆτε, εἰς οἷον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς διδάξω.—Τὸ μὲν πλῆθος πολὺ, καὶ πολλῇ κραυγῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, [4] τἄλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαί μοι δοκῶ, οἵους ἡμῶν γνώσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. Ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων, καὶ εὐτόλμων γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἴκαδε βουλόμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν· πολλοὺς δ' οἶμαι ποιήσειν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἑλέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι."

Ενταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρὼν, φυγὰς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπε· "Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Κῦρε, λέγουσί τινες, ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνῇ νῦν, διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ προσιόντος· ἂν δ' εὖ γένηταί τι, οὐ μεμνῆσθαί σε· ἔνιοι δὲ, οὐδ', εἰ [5] μέμνοιό τε καὶ βούλοιο, δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι, ὅσα ὑπισχνῇ." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κῦρος· "Ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρῴα, πρὸς μὲν τὴν μεσημβρίαν, μέχρις οὗ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται οἰκεῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι· πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον, μέχρις ὅτου διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων ἅπαντα [6] σατραπεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. Ἢν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ὑμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. Ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω, ὅ τι δῶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὖ γένηται,

"ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς, οἷς δῶ. Ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν "Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέφανον ἑκάστῳ χρυσοῦν δώσω." Οἱ δε ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, αὐτοί τε ἦσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγγελλον. Εἰσῄεσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς, ἀξιοῦντες εἰδέναι, τί σφίσιν ἔσται, ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν. Ὁ δὲ ἐμπιπλὰς ἁπάντων τὴν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε. Παρεκελεύοντ δ' αὐτῷ πάντες, ὅσοιπερ διελέγοντο, μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὄπισθεν ἑαυτῶν τάττεσθαι. Εν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ὧδέ πως ἤρετο Κῦρον· [1] Οἴει γάρ σοι, ὦ Κῦρε, μαχεῖσθαι τὸν ἀδελφόν; Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἴπερ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδός ἐστι παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφὸς, οὐκ ἀμαχεὶ ταῦτα ἐγὼ λήψομαι.

Ενταῦθα δὴ, ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ, ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων [2] ἀσπὶς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία· πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχίλιοι καὶ τετρακόσιοι· τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες, καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες, καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἦρχεν· οὗτοι δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. Τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐννενήκοντα μυριάδες, καὶ ἅρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· Ἀβροκόμας γὰρ [3] ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέραις πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. Ταῦτα δὲ ἤγγελλον πρὸς Κῦρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως πρὸ τῆς μάχης· καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην, οἳ ὕστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων, ταὐτὰ ἤγγελλον. Εντεῦθεν δὲ Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας τρεῖς, συντεταγμένῳ

τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ᾤετο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ, βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυιαὶ πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυιαὶ τρεῖς. Παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω, διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας, μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. Ενθα δὴ εἰσὶν αἱ διώρυχες ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ῥέουσαι· εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγά· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην· διαλείπουσι δὲ ἑκάστη παρασάγγην· γέφυραι δὲ ἔπεισιν.

Ην δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ, μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου, ὡς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς μέγας ποιεῖ ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ [1] πυνθάνεται Κῦρον προσελαύνοντα. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν πάροδον Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρῆλθε, καὶ ἐγένοντο εἴσω τῆς τάφρου. Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ᾽ ὑποχωρούντων φανερὰ ἦσαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἴχνη πολλά. Ενταῦθα Κῦρος Σιλανὸν καλέσας, τὸν Αμβρακιώτην μάντιν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ [2] δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας πρότερον θυόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν· Κῦρος δ᾽ εἶπεν,—Οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ μὴ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις μαχεῖται· ἐὰν δ᾽ ἀληθεύσῃς, ὑπισχνοῦμαί σοι δέκα τάλαντα.—Τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. Επεὶ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μαχεῖσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ἠμελημένως μᾶλλον. Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπί τε τοῦ ἅρματος καθήμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ· τὸ δὲ πο-

λὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἁμαξῶν καὶ ὑποζυγίων ἤγετο.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν [1] ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν, καὶ πλησίον ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς, [2] ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύσειν, ἡνίκα Παταγύας, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν, προφαίνεται [3] ἐλαύνων κατὰ κράτος ἱδροῦντι τῷ ἵππῳ. καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν, οἶς ἐνετύγχανεν, [4] ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται, ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. Ενθα δὴ πολὺς τάραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ πάντες δὲ, ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. Καὶ Κῦρος τε, καταπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ ἅρματος, τὸν θώρακα ἐνέδυ, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι, καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστον. Ενθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τοῦτον. Μένων δὲ, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα, τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας εἶχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. Τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἱππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστασαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ, καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὕπαρχος, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν. Κῦρος δὲ, καὶ ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἑξακόσιοι, κατὰ τὸ μέσον, ὡπλισμένοι θώραξι μεγάλοις, καὶ παραμηριδίοις, καὶ κράνεσι πάντες, πλὴν Κύρου· Κῦρος δὲ, ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. Οἱ δ' ἵπποι ἅπαντες, οἱ μετὰ Κύρȣ, εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον δὲ και μαχαίρας οἱ ἱππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν [1] μέσον ἡμέρας, καὶ οὔπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἡνίκα δὲ δείλη ἐγένετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκὴ, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ συχνῷ ὕστερον, ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπιπολύ. Ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε, καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο. Καὶ ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων· (Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν·) ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γεῤῥοφόροι· ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὁπλῖται σὺν ποδήρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν· (Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι·) ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἱππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. Πάντες δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη, ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. Πρὸ δ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἅρματα διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, τὰ δρεπανηφόρα λεγόμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν, ὅτῳ ἐντύχοιεν. [2] Ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν, ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλώντων καὶ διακοψόντων. Ὁ μέντοι Κῦρος εἶπεν, ὅτε καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνασχέσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγῇ, [3] ἀλλὰ σιγῇ ὡς ἀνυστὸν, καὶ ἡσυχῇ, ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσῄεσαν. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ, Κῦρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πίγρητι τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ, καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι, τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα, ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἴη· κἂν τοῦτο, ἔφη, νικῶμεν, [4] πάνθ᾽ ἡμῖν πεποίηται. Ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ μέσον στίφος, καὶ ἀκούων [5] Κύρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ εὐωνύμου βασιλέα, (τοσούτῳ γὰρ πλήθει περιῆν βασιλεὺς, ὥστε, μέσον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων, τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἔξω ἦν,) ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ὁ Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀποσπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φοβούμενος μὴ κυκλωθείη ἑκατέρωθεν· τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλοι, ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι.

Καὶ, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ, τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὁμαλῶς προῄει· το δ' Ἑλληνικὸν, [1] ἅτ' ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον, συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων. Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παρελαύνων οὐ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι, κατεθεᾶτο ἑκατέρους ἄποθεν, τούς τε πολεμίους ἀποβλέπων, τούς τε φιλίους. [2] Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, [3] ὑπελάσας ὡς συναντῆσαι, ἤρετο, εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι. [4] Ὁ δ' ἐπιστήσας εἶπε, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πᾶσιν, ὅτι [5] τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλὰ εἴη. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων, θορύβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο, τίς ὁ θόρυβος. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν, ὅτι [6] τὸ σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἤδη. Καὶ [7] ὅς ἐθαύμασε, τίς παραγγέλλει, καὶ ἤρετο, ὅ τι καὶ εἴη το σύνθημα. Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι ΖΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ καὶ ΝΙΚΗ. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας,—Ἀλλὰ δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω.—Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν, εἰς τὴν ἑαυτȣ̃ χώραν ἀπήλαυνε. Καὶ οὐκ ἔτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπειχέτην τὼ φάλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἡνίκα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολευίοις. Ὡς δὲ πορευομένων [8] ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον [9] ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγξαντο πάντες, οἷόν περ τῷ Ενυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. Λέγουσι δέ τινες, ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν, φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. Πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα [10] ἐξικνεῖσθαι, ἐκκλίνουσιν οι βάρβαροι τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ φεύγουσι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν [11] κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις, μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει ἕπεσθαι. Τὰ δὲ ἅρματα ἐφέρετο,—τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κενὰ ἡνιόχων. Οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ προΐδοιεν, [12] διΐσταντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη, ὥσπερ ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐκπλαγείς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν· οὐδὲ ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἐπα-

θεν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναί τις ἐλέγετο.

Κῦρος δὲ, ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας [1] τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνέμενος ἤδη ὡς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, οὐδ' ὣς ἐξήχθη διώκειν· ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἑξακοσίων ἱππέων τάξιν, ἐπεμελεῖτο, ὅ τι ποιήσει βασιλεύς. [2] Καὶ γὰρ ᾔδει αὐτὸν, οτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. Καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὑτῶν [3] ἡγοῦντο, νομίζοντες οὕτως ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἢν ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ἑκατέρωθεν ᾖ, καὶ, εἴ τι παραγγεῖλαι χρῄζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἐν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα. Καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιᾶς, ὅμως ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου κέρατος. Επεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπτεν ὡς εἰς κύκλωσιν. Ενθα δὴ Κῦρος δείσας, μὴ ὄπισθεν γενόμενος κατακόψῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν [4] σὺν τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις, νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους· καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι λέγεται αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην, τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν.

Ὡς δὲ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἑξακόσιοι, εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὁρμήσαντες· πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατελείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. Σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὢν, καθορᾷ βασιλέα καὶ το ἀμφ' ἐκεῖνον στίφος· καὶ εὐθὺς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν, —Ὁρῶ τὸν ἄνδρα,—ἵετο ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον, καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρός· [5] καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι. Παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ, ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ

Κῦρος, καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου, ὁπόσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθανον, Κτησίας λέγει· (παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν·)—Κῦρος δὲ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὀκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔκειντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Ἀρταπάτης δὲ, ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεράπων, λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε πεπτωκότα Κῦρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, [1] περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. Καὶ οἱ μέν φασι, βασιλέα κελεῦσαί τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ· οἱ δὲ, ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξαι, σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην. εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτὸν δὲ ἐφόρει, καὶ ψέλλια, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Περσῶν. ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὔνοιάν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν, τῶν μετὰ Κῦρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων, βασιλικώτατός τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται [2] τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῖς ἔτι ὢν, ὅτε ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶ, πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο. Πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐν ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἄν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀκοῦσαι οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. Θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες καὶ τοὺς τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστ' εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν [3] ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. Ενθα Κῦρος εὐμαθέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλίκων ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι· ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος, [4] καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι. [5] Εκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φιλομαθέστατον εἶναι, καὶ μελετηρότατον. Επεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία μέντοι [6] φιλοκινδυνότατος. Καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ [7] ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου· καὶ τὰ μὲν

ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς φανερὰς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατ έκτανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν εἶναι ἐποίησεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὑτὸν, [1] ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ σπείσαιτο, καὶ εἴ τῳ συνθεῖτο, καὶ εἴ τῳ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπεισαμένου Κύρου, ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς παθεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἑκοῦσαι Κῦρον εἵλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους, πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δὲ, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. Καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄν ποτε προεῖτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ αὐτοῖς φίλος ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἰ ἔτι μὲν μείους γένοιντο, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κάκιον [2] πράξειαν. [3] Φανερὸς δ' ἦν, καὶ εἴ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτὸν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον, ὡς εὔχοιτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν, [4] ἔστε νικῴη καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιοῦντας [5] ἀλεξόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλεῖστοι δὴ αὐτῷ, ἑνί γε ἀνδρὶ [6] τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα, καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα [7] προέσθαι.

Οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄν τις εἴποι, ὡς τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἴα καταγελᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. Πολλάκις δ' [8] ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στειβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερουμένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστε ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἕλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι, ὅποι τις ἤθελεν, [9] ἔχοντι ὅ. τι προχωροίη. Τοὺς μέν

τοι γε ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὡμολόγητο διαφερόντως τιμᾷν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος πρὸς Πεισίδας καὶ Μυσούς. στρατευόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας, οὓς ἑώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει, ἧς κατεστρέφετο χώρας, καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα· [1] ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς, εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς, δούλους τούτων ἀξιοῦσθαι εἶναι. Τοιγαροῦν πολλὴ ἦν ἀφθονία τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἴοιτο Κῦρον αἰσθήσεσθαι.

[2] Εἴς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην, εἴ τις αὐτῷ φανερὸς γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο, καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο. Καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ οὐ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν, ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τίς γέ τι αὐτῷ προστάξαντι [3] καλῶς ὑπηρετήσειεν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἴασε τὴν προθυμίαν. Τοιγαροῦν κράτιστοι δὴ ὑπηρέται παντὸς ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι. Εἰ δέ τινα [4] ὁρῴη δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε, ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας, [5] καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείω προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν, καὶ θαῤῥαλέως ἐκτῶντο, καὶ ἃ [6] πέπατο αὖ τις, ἥκιστα Κῦρον ἔκρυπτεν· οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερῶς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ὑποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι. [7] Φίλους γε μὴν, ὅσους ποιήσαιτο, καὶ εὔνους γνοίη ὄντας, καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι, ὅ τι τυγχάνει βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. [8] Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἕνεκα φίλων ᾤετο δεῖσθαι, ὡς συνεργοὺς

ἔχοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου, ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα.

Δῶρα δὲ πλεῖστα μὲν, οἶμαι, εἷς γε ἀνὴρ ὢν, ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλά· ταῦτα δὲ δὴ πάντα μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, [1] πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ἑκάστου σκοπῶν, καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὁρῴη ἕκαστον δεόμενον. Καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις, ἢ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον, ἢ ὡς εἰς καλλωπισμὸν, καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμῆσαι, φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι. [2] Καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾷν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν, ἐπειδή γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. Κῦρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις, ὁπότε πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὔπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἡδίονι οἴνῳ ἐπιτύχοι·—[3] τοῦτον οὖν σοι ἔπεμψε, καὶ δεῖταί σου τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν τήμερον, σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς. —Πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε, καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεα, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα·—Τούτοις ἥσθη Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύσασθαι.—Ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους, τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλὸν, [4] ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωσιν. Εἰ δὲ δή ποτε πορεύοιτο, καὶ πλεῖστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὡς δηλοίη, οὓς τιμᾷ. Ὥστε ἔγωγε, ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω, οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων πεφιλῆσθαι, οὔτε Ἑλλήνων, οὔτε βαρβάρων. Τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε·

παρὰ μὲν Κύρου, δούλου ὄντος, οὐδεὶς ἀπῄει πρὸς βασιλέα· πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· (καὶ οὗτος δὲ, ὃν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι, ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὗρε Κύρῳ φιλαίτερον, ἢ ἑαυτῷ) παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κῦρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπεὶ πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο· καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι, οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι, νομίζοντες, παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ, ἀξιωτέρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν, ἢ παρα βασιλεῖ. Μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς, καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ εὔνους καὶ βεβαίους. Ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ, πάντες οἱ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντράπεζοι μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον ὑπὲρ Κύρου, πλὴν Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων· ὡς δ᾽ ᾔσθετο Κῦρον πεπτωκότα, ἔφυγεν, ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν, οὗ ἡγεῖτο.

Ενταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμνεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ χεὶρ ἡ δεξιά. Βασιλεὺς δὲ, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κυρεῖον στρατόπεδον. καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι [1] ἵστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν, ἔνθεν ὥρμηντο· τέτταρες δὲ ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶναι. Βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι, καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα, τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι, λαμβάνει. Ἡ δὲ Μιλησία, ἡ νεωτέρα, ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, [2] οἳ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες· καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν διαρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν, καὶ τἄλλα, ὅσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι, ἐγένοντο, πάντα ἔσωσαν. Ενταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεύς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες

ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς πάντας νικῶντες· οἱ δὲ ἁρπάζοντες, ὡς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. Ὡς δὲ ᾔσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἴη· βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους, ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῷεν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἴχοιντο διώκοντες· ἐνταῦθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ συντάττεται· ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο, Πρόξενον καλέσας, (πλησιαίτατος γὰρ ἦν,) εἰ πέμποιέν τινας, ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρήξοντες.

Εν τούτῳ βασιλεὺς πάλιν δῆλος ἦν προσιὼν, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὄπισθεν. [1] Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες συστραφέντες παρασκευάζονται, ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντες καὶ δεξόμενοι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἦγεν, ᾗ δὲ παρῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος, ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπήγαγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας, καὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. Ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε καὶ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκτανε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς. Επισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἦρχε τῶν πελταστῶν, καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. Ὁ οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μεῖον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη· εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. Επεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, μὴ [2] προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας, καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς διακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας, [3] καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὄπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. [4] Εν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς [5] παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἐναντίαν τὴν

φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχούμενος συνήει. Ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγύς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὖθις, παιανίσαντες, ἐπήεσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον, ἢ τοπρόσθεν. Οἱ δ᾽ αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, [1] ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ πλείονος, ἢ τοπρόσθεν, ἔφευγον· οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι κώμης τινός· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κώμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ᾽ οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὁ λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη· ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γιγνώσκειν. Καὶ τὸ βασίλειον σημεῖον ὁρᾷν ἔφασαν, ἀετόν τινα χρυσοῦν [2] ἐπὶ πέλτης, ἐπὶ ξυστοῦ ἀνατεταμένον.

Επεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς· οὐ μέντοι ἔτι ἀθρόοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν· ἐψιλοῦτο δ᾽ ὁ λόφος τῶν ἱππέων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. Ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στράτευμα, πέμπει Λύκιον τὸν Συρακούσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, καὶ κελεύει, κατιδόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου, τί ἐστιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Καὶ ὁ Λύκιος ἤλασε, καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει, ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. Σχεδὸν δ᾽ ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν, καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο. [3] Ενταῦθα δ᾽ ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἀνεπαύοντο. καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο, οὐδ᾽ ἄλλος ἀπ᾽ αὐτȣ̃ ȣ̓δεὶς παρείη· [4] οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ᾽ εἴκαζον, ἢ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι, ἢ καταληψόμενόν τι προεληλακέναι. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβȣλεύοντο, εἰ αὐτοῦ μείναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἀγάγοιντο, ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Εδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνȣ̃νται, [5] ἀμφὶ δόρπιστον, ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. Ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. Καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα διηρπασμένα, καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν· καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος, ἵνα, εἴ ποτε σφοδρὰ

λάβοι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔνδεια, διαδιδοίη τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, (ἦσαν δ' αὗται, ὡς ἐλέγοντο, τετρακόσιαι ἅμαξαι,) καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. Ὥστε [1] ἄδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον, βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγένοντο.

[2] Ἐκ τοῦ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ Β'.

* * *

Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες, ἀνήχθησαν [3] ὡς βασιλέα, καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς [4] ἐτελεύτησαν· εἷς μὲν αὐτῶν, Κλέαρχος, ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων [5] τῶν ἐμπείρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων, δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, παρέμεινεν· ἐπεὶ δ' εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς οἱ Θρᾷκες [6] ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν Ἐφόρων, ἐξέπλει, ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χεῤῥονήσου καὶ Πειρίνθου Θρᾳξίν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγνόντες πως [7] οἱ Ἔφοροι, ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' [8] ᾤχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη [9] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελῶν, ὡς ἀπειθῶν. Ἤδη δὲ φυγὰς ὢν, ἔρχεται πρὸς Κῦρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κῦρον, ἀλλαχοῦ γέγραπται· δίδωσι δ' αὐτῷ Κῦρος [10] μυρίους δαρεικούς· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν, οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στράτευμα, ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θρᾳξί· καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου [11] ἔφερε καὶ ἦγεν αὐ-

τούς· καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο, μέχρις οὗ Κῦρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὖ πολεμήσων.

Ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις, [1] ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης, αἱρεῖται πολεμεῖν· ἐξὸν δὲ ῥᾳθυμεῖν, βούλεται πονεῖν, ὥστε πολεμεῖν· ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως, αἱρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Εκεῖνος δὲ, ὥσπερ εἰς τινα ἡδονὴν, ἤθελε δαπανᾷν εἰς πόλεμον· οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. Πολεμικὸς δὲ αὖ ταύτῃ εἶναι ἐδόκει, ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς οἱ παρόντες πανταχου παντες ὡμολόγουν. Καὶ ἀρχικὸς δὲ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, ὡς δυνατὸν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου, οἷον καὶ ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν. Ἱκανὸς μὲν γὰρ, ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος, φροντίζειν ἦν, ὅπως ἕξει ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα· ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, [2] ὡς οὐκ ἀπιστέον εἴη Κλεάρχῳ. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾷν στυγνὸς ἦν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχύς· ἐκόλαζέ τε αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίοτε, ὥστε καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν [3] ἔσθ' ὅτε. Καὶ γνώμῃ δὲ ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι. Αλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὡς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ [4] φυλακὰς φυλάξειν, ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι, ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἰέναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Εν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ᾑροῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε φαιδρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι· καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐῤῥωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι· ὥστε σωτήριον καὶ οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο. Ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιντο, καὶ ἐξείη, πρὸς ἄλλους, [5] ἀρχομενους ἀπιέναι,

πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ χαλεπὸς καὶ ὠμὸς ἦν.—Καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλίᾳ μὲν καὶ εὐνοίᾳ ἑπομένους οὐδέποτ᾽ εἶχεν· οἵτινες δὲ, ἢ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι, παρείησαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις ἐχρῆτο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἤρξαντο νικᾷν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, μεγάλα ἤδη ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· [1] τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαῤῥαλέως ἔχειν παρῆν, καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίει. Τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δ᾽ ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. Ἦν δὲ, ὅτε ἐτελεύτα, ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιώτιος, εὐθὺς μὲν μειράκιον ὢν, ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργίᾳ ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς ἤδη νομίσας εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ φίλος ὢν τοῖς πρώτοις, μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην, καὶ χρήματα πολλά. Τούτων δ᾽ ἐπιθυμῶν, σφόδρα ἔνδηλον αὖ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν· ἄνευ δὲ τούτων, μή. Ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἱκανὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὔτ᾽ αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾐσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκεῖνον· [2] καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φανερὸς τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. Ὤιετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν, τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοι κἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δ᾽

ἄδικοι ἐπεβούλευον, ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. Ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν, ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλούτου ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι· ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω [1] κερδαίνοι· φίλος τ' ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη δίκην. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι, ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη, συντομωτάτην ὁδὸν ᾤετο εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν τε, καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ ἐξαπατᾷν· τὸ δὲ ἁπλοῦν τε καὶ ἀληθὲς [2] ἐνόμιζε το αὐτὸ τῷ ἠλιθίῳ εἶναι. Στέργων δὲ φανερὸς μὲν ἦν οὐδένα· ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἦν ἐπιβουλεύων. Καὶ πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμιων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν·) τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων, μόνος ᾤετο εἰδέναι, ὅτι ῥᾷστον ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ὅσους μὲν [3] ᾐσθάνετο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους, ὡς εὖ ὡπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο· τοῖς δ' ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. Ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ, καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ δικαιότητι, οὕτω καὶ Μένων ἠγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾷν δύνασθαι, [4] τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῆ, τῷ φίλους διαγελᾷν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανοῦργον ἀπαίδευτον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. [5] Καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλίᾳ, διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους, τούτους ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι. Τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμηχανᾶτο. Τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἠξίου, ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ὅτι πλεῖστα δύναιτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀδικεῖν. Εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὁπότε τις αὐτοῦ [6] ἀφίστατο, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν.—Ἀποθνησκόντων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα σὺν Κύρῳ, τὰ αὐτὰ πεποιηκὼς οὐκ ἀπέθανε· μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων

θάνατον στρατηγῶν, τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλάς· (ὅσπερ κάλλιστος θανάτων ἐδόκει εἶναι·) ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν, ὡς πονηρὸς, λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκὰς, καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιὸς, καὶ τούτω ἀπεθανέτην· τούτων δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔθ' ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν κατεγέλα, οὔτ' ἐς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. [1] *Ἤστην τε ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.*

FINIS

EXCERPTORUM HISTORICORUM

ANALECTA GRÆCA MAJORA.

PROSE SELECTIONS.

PART SECOND.

RHETORICAL EXTRACTS.

I.

[1] Ex LYSIA.

[Juxta Edit. Joan. Jac. Reiske. Lips. 1772. 8vo.]

LYSIAS——subtilis atque elegans, et quo nihil, si oratori satis sit docere, quaeras perfectius. Nihil enim est inane, nihil arcessitum: puro tamen fonti quam magno flumini propior. Quinct. X. 1.

[2] *ΛΥΣΙΟΥ*

ΚΑΤΑ

ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ,

ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ,

ʿΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΕΙΠΕ ΛΥΣΙΑΣ.

[3] ΟΥΚ ἄρξασθαί μοι δοκεῖ ἄπορον εἶναι, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, τῆς κατηγορίας, ἀλλὰ παύσασθαι λέγοντι. Τοιαῦτα, [4] αὐτοῖς, τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, εἴργασται, [5] ὥστε μήτ' ἂν ψευδόμενον δεινότερα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατηγορῆσαι, μήτε τἀληθῆ βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντα δύνασθαι· [6] ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἢ τὸν κατήγορον ἀπειπεῖν, ἢ τὸν χρόνον ἐπιλιπεῖν. Τοὐναντίον δὲ μοι δοκοῦμεν πείσεσθαι ἢ [7] ἐν τῷ προτοῦ χρόνῳ. Πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔδει, τὴν ἔχθραν, τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας, ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἥτις εἴη [8] πρὸς τοὺς φεύγοντας· νυνὶ δὲ παρὰ τῶν φευγόντων χρὴ πυνθάνεσθαι, ἥτις ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν πό-

λιν ἔχθρα, [1] ἀνθ' ὅτου τοιαῦτα ἐτόλμησαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐξαμαρτάνειν. Οὐ μέντοι, ὡς οὐκ ἔχων οἰκείας ἔχθρας καὶ συμφορὰς, τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦμαι, [2] ἀλλ' ὡς ἅπασι πολλῆς ἀφθονίας οὔσης, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων, ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοσίων, ὀργίζεσθαι.—Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, οὔτ' ἐμαυτοῦ πώποτε, οὔτε ἀλλότρια πράγματα πράξας, νῦν ἠνάγκασμαι ὑπὸ τῶν γεγενημένων τούτου κατηγορεῖν· ὥστε πολλάκις εἰς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν [3] κατέστην, μὴ, διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν, ἀναξίως καὶ ἀδυνάτως ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ [4] τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσωμαι. ὅμως δὲ πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς, ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι, [5] δι' ἐλαχίστων διδάξαι.

Οὑμὸς πατὴρ Κέφαλος ἐπείσθη μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς ταύτην τὴν γῆν ἀφικέσθαι· ἔτη δὲ τριάκοντα ᾤκησε, καὶ οὐδενὶ πώποτε, οὔτε [6] ἡμεῖς, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος, δίκην οὔτε ἐδικασάμεθα, οὔτε ἐφύγομεν· ἀλλ' οὕτως ᾠκοῦμεν δημοκρατούμενοι, ὥστε μήτε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξαμαρτάνειν, μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικεῖσθαι.—Ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριάκοντα, πονηροὶ μὲν καὶ συκοφάνται ὄντες, [7] εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, φάσκοντες χρῆναι τῶν ἀδίκων καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πολίτας ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην τραπέσθαι·-καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες, οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων· ὡς ἐγὼ, περὶ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πρῶτον εἰπὼν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀναμνῆσαι πειράσομαι.

Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον, ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα, περὶ τῶν μετοίκων, ὡς εἶέν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι· καλλίστην οὖν εἶναι πρόφασιν,—τιμωρεῖσθαι μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ χρηματίζεσθαι. [8] πάντως δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν γενέσθαι, τὴν ἀρχὴν δεῖσθαι χρημάτων. Καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔπειθον. Ἀποκτιννύναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους [9] περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγοῦντο· λαμβάνειν δὲ χρήματα περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. Ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς δέκα συλλαβεῖν

τούτων δὲ δύο πένητας, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ᾖ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπολογία, ὡς οὐ χρημάτων οὕνεκα ταῦτα πέπρακται, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πολιτείᾳ γεγένηται· ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἄλλων εὐλόγως [1] πεποιηκότες. Διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας, ἐβάδιζον· καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν ξένους ἑστιῶντα κατέλαβον, οὓς ἐξελάσαντες Πείσωνί με παραδιδόασιν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον ἐλθόντες, τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἀπεγράφοντο. Εγὼ δὲ Πείσωνα μὲν ἠρώτων, εἰ βούλοιτό με σῶσαι χρήματα λαβών· ὁ δ' ἔφασκεν, εἰ πολλὰ εἴη. Εἶπον οὖν, ὅτι [2] τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἕτοιμος εἴην δοῦναι. Ὁ δ' ὡμολόγησε ταῦτα ποιήσειν. Ηπιστάμην μὲν οὖν, ὅτι οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτε ἀνθρώπους νομίζει, ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐδόκει μοι ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι πίστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὤμοσεν, ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐπαρώμενος, λαβὼν τὸ τάλαντον, μὲ σώσειν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀνοίγνυμι. Πείσων δ' αἰσθόμενος εἰσέρχεται, καὶ ἰδὼν τὰ ἐνόντα, καλεῖ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δύο, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ λαβεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. [3] Επεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ὡμολογήκειν εἶχεν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἀλλὰ τρία τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ τετρακοσίους [4] κυζικηνοὺς, καὶ ἑκατὸν [5] δαρεικοὺς, καὶ φιάλας ἀργυρίου τέσσαρας, ἐδεόμην αὐτοῦ ἐφόδιά μοι δοῦναι. [6] ὁ δ' ἀγαπήσειν με ἔφασκεν, εἰ τὸ σῶμα σώσω. Εξιοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ Πείσωνι ἐπιτυγχάνει Μηλόβιός τε καὶ Μνησιθείδης ἐκ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου ἀπιόντες· καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι πρὸς αὐταῖς ταῖς θύραις, καὶ ἐρωτῶσιν, ὅπῃ βαδίζοιμεν. Ὁ δ' ἔφασκεν, [7] εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ σκέψηται. Εκεῖνον μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευον βαδίζειν, ἐμὲ δὲ μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν [8] εἰς Δαμνίππου. Πείσων δὲ προσελθὼν σιγᾷν με παρεκελεύετο, καὶ θαῤῥεῖν, ὡς ἥξων ἐκεῖσε. Καταλαμβάνομεν δὲ αὐτόθι Θέογνιν ἑτέρους φυλάττοντα· ᾧ παραδόντες ἐμὲ πάλιν ᾤχον-

το. [1] Ἐν τοιούτῳ δ᾿ ὄντι μοι κινδυνεύειν ἐδόκει, ὡς τοῦ γε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχοντος ἤδη. Καλέσας δὲ Δάμνιππον, λέγω πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε· “Ἐπιτήδειος μέν μοι τυγχάνεις “ὤν, ἥκω δ᾿ εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν· ἀδικῶ δ᾿ οὐδέν· χρη- “μάτων δ᾿ ἕνεκα ἀπόλλυμαι. σὺ οὖν ταῦτα πάσχοντί “μοι πρόθυμον παράσχου τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν “ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν.” Ὁ δ᾿ ὑπέσχετο ταῦτα ποιήσειν. Ἐδόκει δ᾿ αὐτῷ βέλτιον εἶναι πρὸς Θέογνιν μνησθῆναι· ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἅπαν ποιήσειν αὐτὸν, εἴ τις ἀργύριον διδοίη. Ἐκείνου δὲ διαλεγομένου Θεόγνιδι, (ἔμπειρος γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγχανον τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ ᾔδειν, ὅτι ἀμφίθυρος εἴη,) ἐδόκει μοι ταύτῃ πειρᾶσθαι σωθῆναι· ἐνθυμουμένῳ, ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν λάθω, σωθήσομαι· ἐὰν δὲ ληφθῶ, ἡγούμην μὲν, εἰ Θέογνις εἴη πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαμνίππου χρήματα λαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀφεθήσεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὁμοίως ἀποθανεῖσθαι. Ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς, ἔφευγον, ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλείῳ θύρᾳ τὴν φυλακὴν ποιουμένων· τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὐσῶν, ἃς ἔδει με διελθεῖν, ἅπασαι [2] ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔτυχον. Ἀφικόμενος δὲ [3] εἰς Ἀρχένεω τοῦ ναυκλήρου, ἐκεῖνον πέμπω εἰς ἄστυ, πευσόμενον περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. Ἥκων δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Ἐρατοσθένης αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ λαβὼν, εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγάγοι. Καὶ ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα πεπυσμένος, τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς διέπλευσα Μέγαράδε. Πολεμάρχῳ δὲ [4] παρήγγειλαν οἱ τριάκοντα τὸ ἐπ᾿ ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον παράγγελμα, πίνειν κώνειον, πρὶν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν, δι᾿ ἥντινα ἔμελλεν ἀποθανεῖσθαι· [5] οὕτω πολλοῦ ἐδέησε κριθῆναι, καὶ ἀπολογήσασθαι. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπεφέρετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου τεθνεὼς, τριῶν ἡμῖν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν, οὐδεμιᾶς εἴασαν ἐξενεχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ κλίσιον μισθωσάμενοι, [6] προὔθεντο αὐτόν. Καὶ πολλῶν ὄντων ἱματίων, αἰτοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἔδοσαν εἰς ταφὴν, ἀλλὰ τῶν φίλων ὁ μὲν ἱμάτιον, ὁ δὲ προσ-

κεφάλαιον, ὁ δὲ ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν, ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου ταφήν. Καὶ ἔχοντες μὲν ἑπτακοσίας ἀσπίδας τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἔχοντες δὲ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον τοσοῦτον, χαλκὸν δὲ, καὶ κόσμον, καὶ ἔπιπλα, καὶ ἱμάτια γυναικεῖα, ὅσα οὐδεπώποτε ᾤοντο κτήσασθαι, καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, (ὧν τὰ μὲν βέλτιστα ἔλαβον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδοσαν,) εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπληστίαν καὶ αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ αὑτῶν ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιήσαντο· τῆς γὰρ Πολεμάρχου γυναικὸς χρυσοῦς ἑλικτῆρας, οὓς ἔχουσα ἐτύγχανεν, ὅτε τοπρῶτον ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, Μηλόβιος ἐκ τῶν ὤτων ἐξείλετο. Καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας ἐλέου παρ' αὐτῶν ἐτυγχάνομεν· [1] ἀλλ' οὕτως εἰς ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὰ χρήματα, ἐξημάρτανον, ὥσπερ ἂν ἕτεροι μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων ὀργὴν ἔχοντες· οὐ τούτων ἀξίους γε ὄντας τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ πάσας [μὲν] τὰς [2] χορηγίας χορηγήσαντας, πολλὰς δ' εἰσφορὰς εἰσενεγκόντας, κοσμίους δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοντας, καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιοῦντας, ἐχθρὸν δ' οὐδένα κεκτημένους, πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων λυσαμένους, τοιούτων ἠξίωσαν· οὐχ ὁμοίως [3] μετοικοῦντας, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ ἐπολιτεύοντο. Οὗτοι γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξήλασαν· πολλοὺς δ' ἀδίκως ἀποκτείναντες, ἀτάφους ἐποίησαν· πολλοὺς δ' ἐπιτίμους ὄντας, ἀτίμους τῆς πόλεως κατέστησαν· πολλῶν δὲ θυγατέρας μελλούσας ἐκδίδοσθαι, ἐκώλυσαν· καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτόν εἰσι τόλμης ἀφιγμένοι, ὥσθ' ἥκουσιν ἀπολογησόμενοι, καὶ λέγουσιν, ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν οὐδ' αἰσχρὸν εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἐβουλόμην ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀληθῆ λέγειν· [4] μετῆν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ τούτου τἀγαθοῦ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος. Νῦν δὲ οὔτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχει, οὔτε πρὸς ἐμέ. Τὸν ἀδελφὸν γάρ μου, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, Ἐρατοσθένης ἀπ-

ἔκτεινεν, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ ἀδικούμενος, οὔτε εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶν ἐξαμαρτάνοντα, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρανομίᾳ προθύμως ἐξυπηρετῶν.—[1] Ἀναβιβασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν βούλομαι ἐρέσθαι, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. Τοιαύτην γὰρ γνώμην ἔχω· ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ τούτου ὠφελείᾳ, καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον περὶ τούτου διαλέγεσθαι, ἀσεβὲς εἶναι νομίζω, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τούτου βλάβῃ, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτον, ὅσιον καὶ εὐσεβές.—Ἀνάβηθι οὖν μοι καὶ ἀπόκριναι, εἴ τι ἄν σε ἐρωτῶ.—Ἀπήγαγες Πολέμαρχον, ἢ οὔ;—Τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων προσταχθέντα δεδιὼς ἐποίουν.—Ἦσθα δ' ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὅτε οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο περὶ ἡμῶν;—Ἦν.—Πότερον συνηγόρευες τοῖς κελεύουσιν ἀποκτεῖναι, ἢ ἀντέλεγες;—Ἀντέλεγον.—Ἵνα ἀποθάνωμεν;—Ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε.—Ἡγούμενος ἡμᾶς ἄδικα πάσχειν, ἢ δίκαια;—Ἄδικα.—Εἶτ', ὦ σχετλιώτατε πάντων, ἀντέλεγες μέν, ἵνα σώσειας, συνελάμβανες δέ, ἵνα ἀποκτείνοις; καὶ ὅτε μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἦν ὑμῶν κύριον τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀντιλέγειν φῂς τοῖς βουλομένοις ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ [2] ἐπὶ σοὶ μόνῳ ἐγένετο καὶ σῶσαι Πολέμαρχον, καὶ μή, εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπήγαγες; [3] εἶθ' ὅτι μέν, ὡς φῄς, ἀντειπὼν, οὐδὲν ὠφέλησας, ἀξιοῖς χρηστὸς νομίζεσθαι· ὅτι δὲ συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινας, οὐκ οἴει ἐμοὶ καὶ τουτοισὶ δοῦναι δίκην; Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκὸς αὐτῷ πιστεύειν, (εἴπερ ἀληθῆ λέγει, φάσκων ἀντειπεῖν,) ὡς αὐτῷ προσετάχθη· οὐ γὰρ δή που ἐν τοῖς μετοίκοις πίστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον. [4] Ἔπειτα τῷ ἧσσον εἰκὸς ἦν προσταχθῆναι, ἢ ὅστις ἀντειπών γε ἐτύγχανεν, καὶ γνώμην ἀποδεδειγμένος; τίνα γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν ἧττον ταῦτα ὑπηρετῆσαι, ἢ τὸν ἀντειπόντα οἷς ἐκεῖνοι ἐβούλοντο πραχθῆναι; Ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἱκανή μοι δοκεῖ πρόφασις εἶναι τῶν γεγενημένων, εἰς τοὺς

τριάκοντα ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τριάκοντα, ἂν εἰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρωσι, πῶς ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς ἀποδέχεσθαι; Εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρχὴ ἰσχυροτέρα αὐτῆς, ὑφ᾽ ἧς αὐτῷ προσετάττετο παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἀνθρώπους ἀπολλύναι, ἴσως ἂν εἰκότως αὐτῷ συγγνώμην εἴχετε· νῦν δὲ [1] παρὰ τοῦ ποτε καὶ λήψεσθε δίκην, εἴπερ ἐξέσται τοῖς τριάκοντα λέγειν, ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα προσταχθέντα ἐποίουν;—[2] Καὶ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, κατὰ τὰ τούτοις ἐψηφισμένα, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ σώζοντα αὐτὸν, συλλαβὼν ἀπήγαγεν.—Ὑμεῖς δὲ πάντες ὀργίζεσθε, ὅσοι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἦλθον τὰς ὑμετέρας, ζήτησιν ποιούμενοι ἢ ὑμῶν ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων τινός. Καίτοι, εἰ χρὴ τούτοις διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν ἑτέρους ἀπολέσασι συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐκείνοις ἂν δικαιότερον ἔχοιτε· κίνδυνος γὰρ ἦν πεμφθεῖσι, μὴ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ καταλαβοῦσιν, ἐξάρνοις γενέσθαι· τῷ δὲ Ερατοσθένει ἐξῆν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπήντησεν· ἔπειτα, ὅτι ὀκ οἶδεν· ταῦτα γὰρ οὔτε ἔλεγχον, οὔτε βάσανον εἶχεν· ὥστε μηδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλομένων οἷόν τε εἶναι ἐξελεγχθῆναι.—Χρῆν δέ σε, ὦ Ερατόσθενες, εἴπερ ἦσθα χρηστὸς, πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖσθαι μηνυτὴν γενέσθαι, ἢ τοὺς ἀδίκως ἀπολουμένους συλλαμβάνειν. Νῦν δέ σου τὰ ἔργα φανερὰ γεγένηται, οὐχ ὡς ἀνιωμένου, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἡδομένου τοῖς γιγνομένοις· ὥστε τούσδε, ἐκ τῶν ἔργων, χρὴ μᾶλλον, ἢ ἐκ τῶν λόγων, τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν, ἃ ἴσασι γεγενημένα, τῶν τότε λεγομένων τεκμήρια λαμβάνοντας, ἐπειδὴ μάρτυρας περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ οἷόν τε παρασχέσθαι. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμῖν παρεῖναι οὐκ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἶναι· ὥστε [3] ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶ, πάντα τὰ κακὰ εἰργασμένοις τὴν πόλιν, πάντα τἀγαθὰ περὶ αὑτῶν λέγειν.—Τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ φεύγω, ἀλλ᾽ ὁμολογῶ σοι,

εἰ βούλει, ἀντειπεῖν. Θαυμάζω δὲ, τί ἄν ποτε ποιήσαις συνειπὼν, ὁπότε ἀντειπεῖν φάσκων, ἀπέκτεινας Πολέμαρχον. Φέρε δὴ, [1] τί ἂν εἰ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες ἐτύχετε αὐτοῦ, ἢ καὶ υἱεῖς; [2] ἀπεψηφίσασθε; Δεῖ γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, Ἐρατοσθένην δυοῖν θάτερον ἀποδεῖξαι, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν αὐτὸν, ἢ ὡς δικαίως τοῦτ' ἔπραξεν. Οὗτος δὲ ὡμολόγησεν ἀδίκως συλλαβεῖν· ὥστε ῥᾳδίαν ὑμῖν [3] τὴν διαψήφισιν περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε. Καὶ μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων ἥκουσιν, εἰσόμενοι, τίνα γνώμην περὶ τούτων ἕξετε. Ὧν οἱ μὲν ἡμέτεροι ὄντες πολῖται, μάθοντες [4] ἀπίασιν, ὅτι ἢ δίκην δώσουσιν, ὧν ἂν ἐξαμάρτωσιν· ἢ πράξαντες μὲν ὧν ἐφίενται, τύραννοι τῆς πόλεως ἔσονται, δυστυχήσαντες δὲ, τὸ ἴσον ὑμῖν ἕξουσιν. [5] Ὅσοι δὲ ξένοι ἐπιδημοῦσιν, εἴσονται, πότερον ἀδίκως τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐκκηρύττουσιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ἢ δικαίως. [6] Εἰ γὰρ δὴ αὐτοὶ οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες, λαβόντες, ἀφήσουσιν, ἤπου σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγήσονται περιέργους ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τειρομένους. [7] Οὐκοῦν δεινὸν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς, οἳ ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες, ὅτε διὰ χειμῶνα οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἔφασαν εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνελέσθαι, θανάτῳ ἐζημιώσατε, ἡγούμενοι χρῆναι τῇ τῶν τεθνειότων ἀρετῇ παρ' ἐκείνων δίκην λαβεῖν· τούτους δὲ δὴ, οἳ ἰδιῶται μὲν ὄντες, καθόσον ἐδύναντο, [8] ἐποίησαν ἡττηθῆναι ναυμαχοῦντας, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἑκόντες πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀποκτιννύναι·—οὐκ ἄρα χρὴ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ὑφ' ὑμῶν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ζημίαις κολάζεσθαι; Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, ἠξίουν ἱκανὰ εἶναι [9] τὰ κατηγορημένα· μέχρι γὰρ τούτου νομίζω χρῆναι κατηγορεῖν, ἕως ἂν θανάτου δόξῃ [10] τῷ φεύγοντι ἄξια εἰργάσθαι. ταύτην γὰρ ἐσχάτην δίκην δυνάμεθα παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. ὥστ' οὐκ

οἶδ', ὅ τι δεῖ πολλὰ κατηγορεῖν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ οὐδ', ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῶν πεπραγμένων δὶς ἀποθανόντες, [1] δίκην δοῦναι δύναιντ' ἄν. [2] Οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ προσήκει ποιῆσαι, ὅπερ ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει εἰθισμένον ἐστίν· πρὸς μὲν τὰ κατηγορούμενα μηδὲν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, [3] περὶ δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἕτερα λέγοντες ἐνίοτε ἐξαπατῶσιν, ὑμῖν ἀποδεικνύντες, ὡς στρατιῶται ἀγαθοί εἰσιν, ἢ ὡς πολλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς ἔλαβον τριηραρχήσαντες, ἢ πόλεις, πολεμίας οὔσας, φίλας ἐποίησαν. [4] Επεὶ—κελεύετε αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι, οπου τοσούτους τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτειναν, ὅσους τῶν πολιτῶν· ἢ ναῦς ὅπου τοσαύτας ἔλαβον, ὅσας αὐτοὶ παρέδωκαν· ἢ πόλιν ἥντινα τοιαύτην προσεκτήσαντο, οἵαν τὴν ἡμετέραν κατεδουλώσαντο. [5] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅπλα τῶν πολεμίων ἐσκύλευσαν, ὅσαπερ ὑμῶν ἀφείλοντο; ἀλλὰ τείχη τοιαῦτα εἷλον, οἷα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος κατέσκαψαν; οἵτινες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν φρούρια καθεῖλον, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσαν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ Λακεδαιμονίων προσταττόντων περιεῖλον, [6] ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτω βεβαιοτέραν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. Πολλάκις οὖν ἐθαύμασα τῆς τόλμης τῶν λεγόντων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· πλὴν ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶ, ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐστιν, αὐτούς τε πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐπαινεῖν. [7] Οὐ γὰρ νῦν πρῶτον τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει [8] τὰ ἐναντία ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ [9] ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὀλιγαρχίαν καθιστάς, ἔφευγεν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου τριήραρχος καταλιπὼν τὴν ναῦν, μετὰ Ἰατροκλέους, καὶ ἑτέρων, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν. Ἀφικόμενος δὲ δεῦρο, τἀναντία τοῖς βουλομένοις δημοκρατίαν εἶναι ἔπραττεν. Καὶ τούτων μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Τὸν μὲν τοίνυν μεταξὺ βίον αὐτοῦ παρήσω. ἐπειδὴ δὲ [1] ἡ ναυμαχία, καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο, δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, [2] ὅθεν τῆς στάσεως ἦρξαν, πέντε ἄνδρες ἔφοροι κατέστησαν ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἑταίρων, συναγωγεῖς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ἐναντία δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει πράττοντες· ὧν Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Κριτίας ἦσαν. Οὗτοι δὲ [3] φυλάρχους τε ἐπὶ τὰς φυλακὰς κατέστησαν, καὶ ὅ τι δέοι χειροτονεῖσθαι, καὶ οὕστινας χρὴ ἄρχειν παρήγγελλον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πραιτειν βούλοιντο, κύριοι ἦσαν. Οὕτως οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων, πολιτῶν ὄντων, [4] ἐπεβουλεύεσθε, ὅπως μήτ' ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν ψηφίσεσθε, πολλῶν τε ἐνδεεῖς ἔσεσθε. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἠπίσταντο, ὅτι, ἄλλως μὲν, οὐχ [5] οἷοί τε ἔσονται περιγενέσθαι, κακῶς δὲ πραττόντων, δυνήσονται· καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦντο, τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀπαλλαγῆναι, περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οὐκ ἐνθυμήσεσθαι. Ὡς τοίνυν τῶν ἐφόρων ἐγένετο, μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι, οὐ τοὺς τότε [6] συμπράττοντας, (οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην,) ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἀκούσαντας. Καίτοι, εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν, [7] κατεμαρτύρουν ἂν αὐτῶν· καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους τῶν σφετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων σφόδρα ἂν ἐκόλαζον· [8] καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν κακοῖς πιστοὺς ἐνόμιζον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθοῖς ῥᾳδίως παρέβαινον. Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους τοσαῦτα λέγω. Τοὺς δὲ μάρτυράς μοι κάλει. Καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνάβητε. ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε. Τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστὰς, ἀγαθοῦ μὲν οὐδενὸς μετέσχεν, ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν. καίτοι, εἴπερ ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς, ἐχρῆν ἂν πρῶτον μὲν μὴ παρανόμως ἄρχειν, ἔπειτα τῇ βουλῇ [10] μηνυτὴν γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν εἰσαγγελιῶν ἁπασῶν, ὅτι ψευδεῖς εἶεν.—[9] Καὶ Βάτραχος καὶ Αἰσχυλίδης οὐ τἀληθῆ μη-

νύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τἀληθῆ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα πλασθέντα εἰσαγγέλλουσι, συγκείμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν βλάβῃ. Καὶ μὲν δή, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, [1] ὅσοι κακόνοι ἦσαν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον εἶχον σιωπῶντες· ἕτεροι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ λέγοντες καὶ πράττοντες, ὧν οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν μείζω κακὰ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει. Ὁπόσοι δ' εὖνοί φασιν εἶναι, πῶς οὐκ ἐνταῦθα ἔδειξαν, αὐτοί τε τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ἀποτρέποντες; Ἴσως δ' ἂν ἔχοι εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐδεδοίκει, (καὶ ὑμῶν τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἱκανὸν ἔσται,) ὅπως τι μὴ φανήσεται ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐναντιούμενος· [2] εἰ δὲ μή, ἐνταυθοῖ δῆλος ἔσται, ὅτι ἐκεῖνά τε αὐτῷ ἤρεσκε, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐδύνατο, ὥστε ἐναντιούμενος μηδὲν κακὸν παθεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Χρῆν δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ταύτην τὴν προθυμίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπὲρ Θηραμένους, ὃς εἰς ὑμᾶς πολλὰ ἐξήμαρτεν. [3] ἀλλ' οὗτος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐχθρὰν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ὑμετέρους ἐχθροὺς, φίλους· ὡς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἐγὼ πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις παραστήσω, καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν γινομένας, ὁπότεροί [4] μοι ταῦτα πράξουσι, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄρξουσι. Καὶ γάρ, εἰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἐστασίαζον, ποῦ κάλλιον ἂν ἦν ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι, ἤ, [5] Θρασυβούλου Φυλὴν κατειληφότος, τότε ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν αὑτοῦ [6] συνουσίαν; Ὁ δ', ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγείλασθαί τι ἢ πρᾶξαι ἀγαθὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ Φυλῇ, ἐλθὼν μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων εἰς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ Ἐλευσῖνάδε, τριακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, καὶ μιᾷ ψήφῳ αὐτῶν ἁπάντων θάνατον [7] κατεψηφίσατο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἤλθομεν, [8] καὶ αἱ ταραχαὶ γεγενημέναι ἦσαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, πολλὰς ἑκάτεροι ἐλπίδας εἴχομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔσεσθαι, ὡς ἀμφότεροι ἔδοξαν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Πειραιῶς, κρείτ-

τους ὄντες, [1] εἴασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλθόντες, τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξέβαλον, πλὴν Φείδωνος καὶ Ἐρατοσθένους, ἄρχοντας δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνοις ἐχθίστους εἵλοντο, ἡγούμενοι, δικαίως ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούς τε τριάκοντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ φιλεῖσθαι. Τύτων τοίνυν Φείδων, ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα γενόμενος, καὶ Ἱπποκλῆς, καὶ Ἐπιχάρης ὁ Λαμπτρεὺς, καὶ ἕτεροι οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι ἐναντιώτατοι Χαρικλεῖ καὶ Κριτίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἑταιρείᾳ, ἐπειδὴ [2] αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, πολὺ μείζω στάσιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἢ [3] τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεος ἐποίησαν. ᾗ καὶ φανερῶς ἐπεδείξαντο, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκως ἀπολλυμένων ἐστασίαζον· οὐδ' οἱ [4] τεθνειότες αὐτοὺς ἐλύπουν, αὐδ οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποθανεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μεῖζον δυνάμενοι, καὶ θᾶσσον πλουτοῦντες. Λαβόντες γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπολέμουν, τοῖς τε τριάκοντα, πάντα κακὰ εἰργασμένοις, καὶ ὑμῖν πάντα κακὰ πεπονθόσι. καίτοι τοῦτο πᾶσι δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι δικαίως ἔφευγον, ὑμεῖς ἀδίκως· εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς ἀδίκως, οἱ τριάκοντα δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ δι' ἑτέρων ἔργων αἰτίαν λαβόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεσον, ἀλλὰ τούτων. ὥστε σφόδρα χρὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, ὅτι Φείδων αἱρεθεὶς ὑμᾶς διαλλάξαι, καὶ καταγαγεῖν, τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων Ἐρατοσθένει μετεῖχε. καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ τοὺς μὲν κρείττους αὐτῶν δι' ὑμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἕτοιμος ἦν, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀδίκως φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι· διαβάλλων, ὅτι Βοιωτῶν ἡ πόλις ἔσται, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων, οἷς ᾤετο πείσειν μάλιστα. Οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ τούτων τυχεῖν, εἴτε καὶ [5] τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμποδὼν ὄντων, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῶν οὐ βουλομένων, [6] ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἐδανείσατο, [7] ἵνα ἔχῃ ἐπικούρους μισθοῦσθαι. Καὶ Λύσανδρον ἄρχοντα ᾐτήσαντο,

εὐνούστατον μὲν ὄντα τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, κακονούστατον δὲ τῇ πόλει· μισοῦντα δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ. Μισθωσάμενοι δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πόλεις ἐπάγοντες, [1] καὶ τελευτῶντες Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ [2] τῶν συμμάχων ὁπόσους ἐδύναντο πεῖσαι, οὐ διαλλάξαι, ἀλλ' ἀπολέσαι παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν πόλιν· [3] εἰ μὴ δι' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, οἷς ὑμεῖς δηλώσατε παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δίκην λαβόντες, ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνοις χάριν ἀποδώσετε. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐπίστασθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ οἶδ', ὅτι οὐ δεῖ μάρτυρας παρασχέσθαι. [4] ὅμως δέ·—ἐγώ τε γὰρ δέομαι ἀναπαύσασθαι· ὑμῶν τ' ἐνίοις ἥδιον, [5] ὡς πλεῖστον, τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους ἀκούειν. *ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.*

Φέρε δὲ, καὶ περὶ Θηραμένους, ὡς δύνωμαι [6] διὰ βραχυτάτων, διδάξω. Δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι ὑπέρ τ' ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως· [7] καὶ μηδενὶ τοῦτο παραστῇ, ὡς, Ἐρατοσθένους κινδυνεύοντος, Θηραμένους κατηγορῶ. Πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ταῦτα ἀπολογήσασθαι αὐτὸν, ὅτι ἐκείνῳ φίλος ἦν, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων μετεῖχε. Καίτοι σφόδρ' ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι, μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέους πολιτευόμενον, προσποιεῖσθαι πράττειν, ὅπως οἰκοδομηθήσεται τὰ τείχη· ὁπότε καὶ μετὰ Θηραμένους, ὅπως καθαιρεθήσεται. [8] Οὐ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἴσων ἄξιοι γεγενῆσθαι. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκόντων, ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτὰ, οὗτος δὲ, τοὺς πολίτας ἐξαπατήσας, καθεῖλε. Περιέστηκεν οὖν τῇ πόλει τοὐναντίον, ἢ ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν. [9] Ἄξιον μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Θηραμένους προσαπολωλέναι, πλὴν εἴ τις [10] ἐτύγχανεν ἐκείνῳ τἀναντία πράττων· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶ τάς τε ἀπολογίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφερομένας, τούς τ' ἐκείνῳ συνόντας τιμᾶσθαι πειρωμένους, ὥσπερ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους, ἀλλ' οὐ μεγάλων κακῶν, γεγενημένους. Ὃς πρῶτον μὲν τῆς προτέρας ὀλιγαρχίας αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο, πείσας ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν ἑλέσθαι. [11] Καὶ

ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, τῶν προβούλων ὢν, ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραττεν· αὐτὸς δὲ, δοκῶν εὐνούστατος εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι, στρατηγὸς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ᾑρέθη. Καὶ ἕως μὲν ἐτιμᾶτο, πιστὸν ἑαυτὸν τῇ πόλει παρεῖχεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πείσανδρον μὲν καὶ Κάλλαισχρον καὶ ἑτέρους ἑώρα [1] προτέρους αὐτοῦ γενομένους, τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος οὐκέτι βουλόμενον [2] τούτων ἀκροᾶσθαι, τότ᾽ ἤδη, διά τε τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους φθόνον καὶ τὸ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν δέος, μετέσχε τῶν Ἀριστοκράτους ἔργων. Βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει δοκεῖν πιστὸς εἶναι, Ἀντιφῶντα καὶ Ἀρχεπτόλεμον, φιλτάτους ὄντας αὐτῷ, κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ κακίας ἦλθεν, ὥστε ἅμα μὲν, διὰ τὴν [3] πρὸς ἐκείνους πίστιν, ὑμᾶς κατεδουλώσατο, διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τοὺς φίλους ἀπώλεσεν. Τιμώμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιούμενος, αὐτὸς ἐπαγγειλάμενος σώσειν τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε· φάσκων πρᾶγμα εὑρηκέναι μέγα καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον. Ὑπέσχετο δὲ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν, μήτε ὅμηρα δοὺς, μήτε τὰ τείχη καθελὼν, μήτε τὰς ναῦς παραδούς. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπεῖν μὲν οὐδενὶ ἠθέλησεν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτῷ πιστεύειν.

Ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, [4] πραττούσης μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῆς σωτηρίαν, ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν Θηραμένει, εἰδότες δὲ, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τῶν πολεμίων οὕνεκεν τἀπόρρητα ποιοῦνται, ἐκεῖνος δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς αὑτοῦ πολίταις οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εἰπεῖν ταῦθ᾽, ἃ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔμελλεν ἐρεῖν, ὅμως ἐπετρέψατε αὐτῷ πατρίδα, καὶ παῖδας, καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. Ὁ δὲ, ὧν μὲν ὑπέσχετο, οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, οὕτω δὲ ἐνετεθύμητο, ὡς χρὴ μικρὰν καὶ ἀσθενῆ γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. Ὥστε περὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐμνήσθη, οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν ἤλπισε, ταῦθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἔπεισε πρᾶξαι· οὐχ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ἐπαγγελλόμενος, τοῦ τε Πειραιῶς τὰ τείχη περιελεῖν, καὶ

τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πολιτείαν καταλῦσαι· εὖ εἰδὼς, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ πασῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀποστερηθήσεσθε, ταχεῖαν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν κομιεῖσθε. Καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, οὐ πρότερον εἴασε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, ἕως ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπ᾽ [1] ἐκείνου καιρὸς ἐπιμελῶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐτηρήθη, καὶ μετεπέμψατο μὲν τὰς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου ναῦς ἐκ Σάμου, ἐπεδήμησε δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. Τότε δὲ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ παρόντων Λυσάνδρου, καὶ Φιλοχάρους, καὶ Μιλτιάδου, περὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν· ἵνα μήτε ῥήτωρ αὐτοῖς μηδεὶς ἐναντιοῖτο, μήτε ἀπειλοῖτο· ὑμεῖς τε μὴ τὰ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντα ἕλοισθε, ἀλλὰ τἀκείνοις δοκοῦντα ψηφίσαισθε. Ἀναστὰς δὲ Θηραμένης ἐκέλευσεν ὑμᾶς τριάκοντα ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῆσθαι, ἣν Δρακοντίδης ἀπέφηνεν. Ὑμεῖς δ᾽, ὅμως καὶ οὕτω διακείμενοι, ἐθορυβεῖτε, ὡς οὐ ποιήσοντες ταῦτα· ἐγινώσκετε γὰρ, ὅτι περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκκλησιάζετε. Θηραμένης δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, (καὶ τούτων ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας παρέξομαι,) εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλοι τοῦ ὑμετέρου θορύβου, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίων εἰδείη τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντας αὐτῷ, δοκοῦντα δὲ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις λέγοι. Μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὲ Λύσανδρος ἀναστὰς, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τολμηρῶς εἶπε, καὶ ὅτι παρασπόνδους ὑμᾶς ἔχοι, καὶ ὅτι οὐ περὶ πολιτείας ὑμῖν ἔσται, ἀλλὰ περὶ σωτηρίας ὁ λόγος, εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιθ᾽, ἃ Θηραμένης κελεύοι. Τῶν δ᾽ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅσοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν, [2] γνόντες τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ μένοντες ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, οἱ δὲ ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες· τοῦτο γοῦν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνειδότες, ὅτι οὐδὲν κακὸν τῇ πόλει ἐψηφίσαντο· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες, καὶ πονηροὶ καὶ κακῶς βουλευόμενοι, τὰ προσταχθέντα ἐχειροτόνησαν.

Παρηγγέλλετο γὰρ αὐτοῖς, δέκα μέν, οὓς Θηραμένης ἀπέδειξε, χειροτονῆσαι, δέκα δέ, οὓς οἱ καθεστηκότες ἔφοροι κελεύοιεν, δέκα δὲ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων. Οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσθένειαν ἑώρων, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἠπίσταντο, ὥστε πρότερον ᾔδεσαν τὰ μέλλοντα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πραχθήσεσθαι. Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐμοὶ δεῖ πιστεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνῳ· πάντα γάρ, τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἰρημένα, ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἀπολογούμενος ἔλεγεν· ὀνειδίζων μὲν [1] τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν κατέλθοιεν· οὐδὲν φροντίζων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὀνειδίζων δὲ τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας μετέχουσιν, ὅτι πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων, τοῖς εἰρημένοις τρόποις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, αὐτὸς αἴτιος γεγενημένος, τοιούτων τυγχάνοι, πολλὰς πίστεις αὐτῷ ἔργῳ δεδωκώς, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ὅρκους εἰληφώς. [2] Καὶ τοσούτων καὶ ἑτέρων κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν καὶ πάλαι καὶ νεωστὶ καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων [3] αἴτιου γεγενημένου τολμήσουσιν αὐτοὺς φίλους ὄντας ἀποφαίνειν; οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποθανόντος Θηραμένους, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ πονηρίας· καὶ δικαίως μὲν ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δίκην δόντος, (ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὴν κατέλυσε,) δικαίως δ' ἂν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ· δὶς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατεδουλώσατο, τῶν μὲν παρόντων καταφρονῶν, τῶν δὲ ἀπόντων ἐπιθυμῶν· καὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ ὀνόματι χρώμενος, δεινοτάτων ἔργων διδάσκαλος καταστάς. Περὶ μὲν τοίνυν Θηραμένους ἱκανά μοι ἐστὶ τὰ κατηγορημένα. Ἥκει δ' ὑμῖν ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρός, ἐν ᾧ δεῖ συγγνώμην καὶ ἔλεον μὴ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν [4] τουτουὶ συναρχόντων δίκην λαβεῖν· μηδὲ μαχομένους μὲν κρείττους εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, ψηφιζομένους δὲ ἥττους τῶν ἐχθρῶν. μηδ', ὧν φασὶ μέλλειν πράξειν, πλείω χάριν αὐτοῖς ἴστε, ἢ, ὧν ἐποίησαν, ὀργίζεσθε· μηδ' ἀποῦσι μὲν τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐπιβουλεύετε, παρόντας δ' ἀφῆτε· μηδὲ τῆς τύχης, ἣ τούτους παρέδωκε τῇ πό-

λει, κάκιον ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσητε. Κατηγορεῖτε δὲ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν τούτου φίλων, οἷς τὰς ἀπολογίας ἀνοίσει, καὶ μεθ' ὧν αὐτῷ ταῦτα πέπρακται. Ὁ μέντοι ἀγὼν οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἐρατοσθένει. Οὗτος μὲν γὰρ κατήγορος καὶ δικαστὴς αὐτὸς ἦν τῶν γινομένων· [1] ἡμεῖς δὲ νυνὶ εἰς κατηγορίαν καὶ ἀπολογίαν καθέσταμεν. Καίτοι οὗτοι μὲν τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀκρίτως ἀπέκτειναν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀπολέσαντας τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀξιοῦτε κρίνειν· παρ' ὧν οὐδ' ἂν παρανόμως βουλόμενοι δίκην λαμβάνειν, ἀξίαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων, ὧν τὴν πόλιν ἠδικήκασι, λάβοιτε. Τί γὰρ ἂν παθόντες, δίκην τὴν ἀξίαν εἴησαν τῶν ἔργων δεδωκότες; Πότερον, εἰ αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνοιτε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν, ἱκανὴν ἂν τοῦ φόνου δίκην λάβοιμεν, ὧν οὗτοι πατέρας καὶ υἱεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ἀκρίτως ἀπέκτειναν; Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, εἰ τὰ χρήματα τὰ φανερὰ δημεύσαιτε, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι, ἢ τῇ πόλει, ἧς οὗτοι πολλὰ εἰλήφασιν, ἢ τοῖς ἰδιώταις, ὧν οἰκίας ἐξεπόρθησαν; Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, πάντα ποιοῦντες, δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν δύνησθε [2] λαβεῖν, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ὑμῖν καὶ ἡντινοῦν ἀπολιπεῖν, ἥντινά τις βούλοιτο παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν; Πᾶν δ' ἄν μοι δοκεῖ τολμῆσαι, ὅστις νυνὶ, οὐχ ἑτέρων ὄντων τῶν δικαστῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν κακῶς πεπονθότων, ἥκει ἀπολογησόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μάρτυρας τῆς τούτου πονηρίας· [3] τοσοῦτον δ' ὑμῶν καταπεφρόνηκεν, ἢ ἑτέροις πεπίστευκεν. Ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἄξιον ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἐνθυμουμένοις, ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνα δύναιντο ποιεῖν, μὴ ἑτέρων συμπραττόντων· οὔτ' ἂν νῦν ἐπεχείρησαν ἐλθεῖν, μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰόμενοι σωθήσεσθαι· οἳ οὐ τούτοις ἥκουσι βοηθήσοντες, ἀλλὰ ἡγούμενοι πολλὴν ἄδειαν σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ποιεῖν, ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται, εἰ τοὺς μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίους λαβόντες ἀφήσετε. [4] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συνερούντων αὐτοῖς ἄξιον

θαυμάζειν, πότερον ὡς καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ αἰτήσονται, τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν πλείονος ἀξίαν ἀποφαίνοντες τῆς πονηρίας; —ἐβουλόμην μέντ' ἂν αὐτοὺς οὕτω προθύμους εἶναι σώζειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ οὗτοι ἀπολλύναι·—ἢ ὡς δεινοὶ λέγειν ἀπολογήσονται, καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔργα πολλοῦ ἄξια ἀποφανοῦσιν;—ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τὰ δίκαια πώποτε ἐπεχείρησεν εἰπεῖν. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μάρτυρας ἄξιον ἰδεῖν, οἳ τούτοις μαρτυροῦντες, αὐτῶν κατηγοροῦσι· [1] σφόδρα ἐπιλήσμονας καὶ εὐήθεις νομίζοντες ὑμᾶς εἶναι, εἰ διὰ μὲν τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους ἀδεῶς ἡγοῦνται τοὺς τριάκοντα σώσειν· διὰ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένην καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτοῦ, δεινὸν ἦν καὶ τῶν τεθνειότων ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν. Καίτοι οὗτοι μὲν σωθέντες, πάλιν ἂν δύναιντο τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσαι· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, οὓς οὗτοι ἀπώλεσαν, τελευτήσαντες τὸν βίον, πέρας ἔχουσι τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιμωρίας. [2] Οὐκοῦν δεινὸν, εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀδίκως τεθνεώτων οἱ φίλοι συναπώλλυντο· αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσασιν ἦ που ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν πολλοὶ ἥξουσιν, ὁπότε βοηθεῖν τοσοῦτοι παρασκευάζονται; Καὶ μὲν δὴ πολὺ ῥᾷον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὑμεῖς ἐπάσχετε, [3] ἀντειπεῖν, ἢ περὶ ὧν οὗτοι πεποιήκασιν, ἀπολογήσασθαι. Καίτοι λέγουσιν, [4] ὡς Ἐρατοσθένει ἐλάχιστα τῶν τριάκοντα κακὰ εἴργασται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦσι σωθῆναι· [5] ὅτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πλεῖστα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκεν, [6] οὐκ οἴονται χρῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι. Ὑμεῖς δὲ δείξατε, ἥντινα γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ τούτου [7] καταψηφιεῖσθε, δῆλοι ἔσεσθε ὡς ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις· εἰ δὲ ἀποψηφιεῖσθε, ὀφθήσεσθε τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐπιθυμηταὶ τούτοις ὄντες, καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε λέγειν, ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα προσταχθέντα ἐποιεῖτε. Νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζει παρὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἀποψηφί-

ζεσθαι. Ὥστε συμβουλεύω, μὴ τούτων ἀποψηφισαμένους, ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καταψηφίσασθαι. Μηδ' [1] οἴεσθε κρύβδην τὴν ψῆφον· φανερὰν γὰρ τῇ πόλει τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ποιήσετε.

[2] Βούλομαι δέ, ὀλίγα ἑκατέρους ἀναμνήσας, καταβαίνειν, τούς τε ἐξ ἄστεος, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πειραιῶς· ἵνα τὰς ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦτον γεγενημένας συμφορὰς παραδείγματα ἔχοντες, τὴν ψῆφον φέρητε. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅσοι ἐξ ἄστεός ἐστε, σκέψασθε, ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων οὕτω [3] σφόδρα ἤρχεσθε, ὥστε ἀδελφοῖς καὶ υἱέσι καὶ πολίταις ἠναγκάζεσθε πολεμεῖν τοιοῦτον πόλεμον, [4] ἐν ᾧ ἡττηθέντες μέν, τοῖς νικήσασι τὸ ἴσον εἴχετε, νικήσαντες δ' ἂν [5] τούτοις ἐδουλεύετε. Καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους οὗτοι μὲν ἂν [6] ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων μεγάλους ἐκτήσαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον ἐλάττους εἴχετε. [7] Συνωφελεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἠξίουν, συνδιαβάλλεσθαι δ' ἠνάγκαζον· εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπεροψίας ἐλθόντες, ὥστε οὐ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινούμενοι, πιστοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐκτῶντο, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀνειδῶν μεταδιδόντες, εὔνους ᾤοντο εἶναι. Ἀνθ' ὧν ὑμεῖς, νῦν ἐν τῷ θαῤῥαλέῳ ὄντες, καθόσον δύνασθε, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς τιμωρήσασθε· ἐνθυμηθέντες μέν, ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων πονηροτάτων ὄντων ἤρχεσθε· ἐνθυμηθέντες δέ, ὅτι μετ' ἀνδρῶν νῦν ἀρίστων πολιτεύεσθε, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθε, καὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως βουλεύεσθε· ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων, οὓς οὗτοι [8] φύλακας τῆς σφετέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας δουλείας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν. Καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μέν, ἔτι πολλῶν ὄντων εἰπεῖν, τοσαῦτα λέγω. Ὅσοι δ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἐστε, [9] πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ὅπλων ἀναμνήσθητε, ὅτι πολλὰς μάχας ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ μαχεσάμενοι, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτων, εἰρήνης οὔσης, ἀφῃρέ-

θητε τὰ ὅπλα· ἔπειθ', ὅτι ἐξεκηρύχθητε μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πατέρες παρέδοσαν, φεύγοντας δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξητοῦντο. Ἀνθ' ὧν ὀργίσθητε μὲν, ὥσπερ ὅτ' ἐφεύγετε· ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν, ἃ πεπόνθατε ὑπ' αὐτῶν· οἳ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν συναρπάζοντες βιαίως ἀπέκτειναν· τοὺς δὲ, ἀπὸ τέκνων καὶ γονέων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀφέλκοντες, φονέας αὐτῶν ἠνάγκασαν γενέσθαι, [1] καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς τῆς νομιζομένης εἴασαν τυχεῖν· ἡγούμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν βεβαιοτέραν εἶναι [2] τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίας. Ὅσοι δὲ τὸν θάνατον διέφυγον, πολλαχοῦ κινδυνεύσαντες, καὶ εἰς πολλὰς πόλεις πλανηθέντες, καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐκκηρυττόμενοι, ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οἱ μὲν ἐν πολεμίᾳ τῇ πατρίδι τοὺς παῖδας καταλιπόντες, οἱ δ' ἐν ξένῃ γῇ, πολλῶν ἐναντιουμένων, ἤλθετε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων ὑπαρξάντων, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, τοὺς μὲν ἠλευθερώσατε, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κατηγάγετε. Εἰ δὲ ἐδυστυχήσατε, καὶ τούτων ἡμάρτετε, [3] αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν δείσαντες ἐφεύγετε, μὴ πάθητε τοιαῦτα, οἷα καὶ πρότερον· καὶ οὔτε ἂν ἱερὰ, οὔτε βωμοὶ ὑμᾶς ἀδικουμένους [4] διὰ τοὺς τούτων τρόπους ὠφέλησαν, ἃ καὶ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι σωτήρια γίνεται· οἱ δὲ παῖδες ὑμῶν, ὅσοι μὲν ἐνθάδε ἦσαν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἂν ὑβρίζοντο· οἱ δ' [5] ἐπὶ ξένης, [6] μικρῶν ἂν ἕνεκα συμβολαίων ἐδούλευον, ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἐπικουρησόντων. [7] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι βούλομαι λέγειν, τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτων οὐ δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑνὸς κατηγόρου, οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἔργον ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν. [8] Ὅμως δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἐλλέλειπται ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ ἦτοι—[9] τὰ μὲν ἀπέδοντο, τὰ δ' εἰσιόντες ἐμίαινον· ὑπέρ τε τῆς πόλεως, ἣν μικρὰν ἐποίουν· ὑπέρ τε τῶν νεωρίων, ἃ καθεῖλον

καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνεώτων, [1] οἷς ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ζῶσιν ἐπαμῦναι οὐκ ἠδύνασθε, ἀποθανοῦσι βοηθήσατε. Οἶμαι δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑμῶν τε ἀκροᾶσθαι, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἴσεσθαι τὴν ψῆφον φέροντας ἡγουμένους, ὅσοι μὲν ἂν τούτων [2] ἀποψηφίσησθε, αὐτῶν θάνατον καταψηφιεῖσθαι· ὅσοι δ᾽ ἂν παρὰ τούτων δίκην λάβωσιν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν [3] τιμωρίας πεποιημένους. Παύσομαι κατηγορῶν. Ἀκηκόατε· ἑωράκατε· πεπόνθατε· ἔχετε· δικάζετε.

II.

[1] Ex ISOCRATE.

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ISOCRATES in diverso genere dicendi nitidus et compositus, et palaestrae quam pugnae magis accommodatus, omnes dicendi Veneres sectatus est; nec immeritò. Auditoriis enim se, non judiciis comparârat. In inventione facilis, honesti studiosus, in compositione adeò diligens, ut cura ejus reprehendatur. QUINCT. X.

[2] *ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ*

ΠΡΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΝ

ΛΟΓΟΣ.

ΕΝ πολλοῖς μὲν, ὦ Δημόνικε, πολὺ [3] διεστώσας εὑρήσομεν τάς τε τῶν σπουδαίων γνώμας, καὶ τὰς τῶν φαύλων διανοίας· πολὺ δὲ μεγίστην διαφορὰν [4] εἰλήφασιν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνηθείαις. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους, παρόντας μόνον, τιμῶσιν· οἱ δὲ καὶ μακρὰν ἀπόντας ἀγαπῶσι. Καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν φαύλων συνηθείας ὀλίγος χρόνος διέλυσε· [5] τὰς δὲ τῶν σπουδαίων φιλίας οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν ἐξαλείψειεν. Ἡγούμενος οὖν πρέπειν [6] τοὺς δόξης ὀρεγομένους, καὶ [7] παιδείας ἀντιποιουμένους, τῶν σπουδαίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν φαύλων, εἶναι μιμητὰς, ἀπέσταλκά σοι τόνδε τὸν λόγον δῶρον, τεκμήριον μὲν τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλίας, σημεῖον δὲ τῆς πρὸς Ἱππόνικον συν-

ηθείας. Πρέπει γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας, ὥσπερ τῆς οὐσίας, οὕτω καὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς πατρικῆς κληρονομεῖν.

Ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην ἡμῖν συλλαμβάνουσαν, καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν συναγωνιζόμενον· σὺ μὲν γὰρ παιδείας ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ παιδεύειν ἄλλους ἐπιχειρῶ· καὶ σὺ μὲν [1] ἀκμὴν φιλοσοφεῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας ἐπανορθῶ. Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φίλους [2] τοὺς προτρεπτικοὺς λόγους συγγράφουσι, καλὸν μὲν ἔργον ἐπιχειροῦσιν, [3] οὐ μὴν περί γε τὸ κράτιστον τῆς φιλοσοφίας διατρίβουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις εἰσηγοῦνται, μὴ δι' ὧν τὴν δεινότητα τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀσκήσουσιν, [4] ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰ τῶν τρόπων ἤθη σπουδαῖοι πεφυκέναι δόξουσι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐκείνων τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὠφελοῦσιν, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ λόγον μόνον παρακαλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν ἐπανορθοῦσι.

Διόπερ ἡμεῖς, [5] οὐ παράκλησιν εὑρόντες, ἀλλὰ παραίνεσιν γράψαντες, μέλλομέν σοι συμβουλεύειν, ὧν χρὴ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὀρέγεσθαι, καὶ τίνων ἔργων ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ ποίοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, καὶ πῶς τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον οἰκονομεῖν. Ὅσοι γὰρ τοῦ βίου ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπορεύθησαν, οὗτοι μόνοι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφικέσθαι γνησίως ἠδυνήθησαν· ἧς οὐδὲν κτῆμα σεμνότερον, οὐδὲ βεβαιότερόν ἐστι. [6] Κάλλος μὲν γὰρ ἢ χρόνος ἀνήλωσεν, ἢ νόσος ἐμάρανε· πλοῦτος δὲ κακίας μᾶλλον ἢ καλοκἀγαθίας ὑπηρέτης ἐστίν, ἐξουσίαν μὲν τῇ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ παρασκευάζων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἡδονὰς τοὺς νέους παρακαλῶν. [7] Ῥώμη δὲ μετὰ μὲν φρονήσεως ὠφέλησεν, ἄνευ δὲ ταύτης πλείω τοὺς ἔχοντας ἔβλαψε· καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα [8] τῶν ἀσκούντων ἐκόσμησε, ταῖς δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμελείαις ἐπεσκότησεν. Ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς κτῆσις, οἷς ἂν ἀκιβδήλως ἐν ταῖς διανοίαις συναυξηθῇ, μόνη μὲν συγγηράσκει· πλούτου δὲ κρείττων, χρησιμωτέρα δὲ εὐγενείας ἐστί· τὰ μὲν τοῖς

ἄλλοις ἀδύνατα, δυνατὰ καθιστῶσα· τὰ δὲ τῷ πλήθει φοβερὰ, θαρσαλέως ὑπομένουσα· καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄκνον, ψόγον, τὸν δὲ πόνον, ἔπαινον ἡγουμένη. Ῥᾴδιον δὲ τοῦτο καταμαθεῖν ἐστιν ἔκ τε τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἄθλων, καὶ τῶν Θησέως ἔργων· οἷς ἡ τῶν τρόπων ἀρετὴ τηλικοῦτον εὐδοξίας χαρακτῆρα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπέβαλεν, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον δύνασθαι λήθην ἐμποιῆσαι [1] τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων.

[2] Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς προαιρέσεις ἀναμνησθεὶς, οἰκεῖον καὶ καλὸν ἕξεις παράδειγμα τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ λεγομένων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὀλιγωρῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς, οὐδὲ ῥᾳθυμῶν, διετέλεσε τὸν βίον· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἐγύμναζε, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπέμενεν. Οὐδὲ τὸν πλοῦτον παρακαίρως ἠγάπα, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπήλαυε μὲν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ὡς θνητὸς, ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἀθάνατος· οὐδὲ ταπεινῶς διῴκει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον, ἀλλὰ φιλόκαλός τε ἦν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς, [3] καὶ τοῖς φίλοις κοινός· καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθαύμαζε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδάζοντας, ἢ τοὺς τῷ γένει προσήκοντας. Ἡγεῖτο γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς ἑταιρίαν πολλῷ κρείττω φύσιν, νόμου· καὶ τρόπον, γένους· καὶ προαίρεσιν, ἀνάγκης.

Ἐπιλίποι δ᾽ ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος, εἰ πάσας τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις καταριθμησαίμεθα. [4] Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν ἐν ἑτέροις καιροῖς δηλώσομεν· δεῖγμα δὲ τῆς Ἱππονίκου φύσεως νῦν [5] ἐξενηνόχαμεν, πρὸς ὃ δεῖ σὲ ζῆν, ὥσπερ πρὸς παράδειγμα· νόμον μὲν τὸν ἐκείνου τρόπον ἡγησάμενον, μιμητὴν δὲ καὶ ζηλωτὴν τῆς πατρῴας ἀρετῆς γενόμενον. Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ, τοὺς μὲν γραφεῖς ἀπεικάζειν τὰ καλὰ τῶν ζώων, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας μὴ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς σπουδαίους τῶν γονέων. Ἡγοῦ δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὕτω προσήκειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀσκεῖν, ὡς σοὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἐφάμιλλος γενήσῃ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν.

[1] Οὕτω δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἀδύνατον διατεθῆναι τὸν μὴ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἀκουσμάτων πεπληρωμένον. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα τοῖς συμμέτροις πόνοις, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ τοῖς σπουδαίοις λόγοις [2] αὔξεσθαι πέφυκε. Διόπερ ἐγώ σοι πειράσομαι,[3] συντόμως ὑποθέσθαι, δἰ ὧν ἄν μοι δοκοίης ἐπιτηδευμάτων πλεῖστον πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπιδοῦναι, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμῆσαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, εὐσέβει τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, μὴ μόνον θύων, ἀλλα καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένων. Εκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ, τῆς τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορίας σημεῖον· τοῦτο δὲ, τῆς τῶν τρόπων καλοκἀγαθίας τεκμήριον. Τίμα τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀεὶ μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τῆς πόλεως. Οὕτω γὰρ δόξεις ἅμα τε τοῖς θεοῖς θύειν, καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἐμμένειν.

Τοιοῦτος γίνου περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς, οἵους ἂν εὔξαιο περὶ σεαυτὸν γενέσθαι τοὺς σαυτοῦ παῖδας.

Ασκει τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμνασίων, μὴ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ῥώμην, ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑγίειαν συμφέροντα. Τούτου δ᾽ ἂν ἐπιτυγχάνοις, εἰ λήγοις τῶν πόνων ἔτι πονεῖν δυνάμενος.

Μήτε γέλωτα προπετῆ στέργε, μήτε λόγον μετὰ θράσους ἀποδέχου. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνόητον· τὸ δὲ μανικόν.

Ἁ ποιεῖν αἰσχρὸν, ταῦτα νόμιζε μηδὲ λέγειν εἶναι καλόν.

Εθιζε σαυτὸν εἶναι μὴ σκυθρωπὸν, ἀλλὰ σύννουν. Δἰ ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ, [4] αὐθάδης· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο, φρόνιμος εἶναι δόξεις.

Ἡγοῦ μάλιστα σεαυτῷ πρέπειν, κόσμον, αἰσχύνην, δικαιοσύνην, σωφροσυνην. Τούτοις γὰρ ἅπασι δοκεῖ κρατεῖσθαι τὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἦθος.

Μηδέποτε μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσας ἔλπιζε λήσειν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους λάθης, σαυτῷ γε συνειδήσεις.

Τὸν μὲν θεὸν φοβοῦ, τοὺς δὲ γονεῖς τίμα.

Τοὺς δὲ φίλους αἰσχύνου, τοῖς δὲ νόμοις πείθου.

Τὰς ἡδονὰς θήρευε τὰς μετὰ δόξης. Τέρψις γὰρ, σὺν τῷ καλῷ μὲν, ἄριστον, ἄνευ δὲ τούτου, κάκιστον.

[1] Εὐλαβοῦ τὰς διαβολὰς, κἂν ψευδεῖς ὦσιν. Οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τὴν μὲν ἀλήθειαν ἀγνοοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἀποβλέπουσιν.

Ἅπαντα δόκει ποιεῖν ὡς μηδένα λήσων· καὶ γὰρ ἂν παραυτίκα κρύψῃς, ὕστερον ὀφθήσῃ.

Μάλιστα δ' ἂν [2] εὐδοκιμοίης, εἰ φαίνοιο ταῦτα μὴ πράττων, ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν πράττουσιν ἐπιτιμῴης.

Ἐὰν ᾖς φιλομαθὴς, ἔσῃ πολυμαθής.

Ἃ μὲν ἐπίστασαι, διαφύλαττε ταῖς μελέταις· ἃ δὲ μὴ μεμάθηκας, προσλάμβανε ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις. Ὁμοίως γὰρ αἰσχρὸν, ἀκούσαντα χρήσιμον λόγον μὴ μανθάνειν, καὶ διδόμενόν τι ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τῶν φίλων μὴ λαμβάνειν.

Κατανάλισκε τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ σχολὴν εἰς τὴν τῶν λόγων φιληκοΐαν· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις χαλεπῶς εὑρημένα συμβήσεταί σοι ῥᾳδίως μανθάνειν.

Ἡγοῦ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων πολλὰ πολλῶν εἶναι χρημάτων κρείττω. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ταχέως ἀπολείπει, τὰ δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον παραμένει. Σοφία γὰρ μόνη τῶν κτημάτων ἀθάνατον.

Μὴ κατόκνει μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς διδάσκειν τι χρήσιμον ἐπαγγελλομένους. Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ, τοὺς μὲν ἐμπόρους τηλικαῦτα πελάγη διαπερᾶν, ἕνεκα τοῦ πλείω ποιῆσαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν· τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους μηδὲ τὰς κατὰ γῆν πορείας ὑπομένειν, ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίω καταστῆσαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν διάνοιαν.

Τῷ μὲν τρόπῳ γίνου φιλοπροσήγορος, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ εὐπροσήγορος. Ἐστι δὲ φιλοπροσηγορίας μὲν τὸ προσφωνεῖν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας· εὐπροσηγορίας δὲ τὸ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῖς οἰκείως ἐντυγχάνειν.

Ἡδέως μὲν ἔχε πρὸς ἅπαντας, χρῶ δὲ τοῖς βελτίστοις· οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀπεχθὴς ἔσῃ, τοῖς δὲ φίλος γενήσῃ.

Τὰς ἐντεύξεις μὴ πυκνὰς ποιοῦ [1] τοῖς αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ μακρὰς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. Πλησμονὴ γὰρ ἁπάντων.

Γύμναζε σεαυτὸν πόνοις ἑκουσίοις, ὅπως ἂν δύναιο καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσίους ὑπομένειν.

[2] Ὑφ' ὧν κρατεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν αἰσχρὸν, τούτων ἐγκράτειαν ἄσκει πάντων, κέρδους, ὀργῆς, ἡδονῆς, λύπης. Εσῃ δὲ ἐν τῷ κέρδει τοιοῦτος, ἂν κέρδη μὲν εἶναι νομίζῃς, δι' ὧν εὐδοκιμήσεις, ἀλλὰ μὴ δι' ὧν εὐπορήσεις· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀργῇ, ἂν παραπλησίως ἔχῃς πρὸς τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας, ὥσπερ ἂν πρὸς σαυτὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔχειν [3] ἀξιώσειας· ἐν δὲ τοῖς τερπνοῖς, ἂν αἰσχρὸν ὑπολάβῃς, τῶν μὲν οἰκετῶν ἄρχειν, ταῖς δ' ἡδοναῖς δουλεύειν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς λυπηροῖς, ἂν τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀτυχίας ἐπιβλέπῃς, καὶ σεαυτὸν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ὑπομιμνήσκῃς.

Μᾶλλον τήρει τὰς τῶν λόγων ἢ τὰς τῶν χρημάτων παρακαταθήκας. [4] Δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας τρόπον ὅρκου πιστότερον φαίνεσθαι παρεχομένους.

Προσήκειν ἡγοῦ, τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀπιστεῖν, ὥσπερ τοῖς χρηστοῖς πιστεύειν. Περὶ τῶν ἀποῤῥήτων μηδενὶ λέγε, πλὴν ἐὰν ὁμοίως συμφέρῃ τὰς πράξεις σιωπᾶσθαι σοί τε τῷ λέγοντι, κἀκείνοις τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.

[5] Ὅρκον ἐπακτὸν προσδέχου διὰ δύο προφάσεις, ἢ σεαυτὸν αἰτίας αἰσχρᾶς ἀπολύων, ἢ φίλους ἐκ κινδύνων διασώζων Ἕνεκα δὲ χρημάτων μηδένα θεὸν ὀμόσῃς, μηδ' ἂν εὐορκεῖν μέλλῃς. Δόξεις γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιορκεῖν, τοῖς δὲ [6] φιλοχρημάτως ἔχειν.

Μηδένα φίλον ποιοῦ, πρὶν ἂν ἐξετάσῃς, πῶς κέχρηται τοῖς πρότερον φίλοις. Ελπιζε γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ σὲ γενήσεσθαι τοιοῦτον, οἷος καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους γέγονε.

Βραδέως μὲν φίλος γίνου, γενόμενος δὲ, πειρῶ διαμένειν. Ὁμοίως γὰρ αἰσχρὸν, μηδένα φίλον ἔχειν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑταίρους μεταλλάττειν.

Μήτε μετὰ βλάβης πειρῶ τῶν φίλων, μήτε ἄπειρος εἶναι τῶν ἑταίρων θέλε. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσεις, ἂν, μὴ δεόμενος, τὸ δεῖσθαι προσποιῇ, περὶ δὲ τῶν ῥητῶν ὡς ἀποῤῥήτων ἀνακοινοῖ. [1] Μὴ τυχὼν μὲν γὰρ, οὐδὲν βλαβήσῃ τυχὼν δὲ, μᾶλλον τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν ἐπιστήσῃ.

Δοκίμαζε τοὺς φίλους ἔκ τε τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἀτυχίας, καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις κοινωνίας. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον ἐν τῷ πυρὶ δοκιμάζομεν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις διαγινώσκομεν.

Οὕτω δ' ἂν ἄριστα χρήσῃ τοῖς φίλοις, ἂν μὴ περιμένῃς τὰς παρ' ἐκείνων δεήσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτεπάγγελτος, ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς, αὐτοῖς βοηθῇς.

Ὁμοίως αἰσχρὸν νόμιζε, τῶν ἐχθρῶν νικᾶσθαι ταῖς κακοποιΐαις, καὶ τῶν φίλων ἡττᾶσθαι ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις.

Ἀποδέχου τῶν ἑταίρων μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς δυσχεραίνοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς μὴ φθονοῦντας. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀτυχοῦσι μὲν τοῖς φίλοις συνάχθονται, καλῶς δὲ πράττουσι φθονοῦσι.

Τῶν ἀπόντων φίλων μέμνησο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας· ἵνα δοκῇς μηδὲ τούτων ἀπόντων ὀλιγωρεῖν.

Εἶναι βούλου τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα φιλόκαλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ καλλωπιστής. Ἐστι δὲ φιλοκάλου μὲν τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές· καλλωπιστοῦ δὲ τὸ περίεργον.

Ἀγάπα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν μὴ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν κτῆσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετρίαν ἀπόλαυσιν.

Καταφρόνει τῶν περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον σπουδαζόντων, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μὴ δυναμένων. [2] Παραπλήσιον γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι πάσχουσιν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἵππον κτήσαιτο καλὸν, κακῶς ἱππεύειν ἐπιστάμενος.

[1] Πειρῶ τὸν πλοῦτον χρήματα καὶ κτήματα κατασκευάζειν. Εστι δὲ χρήματα μὲν τοῖς ἀπολαύειν ἐπισταμένοις· κτήματα δὲ, τοῖς κτᾶσθαι δυναμένοις.

Τίμα τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν δυοῖν ἕνεκα, [2] τοῦ τε ζημίαν μεγάλην ἐκτίσαι, καὶ τοῦ φίλῳ σπουδαίῳ δυστυχοῦντι βοηθῆσαι. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄλλον βίον, μηδὲν ὑπερβαλλόντως, ἀλλὰ μετρίως αὐτὴν ἀγάπα.

Στέργε μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ζήτει δὲ τὰ βελτίω.

Μηδενὶ συμφορὰν ὀνειδίσῃς. Κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀόρατον.

Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εὖ ποίει. Καλὸς γὰρ θησαυρὸς, παρ' ἀνδρὶ σπουδαίῳ χάρις ὀφειλομένη. Τοὺς κακοὺς εὖ ποιῶν, ὅμοια πείσῃ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας κύνας σιτίζουσιν. Εκεῖναί τε γὰρ τοὺς διδόντας, [3] ὥσπερ τοὺς τυχόντας, ὑλακτοῦσιν· οἵ τε κακοὶ τοὺς ὠφελοῦντας, ὥσπερ τοὺς βλάπτοντας, ἀδικοῦσι.

Μίσει τοὺς κολακεύοντας, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐξαπατῶντας. Αμφότεροι γὰρ πιστευθέντες τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἀδικοῦσιν.

[4] Εὰν ἀποδέχῃ τῶν φίλων τοὺς πρὸς τὸ φαυλότατόν σοι χαριζομένους, οὐχ ἕξεις ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοὺς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπεχθανομένους.

Γίνου πρὸς τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὁμιλητικὸς, ἀλλὰ μὴ σεμνός. Τὸν μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὑπεροπτικῶν ὄγκον μόλις ἂν οἱ δοῦλοι [5] καρτερήσειαν· τὸν δὲ τῶν ὁμιλητικῶν τρόπον ἅπαντες ἡδέως ὑποφέρουσιν. Ὁμιλητικὸς δ' ἔσῃ, μὴ δύσερις ὤν, μηδὲ δυσάρεστος, μηδὲ πρὸς πάντα φιλόνεικος, μηδὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πλησιαζόντων ὀργὰς τραχέως ἀπαντῶν, μηδ' ἂν ἀδίκως [6] ὀργιζόμενοι τυγχάνωσιν· ἀλλὰ θυμουμένοις μὲν αὐτοῖς εἴκων, πεπαυμένοις δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπιπλήττων. Μηδὲ περὶ τὰ γελοῖα σπουδάζων, μηδὲ περὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα τοῖς γελοίοις χαίρων· τὸ γὰρ ἄκαιρον πανταχοῦ λυπηρόν. Μηδὲ τὰς χάριτας ἀχα-

ρίστως χαριζόμενος· [1] ὅπερ πάσχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ, ποιοῦντες μὲν εὖ, ἀηδῶς δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ὑπουργοῦντες. Μηδὲ φιλαίτιος ὤν· βαρὺ γάρ. Μηδὲ φιλεπιτιμητής· παροξυντικὸν γάρ.

Μάλιστα μὲν εὐλαβοῦ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πότοις συνουσίας· ἂν δέ ποτέ σοι συμπέσῃ καιρὸς, ἐξανίστασο πρὸ μέθης. Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ὑπὸ οἴνου διαφθαρῇ, ταὐτὰ πάσχει τοῖς ἅρμασι τοῖς τοὺς ἡνιόχους ἀποβάλλουσιν. Ἐκεῖνά τε γὰρ ἀτάκτως φέρεται, διαμαρτάνοντα τῶν εὐθυνόντων· ἥ τε ψυχὴ πολλὰ σφάλλεται, διαφθαρείσης τῆς διανοίας.

[2] Ἀθάνατα μὲν φρόνει τῷ μεγαλόψυχος εἶναι· θνητὰ δὲ, τῷ συμμέτρως τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπολαύειν.

Ἡγοῦ τὴν παιδείαν τοσούτῳ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας, ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοχθηρὰ πάντες κερδαίνοντες πράττουσιν, αὕτη δὲ μόνη καὶ [3] προσεζημίωσε τοὺς ἔχοντας. Πολλάκις γὰρ, ὃν τοῖς λόγοις ἐλύπησαν, τούτῳ τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔδοσαν.

Οὓς ἂν βούλῃ ποιήσασθαι φίλους, ἀγαθόν τι λέγε περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας. Ἀρχὴ γὰρ φιλίας μὲν, ἔπαινος· ἔχθρας δὲ, ψόγος.

Βουλευόμενος παραδείγματα ποιοῦ τὰ παρεληλυθότα τῶν μελλόντων. Τὸ γὰρ ἀφανὲς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ταχίστην ἔχει τὴν διάγνωσιν.

Βουλεύου μὲν βραδέως, ἐπιτέλει δὲ ταχέως τὰ δόξαντα.

Ἡγοῦ κράτιστον εἶναι παρὰ μὲν θεοῦ εὐτυχίαν, παρὰ δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εὐβουλίαν.

Περὶ ὧν ἂν αἰσχύνῃ παῤῥησιάσασθαι, βούλει δέ τισι τῶν φίλων ἀνακοινώσασθαι, χρῶ τοῖς λόγοις ὡς περὶ ἀλλοτρίου τοῦ πράγματος. Οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἐκείνων τε γνώμην αἰσθήσῃ, καὶ σεαυτὸν οὐ καταφανῆ ποιήσεις.

Ὅταν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν σεαυτοῦ μέλλῃς τινὶ συμβουλεύεσθαι, σκόπει πρῶτον, πῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν αὑτοῦ διῴκησεν. Ὁ γὰρ κακῶς διανοηθεὶς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων, οὐδέποτε καλῶς βουλεύσεται περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων.

Οὕτω δ' ἂν κάλλιστα βουλεύεσθαι παροξυνθείης, εἰ τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀβουλίας ἐπιβλέψειας. Καὶ γὰρ τῆς ὑγιείας πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχομεν, ὅταν τὰς λύπας τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀῤῥωστίας ἀναμνησθῶμεν.

[1] Μιμοῦ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἤθη, καὶ δίωκε τὰ ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύματα· δόξεις γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀποδέχεσθαι, καὶ ζηλοῦν. Ὥστε σοι συμβήσεται παρά τε τῷ πλήθει μᾶλλον εὐδοκιμεῖν, καὶ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνων εὔνοιαν βεβαιοτέραν ἔχειν.

Πείθου μὲν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων κειμένοις· ἰσχυρότατον μέντοι νόμον ἡγοῦ τὸν ἐκείνων τρόπον. Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευόμενον τὸ πλῆθος δεῖ θεραπεύειν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἐν μοναρχίᾳ κατοικοῦντα τὸν βασιλέα προσήκει θαυμάζειν.

[2] Εἰς ἀρχὴν κατασταθείς, μηδενὶ χρῶ πονηρῷ πρὸς τὰς διοικήσεις· ὧν γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἁμάρτοι, σοὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀναθήσουσιν.

Ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελειῶν ἀπαλλάττου, μὴ πλουσιώτερος, ἀλλ' ἐνδοξότερος. Πολλῶν γὰρ χρημάτων κρείττων ὁ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔπαινος.

[3] Μηδενὶ πονηρῷ πράγματι μήτε παρίστασο, μήτε συνηγόρει· δόξεις γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τοιαῦτα πράττειν, οἷάπερ ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις πράττουσι βοηθῇς.

Παρασκεύαζε σεαυτὸν πλεονεκτεῖν μὲν δυνάμενον, ἀνέχου δὲ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν· ἵνα δοκῇς [4] ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς δικαιοσύνης, μὴ δι' ἀσθένειαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐπιείκειαν.

Μᾶλλον ἀποδέχου δικαίαν πενίαν, ἢ πλοῦτον ἄδικον.

Τοσούτῳ γὰρ κρείττων δικαιοσύνη χρημάτων, ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν ζῶντας μόνον ὠφελεῖ, ἡ δὲ καὶ τελευτήσασι δόξαν παρασκευάζει Κἀκείνων μὲν τοῖς φαύλοις μέτεστι, ταύτης δὲ τοῖς μοχθηροῖς ἀδύνατον μεταλαβεῖν.

Μηδένα ζήλου τῶν ἐξ ἀδικίας κερδαινόντων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀποδέχου τοὺς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ζημιωθέντας. Οἱ γὰρ δίκαιοι τῶν ἀδίκων, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλεονεκτοῦσιν, [1] ἀλλ' οὖν ἐλπίσι γε σπουδαίαις ὑπερέχουσι.

Πάντων μὲν ἐπιμελοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν σεαυτοῦ φρόνησιν ἄσκει. Μέγιστον γὰρ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ, νοῦς ἀγαθὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σώματι.

Πειρῶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα εἶναι φιλόπονος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν φιλόσοφος· ἵνα τῷ μὲν ἐπιτελεῖν δύνῃ τὰ δόξαντα, τῇ δὲ προορᾶν ἐπίστῃ τὰ συμφέροντα.

Πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν μέλλῃς λέγειν, πρότερον ἐπισκόπει τῇ γνώμῃ. Πολλοῖς γὰρ ἡ γλῶττα προτρέχει τῆς διανοίας.

Δύο ποιοῦ καιροὺς τοῦ λέγειν, ἢ περὶ ὧν οἶσθα σαφῶς, ἢ περὶ ὧν ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. Εν τούτοις γὰρ μόνοις ὁ λόγος τῆς σιγῆς κρείττων· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄμεινον σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν.

Νόμιζε μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέβαιον. Οὕτω γὰρ οὔτ', εὐτυχῶν, ἔσῃ περιχαρής· οὔτε, δυστυχῶν, περίλυπος.

Χαῖρε μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ λυποῦ μετρίως ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις τῶν κακῶν· [2] γίνου δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν μηδετέροις ὢν κατάδηλος. Ατοπον γάρ, τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀποκρύπτειν, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν φανερὰν ἔχοντα περιπατεῖν.

Μᾶλλον εὐλαβοῦ ψόγον, ἢ κίνδυνον. Δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι φοβερὰν τοῖς μὲν φαύλοις τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν, τοῖς δὲ σπουδαίοις τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἀδοξίαν.

Μάλιστα μὲν πειρῶ ζῆν κατὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· ἐὰν δέ ποτέ σοι συμβῇ κινδυνεύειν, ζήτει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου σωτηρίαν μετὰ καλῆς δόξης, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετ᾽ αἰσχρᾶς φήμης. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τελευτῆσαι, πάντων [1] ἡ πεπρωμένη κατέκρινε· τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν, ἴδιον τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἡ φύσις ἀπένειμε.

Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς, εἰ πολλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ πρέπει σοὶ πρὸς τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν ἡλικίαν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμὲ τοῦτο διέλαθεν· ἀλλὰ προειλόμην διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς πραγματείας, ἅμα τοῦ τε παρόντος βίου συμβουλίαν ἐξενεγκεῖν, καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου παράγγελμα καταλιπεῖν. Τὴν μὲν γὰρ τούτων χρείαν ῥᾳδίως εἰδήσεις, τὸν δὲ συμβουλεύοντα μετ᾽ εὐνοίας χαλεπῶς εὑρήσεις. Ὅπως οὖν τὰ λοιπὰ μὴ παρ᾽ ἑτέρου ζητῇς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐντεῦθεν, ὥσπερ ἐκ ταμιείου, προφέρῃς, ᾠήθην δεῖν μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν, ὧν ἂν ἔχω σοὶ συμβουλεύειν.

Πολλὴν δ᾽ ἂν τῷ θεῷ [2] χάριν σχοίην, εἰ μὴ διαμάρτοιμι τῆς δόξης, [3] ἣν ἔχων περὶ σοῦ τυγχάνω. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων τοὺς πλείστους εὑρήσομεν, ὥσπερ τῶν σιτίων τοῖς ἡδίστοις μᾶλλον, ἢ τοῖς ὑγιεινοτάτοις χαίροντας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς συνεξαμαρτάνουσι πλησιάζοντας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοῖς νουθετοῦσι. Σὲ δὲ νομίζω τοὐναντίον τούτων ἐγνωκέναι, τεκμηρίῳ χρώμενος τῇ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην σου παιδείαν φιλοπονίᾳ. Τὸν γὰρ αὑτῷ τὰ βέλτιστα πράττειν ἐπιτάττοντα, τοῦτον εἰκὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν παρακαλοῦντας ἀποδέχεσθαι.

Μάλιστα δ᾽ ἂν παροξυνθείης ὀρεχθῆναι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων, εἰ καταμάθοις, ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς τὰς ἐκ τούτων μάλιστα γνησίως ἔχομεν. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ῥᾳθυμεῖν, καὶ τὰς πλησμονὰς ἀγαπᾷν, εὐθὺς

[1] αἱ λῦπαι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς παραπεπήγασι. Τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν φιλοπονεῖν, καὶ σωφρόνως τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον οἰκονομεῖν, ἀεὶ [2] τὰς τέρψεις εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ βεβαιοτέρας ἀποδίδωσι. Κἀκεῖ μὲν, πρῶτον ἡσθέντες, ὕστερον ἐλυπήθημεν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ, μετὰ τὰς λύπας τὰς ἡδονὰς ἔχομεν. Εν ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐχ οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς μνημονεύομεν, ὡς τῆς τελευτῆς αἴσθησιν λαμβάνομεν. Τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον, οὐ δι᾽ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ποιοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων ἕνεκα διαπονοῦμεν.

Ενθυμοῦ δὲ, διότι τοῖς μὲν [3] φαύλοις ἐνδέχεται τὰ τυχόντα πράττειν· (εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῦ βίȣ τοιαύτην πεποίηνται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν·) τοῖς δὲ σπουδαίοις [4] οὐχ οἷόντε τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀμελεῖν, ἢ πολλοὺς ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας. Πάντες γὰρ μισοῦσιν, οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, ὡς τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς μὲν φάσκοντας εἶναι, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν τυχόντων διαφέροντας· εἰκότως. Ὅπου γὰρ τοὺς τῷ λόγῳ μόνῳ ψευδομένους ἀποδοκιμάζομεν, ἦπου τοὺς τῷ βίῳ παντὶ ἐλαττουμένους, οὐ φαύλους εἶναι φήσομεν; δικαίως δ᾽ ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους ὑπολάβοιμεν, μὴ μόνον εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τύχης εἶναι προδότας. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς χρήματα καὶ δόξαν καὶ φίλους ἐνεχείρισεν· οἱ δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναξίους τῆς ὑπαρχούσης εὐδαιμονίας κατέστησαν.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ, θνητὸν ὄντα, τῆς τῶν θεῶν στοχάσασθαι διανοίας, ἡγοῦμαι κἀκείνους ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις μάλιστα δηλῶσαι, πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς φαύλους, καὶ τοὺς σπουδαίȣς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ζεὺς γὰρ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Τάνταλον γεννήσας, (ὡς οἱ μῦθοι λέγουσι, καὶ πάντες πιστεύουσι,) τὸν μὲν, διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀθάνατον ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ, διὰ τὴν κακίαν, ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμωρίαις ἐκόλασεν.

Οἷς χρὴ παραδείγμασι χρωμένους [1] ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς καλοκἀγαθίας· καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰρημένοις ἐμμένειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τὰ βέλτιστα μανθάνειν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σοφιστῶν, εἴ τι χρήσιμον εἰρήκασιν, ἀναγιγνώσκειν. Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὴν μέλιτταν ὁρῶμεν ἐφ' ἅπαντα μὲν τὰ βλαστήματα καθιζάνουσαν, ἀφ' ἑκάστου δὲ τὰ χρήσιμα λαμβάνουσαν· οὕτω χρὴ καὶ τοὺς παιδείας ὀρεγομένους μηδενὸς μὲν ἀπείρως ἔχειν, πανταχόθεν δὲ τὰ χρήσιμα συλλέγειν. Μόλις γὰρ ἂν τις ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιμελείας [2] τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἁμαρτίας ἐπικρατήσειεν.

III.

[1] E DEMOSTHENE.

[AD EDIT. JOAN. JAC. REISKE. LIPS. 1770. 8VO.]

Planè quidem perfectum, et cui nihil admodum desit, DEMOSTHENEM *facile dixeris.* CIC. DE CLARIS ORAT. CAP. IX.

[2] *ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ*

ΚΑΤΑ

[3] *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α΄.*

[4] *ὙΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ.*

Κακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι, συνεληλύθασιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθυμοῦντες. Ὁ τοίνυν ῥήτωρ τήν τε ἀθυμίαν πειρᾶται παύειν, λέγων οὐδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν, εἰ ῥαθυμοῦντες κεκράτηνται· [5] καὶ εἰσηγεῖται, πῶς ἂν ἄριστα τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖεν. Κελεύει δὴ δύο δυνάμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μείζω, [6] πολιτικὴν, ἥτις οἴκοι μένουσα, πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐπικαίρων χρείας ἕτοιμος ὑπάρξει· ἑτέραν δὲ ἐλάττονα, ξένων ὄντων τῶν στρατευομένων, [7] παραμεμιγμένων δέ· καὶ ταύτην κελεύει τὴν δύναμιν μὴ Ἀθήνησι μένειν, [8] μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς βοηθείας· [9] ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφεσθαι, πολεμοῦσαν ἀδιαλείπτως, ἵνα μὴ [10] τοὺς ἐτησίας πνέοντας ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Φίλιππος, ἢ καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἡνίκα Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλεῖν οὐ δυνατὸν, ἐπιχειρῇ τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἁπάντων κρατῇ· ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξομένη δύναμις ὑπάρχῃ.

[1] ΕΙ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προὐτίθετο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, [2] ἐπισχὼν ἄν,—ἕως [3] οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκέ τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον· εἰ δὲ μή, [4] τότ᾽ ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην, ἃ γιγνώσκω, λέγειν. [5] Ἐπειδὴ δέ, περὶ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον, συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστάς, εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν· εἰ γάρ, ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι [6] συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, οὐκ [7] ἀθυμητέον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ᾽ εἰ πάνυ [8] φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ· ὃ γάρ ἐστι χείριστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο, πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. Τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὐδέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν, κακῶς τὰ πράγματα ἔχει· ἐπείτοιγε εἰ, πάνθ᾽ ἃ προσῆκε πραττόντων, οὕτως εἶχεν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐλπὶς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. [9] Ἔπειτα ἐνθυμητέον, καὶ παρ᾽ ἄλλων ἀκούουσι, καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμιμνησκομένοις, ἡλίκην ποτ᾽ ἐχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, [10] ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολύς, ὡς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπεμείνατε, [11] ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων, τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον. Τίνος οὖν ἕνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν᾽ εἰδῆτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσησθε, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστι φοβερόν, οὔτ᾽, ἂν ὀλιγωρῆτε, τοιοῦτον, οἷον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλησθε· παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι,—τῇ τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, [12] ἧς ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν,—[13] καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει τούτου, δι᾽ ἣν ταραττόμεθα, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν, ὧν ἐχρῆν. Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον οἴεται τὸν Φίλιππον εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως, [14] καὶ τὸ

—τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἴεται. λογισάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι εἴχομέν ποτε ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Πύδναν, καὶ Ποτίδαιαν, καὶ Μεθώνην, καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦτον [1] οἰκεῖον—κύκλῳ· καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνȣ νῦν ὄντων ἐθνῶν αὐτονομȣμένα καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὑπῆρχε· καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ' ἔχειν οἰκείως, ἢ ἐκείνῳ. Εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, ὡς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις ἐστὶν, ἔχουσι τοιαῦτα ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας, ἔρημον ὄντα συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν, ὧν νυνὶ πεποίηκεν, ἔπραξεν· οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἐκτήσατ' ἂν δύναμιν. ἀλλ' οἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο καλῶς ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἆθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ· φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλȣσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων.—Καὶ γάρ τοι, ταύτῃ χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ, πάντα [2] κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν, ὡς ἂν ἑλών τις ἔχοι πολέμου νόμῳ· τὰ δὲ, σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος. καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὁρῶσι παρεσκευασμένȣς καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἃ χρή. Ἂν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, [3] καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδήπερ ȣ πρότερον· καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, ȣ̃ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει παρασχεῖν αὑτὸν, πᾶσαν ἀφεὶς τὴν εἰρωνείαν, ἕτοιμος πράττειν ὑπάρξῃ·—ὁ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχων, εἰσφέρειν· ὁ δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, στρατεύεσθαι· [4] συνελόντι δ' [ἁπλῶς] εἰπεῖν, [5] ἢν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι· καὶ παύσησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν·—καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν κομιεῖσθε, ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, καὶ [6] τὰ κατεῤῥαθυμημένα πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε, κἀκεῖνον τιμωρήσεσθε. Μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῷ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα

πεπηγέναι πράγματα ἀθάνατα· ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκεῖνον, καὶ δέδιεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν πάνυ νῦν δοκέντων οἰκείως ἔχειν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἅπανθ', ὅσα περ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις [1] ἔνι,—ταῦτα κἀν τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου χρὴ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. [2] Κατέπτηχε μέντοι ταῦτα πάντα νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν, διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδύτητα καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν· ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φημὶ δεῖν ἤδη. Ὁρᾶτε γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ πρᾶγμα· [3] οἷ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας—ἄνθρωπος,—ὃς οὐδ' αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν, ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὥς φασι, λέγει· [4] καὶ οὐχ οἷός τε ἐστὶν, ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται, μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων· ἀλλ' αἰεί τι προσπεριβάλλεται, καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους [5] περιστοιχίζεται. Πότ' οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πότε ἃ χρὴ πράξετε; ἐπειδὰν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὰν, νὴ Δία, ἀνάγκη τίς ᾖ; Νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι; [6] ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἴομαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. Η βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, [7] περιϊόντες αὐτοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν·—Λέγεταί τι καινόν; [8] Γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν τι καινότερον, ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμῶν, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; Οὐ μὰ Δί'. Ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ; Τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ, ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἄν περ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ ῥώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται, ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. Καίτοι καὶ τούτων εἴ τι πάθοι, καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν ὑπάρξῃ, (ἡ γὰρ αἰεὶ βέλτιον, ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπιμελουμένη, καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν ἐξεργάσαιτο,) ἴσθ' ὅτι, πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες, [9] ὅπως βούλεσθε, διοικήσαισθε. [10] ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε, οὐδὲ διδόντων ὑμῖν τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφί-

κολιν, δέξασθαι δύναισθ' ἂν, ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις. [1] Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντας ἑτοίμως, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων. Τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς, [2] ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον, καὶ πόρους οὕς τινας χρημάτων, καὶ τἄλλα ὡς ἄν μοι βέλτιστα καὶ τάχιστα δοκῇ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν· δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσοῦτον· ἐπειδὰν ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, καὶ μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε· μηδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινι καινὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλεσθαί με τὰ πράγματα ἡγείσθω. [3] οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ καὶ τήμερον εἰπόντες, μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τά γε ἤδη γεγενημένα τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ κωλῦσαι δυνηθείημεν· [4] ἀλλ' ὃς ἂν δείξῃ, τίς πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ, καὶ πόση, καὶ πόθεν διαμεῖναι δυνήσεται, [5] τέως ἂν ἢ διαλυσώμεθα, πεισθέντες, τὸν πόλεμον, ἢ περιγενώμεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν. Οὕτω γὰρ [6] οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἂν κακῶς.

[1] ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Α'.

῾ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

[2] *Προσήκαντο μὲν τὴν πρεσβείαν τῶν Ολυνθίων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς κεκρίκασι· μέλλουσι δὲ περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον, [3] καὶ δεδιόσιν ὡς δυσπολεμήτου ὄντος τοῦ Φιλίππου, παρελθὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης, πειρᾶται θαρσύνειν τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδεικνὺς ὡς ἀσθενῆ τὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος πράγματα· καὶ γὰρ ταῖς συμμάχοις ὕποπτον αὐτὸν εἶναι φησι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν οὐκ ἰσχυρόν· τοὺς γὰρ Μακεδόνας [4] ἀσθενεῖς εἶναι καθ' ἑαυτούς.*

[5] *ΕΠΙ πολλῶν μὲν ἂν τις ἰδεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μοι, τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν φανερὰν γενομένην τῇ πόλει· οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι. [6] τὸ γὰρ τοὺς πολεμήσοντας Φιλίππῳ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ χώραν ὅμορον καὶ δύναμίν τινα κεκτημένους, καί, τὸ μέγιστον ἁπάντων, τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην τοιαύτην ἔχοντας, ὥστε τὰς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διαλλαγάς, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπίστους, εἶτα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος νομίζειν ἀνάστασιν εἶναι,—δαιμονίᾳ τινὶ καὶ θείᾳ παντάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσίᾳ. [7] Δεῖ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτ' ἤδη σκοπεῖν αὐτούς, ὅπως μὴ [8] χείρους περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι δόξωμεν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων· [9] ὡς ἔστι τῶν αἰσχρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν αἰσχίστων, μὴ μόνον πόλεων καὶ τόπων, ὧν ἦμέν ποτε κύριοι, [10] φαίνεσθαι προϊεμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρασκευασθέντων συμμάχων τε καὶ καιρῶν. [11] Τὸ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν Φιλίππου ῥώμην διεξιέναι, καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν λόγων προτρέπειν τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι. διὰ τί;—ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πάνθ', ὅσ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν*

φιλοτιμίαν τινὰ, ἡμῖν δ᾽ οὐχὶ καλῶς πεπρᾶχθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ, ὅσῳ πλείονα ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν πεποίηκε τὴν αὑτοῦ, τοσουτῳ θαυμαστότερος παρὰ πᾶσι νομίζεται· ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὅσῳ χεῖρον, ἢ προσῆκε, κέχρησθε τοῖς πράγμασι, τοσούτῳ πλείονα [1] αἰσχύνην ὠφλήκατε Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω· καὶ γὰρ, εἰ μετ᾽ ἀληθείας τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σκοποῖτο, ἐνθένδ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸν ἴδοι μέγαν γεγενημένον, οὐχὶ παρ᾽ αὑτοῦ. [2] Ὧν οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὀφείλει τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένοις χάριν, ὑμῖν δὲ δίκην προσήκει λαβεῖν, τούτων οὐχὶ νῦν ὁρῶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ λέγειν. [3] ἃ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἔνι, καὶ βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἀκηκοέναι πάντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ μεγάλα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατ᾽ ἐκείνου φαίνοιτ᾽ ἂν ὀνείδη, βουλομένοις ὀρθῶς δοκιμάζειν, ταῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν πειράσομαι. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπίορκον καὶ ἄπιστον καλεῖν, ἄνευ τοῦ τὰ πεπραγμένα δεικνύναι, λοιδορίαν εἶναί τις ἂν φήσειε κενήν· δικαίως. [4] Τὸ δὲ πάνθ᾽, ὅσα πώποτ᾽ ἔπραξε, διεξιόντα, ἐφ᾽ ἅπασι τούτοις ἐλέγχειν,—καὶ βραχέος λόγȣ συμβαίνει δεῖσθαι, καὶ δυοῖν ἕνεκα ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν εἰρῆσθαι·—[5] τοῦ τ᾽ ἐκεῖνον, ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχει, φαῦλον φαίνεσθαι· [6] καὶ τȣ̃ τȣ̀ς ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους, ὡς ἄμαχόν τινα, τὸν Φίλιππον, ἰδεῖν, ὅτι πάντα διεξελήλυθεν, οἷς πρότερον παρακρουόμενος, μέγας νῦν ηὐξήθη, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἥκει τὴν τελευτὴν τὰ πράγματ᾽ αὐτῷ. Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σφόδρ᾽ ἂν ἡγούμην καὶ αὐτὸς φοβερὸν εἶναι καὶ θαυμαστὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, εἰ τὰ δίκαια πράττοντα ἑώρων αὐτὸν ηὐξημένον. Νῦν δὲ θεωρῶν καὶ σκοπῶν [7] εὑρίσκω, τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν εὐήθειαν τοκαταρχὰς, ὅτε Ὀλυνθίους ἀπήλαυνόν τινες ἐνθένδε βουλομένους ἡμῖν διαλεχθῆναι, τῷ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν φάσκειν παραδώσειν, καὶ τῷ τὸ θρυλλȣ́μενόν ποτε ἀπόῤῥητον ἐκεῖνο κατασκευάσαι, τούτῳ προσαγόμενον· τὴν δ᾽ Ὀλυνθίων φιλίαν μετὰ ταῦτα, τῷ Ποτίδαιαν οὖσαν

ὑμετέραν ἐξελεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρότερον συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἀδικῆσαι, παραδοῦναι δὲ ἐκείνοις· Θετταλοὺς δὲ νῦν [1] τὰ τελευταῖα, τῷ Μαγνησίαν παραδώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι, καὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν [2] πόλεμον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολεμήσειν ἀναδέξασθαι. Ὅλως δὲ οὐδείς ἐστιν, ὅντιν' οὐ πεφενάκικεν ἐκεῖνος τῶν αὐτῷ χρησαμένων· τὴν γὰρ ἑκάστων ἄνοιαν αἰεὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῶν, καὶ προσλαμβάνων, οὕτως ηὐξήθη. Ὥσπερ οὖν διὰ τούτων ἤρθη μέγας, ἡνίκα ἕκαστοι συμφέρον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῖς ᾤοντό τι πράξειν· οὕτως ὀφείλει διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ καθαιρεθῆναι πάλιν, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ἕνεκα ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν ἐξελήλεγκται. Καιροῦ μὲν δή, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τοῦτο παρέστη Φιλίππῳ τὰ πράγματα· ἢ παρελθών τις, ἐμοί,—μᾶλλον δὲ ὑμῖν, δειξάτω, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λέγω· ἢ ὡς οἱ τὰ πρῶτα ἐξηπατημένοι τὰ λοιπὰ πιστεύσουσιν αὐτῷ· ἢ ὡς οἱ παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀξίαν δεδουλωμένοι Θετταλοὶ νῦν οὐκ ἂν ἐλεύθεροι γένοιντο ἄσμενοι. Καὶ μήν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχειν ἡγεῖται, οἴεται δὲ [3] βίᾳ καθέξειν αὐτὸν τὰ πράγματα, τῷ τὰ χωρία, καὶ λιμένας, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προειληφέναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεται. Ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' εὐνοίας τὰ πράγματα συστῇ, καὶ πᾶσι ταὐτὰ συμφέρῃ τοῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ πολέμου,—καὶ συμπονεῖν, καὶ φέρειν τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ μένειν ἐθέλουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. Ὅταν δ' ἐκ πλεονεξίας καὶ πονηρίας τις, ὥσπερ οὗτος, ἰσχύσῃ, ἡ πρώτη πρόφασις καὶ μικρὸν πταῖσμα ἅπαντα [4] ἀνεχαίτισε καὶ διέλυσεν. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν,—οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδικοῦντα, καὶ ἐπιορκοῦντα, καὶ ψευδόμενον, δύναμιν βεβαίαν κτήσασθαι. ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα, [5] εἰς μὲν ἅπαξ καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει· καὶ σφόδρα γε ἤνθησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, [6] ἂν τύχῃ· [7] τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φωρᾶται, καὶ [8] περὶ αὐτὰ καταῤῥεῖ. Ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας, οἶμαι, καὶ πλοίου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων, τὰ

κάτωθεν ἰσχυρότατα εἶναι δεῖ· οὕτω καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ δικαίας εἶναι προσήκει. Τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἐν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις Φιλίππῳ. Φημὶ δὴ δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἅμα τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυνθίοις βοηθεῖν, καὶ ὅπως τις λέγει κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα, [1] οὕτως ἀρέσκει μοι· πρὸς δὲ Θετταλοὺς πρεσβείαν πέμπειν, ἣ τοὺς μὲν διδάξει ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ παροξυνεῖ· καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν, καὶ περὶ Μαγνησίας λόγους ποιεῖσθαι. Σκοπεῖσθε μέντοι τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅπως μὴ λόγους ἐροῦσι μόνον [οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν πρέσβεις,] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργον τι δεικνύειν ἕξουσιν, [2] ἐξεληλυθότων ἡμῶν ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν· ὡς ἅπας μὲν λόγος, ἂν ἀπῇ τὰ πράγματα, μάταιόν τι φαίνεται καὶ κενὸν, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἑτοιμότατ' αὐτῷ δοκοῦμεν χρῆσθαι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσι πάντες αὐτῷ. Πολλὴν δὴ τὴν μετάστασιν καὶ μεγάλην δεικτέον τὴν μεταβολὴν, εἰσφέροντας, ἐξιόντας, ἅπαντα ποιοῦντας ἑτοίμως, εἴπερ τις ὑμῖν προσέξει τὸν νοῦν. Κἂν ταῦτα ἐθελήσητε, ὡς προσήκει καὶ δεῖ, περαίνειν, οὐ μόνον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ συμμαχικὰ ἀσθενῶς καὶ ἀπίστως ἔχοντα φανήσεται Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως κακῶς ἔχοντα ἐξελεγχθήσεται. Ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις καὶ ἀρχὴ ἐν μὲν προσθήκης μέρει ἐστί τις οὐ σμικρὰ, οἷον ὑπῆρξέ ποθ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους· πάλιν αὖ, πρὸς Ποτίδαιαν Ὀλυνθίοις ἐφάνη τι [3] τοῦτο συναμφότερον· νυνὶ δὲ Θετταλοῖς νοσοῦσι, καὶ στασιάζουσι, καὶ τεταραγμένοις, [4] ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν ἐβοήθησε· καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν, οἶμαι, προσθῇ κἂν μικρὰν δύναμιν, πάντ' ὠφελεῖ. Αὐτὴ δὲ καθ' αὑτὴν ἀσθενὴς καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐστι μεστή· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἅπασι τούτοις, οἷς ἄν τις μέγαν αὐτὸν ἡγήσαιτο, τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς

στρατείαις, ἔτ' ἐπισφαλεστέραν αὐτὴν, ἢ ὑπῆρχε φύσει, κατεσκεύακεν ἑαυτῷ. Μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς αὐτοῖς Φίλιππόν τε χαίρειν, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ [1] τοῦτο ἐζήλωκε καὶ προῄρηται, πράττων καὶ κινδυνεύων, ἂν συμβῇ τι, παθεῖν, τὴν τοῦ διαπράξασθαι ταῦτα, ἃ μηδεὶς πώποτε ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἀσφαλῶς ᾑρημένος. τοῖς δὲ τῆς μὲν φιλοτιμίας τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων οὐ μέτεστι· κοπτόμενοι δὲ αἰεὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ταύταις ταῖς ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω, λυποῦνται, καὶ συνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦσιν, [2] οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὑτῶν ἰδίοις ἐώμενοι διατρίβειν, [3] οὔθ' ὅσ' ἂν πορίσωσιν οὕτως, ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται, ταῦτ' ἔχοντες διαθέσθαι, κεκλεισμένων τῶν ἐμπορίων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ Μακεδόνων πῶς ἔχουσι Φιλίππῳ, ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις σκέψαιτο οὐ χαλεπῶς. Οἱ δὲ δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες ξένοι, καὶ [4] πεζέταιροι, δόξαν μὲν ἔχουσιν, ὡς εἰσὶ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ [5] συγκεκροτημένοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου· ὡς δ' ἐγὼ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ γεγενημένων [6] τινὸς ἤκουον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμῶς οἵου τε ψεύδεσθαι, οὐδενῶν εἰσι βελτίους. Εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἀνήρ ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς [7] οἷος ἔμπειρος πολέμου καὶ ἀγώνων, τούτους μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ἀπωθεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη, βουλόμενον πάντα αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰ ἔργα· πρὸς γὰρ αὖ τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τἀνδρὸς ἀνυπέρβλητον εἶναι. Εἰ δέ τις σώφρων, ἢ δίκαιος ἄλλως, τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ βίου, καὶ μέθην, καὶ κορδακισμοὺς οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν, παρεωρᾶσθαι καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς εἶναι μέρει τὸν τοιοῦτον. Λοιποὺς δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι λῃστὰς, καὶ κόλακας, καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, οἵους μεθυσθέντας ὀρχεῖσθαι τοιαῦτα, οἷα ἐγὼ νῦν ὀκνῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαι. Δῆλον δ' ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ. Καὶ γὰρ, οὓς ἐνθένδε πάντες ἀπήλαυνον, ὡς

πολὺ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν ἀσελγεστέρους ὄντας, [1] Καλλίαν ἐκεῖνον τὸν δημόσιον, καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, μίμους γελοίων, καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχρῶν ᾀσμάτων, ὧν εἰς τοὺς συνόντας ποιοῦσιν ἕνεκα τοῦ γελασθῆναι, τούτους ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ περὶ αὑτὸν ἔχει. Καίτοι ταῦτα, εἰ καὶ μικρά τις ἡγεῖται, μεγάλα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δείγματα τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καὶ κακοδαιμονίας ἐστὶ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. Ἀλλ', οἶμαι, [2] νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν· αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι καὶ συσκιάσαι τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνείδη· [3] εἰ δέ τι πταίσειε, τότ' ἀκριβῶς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πάντ' ἐξετασθήσεται. Δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, [4] δείξειν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν, ἂν οἵ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι, καὶ ὑμεῖς βούλησθε. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐῤῥωμένος ᾖ τις, οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεται τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα σαθρῶν· ἐπὰν δὲ ἀῤῥώστημά τι συμβῇ, πάντα κινεῖται, [5] κἂν ῥῆγμα, κἂν στρέμμα, κἂν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ᾖ· οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τῶν τυράννων, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἔξω πολεμῶσιν, ἀφανῆ τὰ κακὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστιν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὅμορος πόλεμος συμπλακῇ, πάντα ἐποίησεν ἔκδηλα. Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν Φίλιππον εὐτυχοῦντα ὁρῶν, ταύτῃ φοβερὸν προσπολεμῆσαι νομίζει, σώφρονος μὲν ἀνθρώπου λογισμῷ χρῆται· μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπὴ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅλον, ἡ τύχη παρὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα. [6] Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, εἴ τις αἵρεσίν μοι δοίη, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως τύχην ἂν ἑλοίμην, ἐθελόντων, ἃ προσήκει, ποιεῖν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν, ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου. Πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν ἔχειν ὁρῶ ἡμῖν ἐνούσας, ἢ ἐκείνῳ. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, καθήμεθα, οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες· [7] οὐκ ἔνι δ' αὐτὸν ἀργοῦντα οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιτάττειν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ τι ποιεῖν, μήτι γε δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς. Οὐ δὴ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, εἰ στρα-

τευόμενος καὶ πονῶν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς, καὶ παρὼν ἐφ' ἅπασι, καὶ μηδένα καιρὸν, μηδ' ὥραν παραλείπων, [1] ἡμῶν μελλόντων, καὶ ψηφιζομένων, καὶ πυνθανομένων περιγίνεται· οὐδὲ θαυμάζω τοῦτ' ἐγώ· τοὐναντίον γὰρ ἂν ἦν θαυμαστὸν, εἰ μηδὲν ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς, ὧν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι προσήκει, τοῦ πάντα ποιοῦντος, ἃ δεῖ, περιῆμεν. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζω, εἰ Λακεδαιμονίοις μέν ποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων ἀντήρατε, καὶ πολλὰ ἰδίᾳ πλεονεκτῆσαι πολλάκις [2] ὑμῖν ἐξὸν, οὐκ ἠθελήσατε· ἀλλ', ἵν' οἱ ἄλλοι τύχωσι τῶν δικαίων, [3] τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀνηλίσκετε εἰσφέροντες, καὶ προεκινδυνεύετε στρατευόμενοι· νυνὶ δ' ὀκνεῖτε ἐξιέναι, καὶ μέλλετε εἰσφέρειν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν κτημάτων· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σεσώκατε πολλάκις πάντας, [4] καὶ καθ' ἕνα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει· τὰ δ' ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀπολωλεκότες κάθησθε· ταῦτα θαυμάζω· καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις, εἰ μηδὲ εἷς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δύναται λογίσασθαι, πόσον πολεμεῖτε χρόνον Φιλίππῳ, καὶ τί ποιούντων ὑμῶν, ἅπας ὁ χρόνος διελήλυθεν οὗτος. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι μελλόντων ὑμῶν, ἑτέρους τινὰς ἐλπιζόντων πράξειν, αἰτιωμένων ἀλλήλους, κρινόντων, πάλιν ἐλπιζόντων, σχεδὸν ταὐτὰ, ἅπερ καὶ νυνὶ, ποιούντων, [5] ὁ χρόνος ἅπας διελήλυθεν. [6] Εἶθ' οὕτως ἀγνωμόνως ἔχετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε, δι' ὧν ἐκ χρηστῶν φαῦλα τὰ πράγματα γέγονε τῆς πόλεως, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐλπίζετε πράξεων ἐκ φαύλων αὐτὰ χρηστὰ γενήσεσθαι; [7] ἀλλ' οὔτ' εὔλογον, οὔτ' ἔχον ἐστὶ φύσιν τοῦτό γε· [8] πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾷον ἔχοντας φυλάττειν, ἢ κτήσασθαι, πάντα πέφυκε. Νυνὶ δὲ, ὅ τι μὲν φυλάξομεν, οὐδέν ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λοιπὸν τῶν πρότερον· κτήσασθαι δὲ δεῖ. [9] Αὐτῶν οὖν ὑμῶν ἔργον τοῦτ' ἤδη. Φημὶ δὴ δεῖν εἰσφέρειν χρήματα, αὐτοὺς ἐξιέναι προθύμως, μηδέν' αἰτιᾶσθαι, πρὶν ἂν [10] τῶν

πραγμάτων κρατήσητε· τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων κρίναντας, τοὺς μὲν ἀξίους ἐπαίνου τιμᾷν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀδικοῦντας κολάζειν· [1] τὰς προφάσεις δ᾽ ἀφελεῖν, καὶ τὰ καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐλλείμματα. οὐ γάρ ἐστι πικρῶς ἐξετάσαι, τί πέπρακται τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἂν μὴ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ὑπάρξῃ τὰ δέοντα. Τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε, τοῦτον μὲν φεύγειν τὸν πόλεμον πάντας, ὅσους ἂν ἐκπέμψητε, στρατηγοὺς, ἰδίους δ᾽ εὑρίσκειν πολέμους; (εἰ δεῖ τι τῶν ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰπεῖν.) ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μὲν, ἔστι τὰ ἆθλα, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐστιν ὁ πόλεμος, ὑμέτερα· Ἀμφίπολις κἂν ληφθῇ, παραχρῆμα αὐτὴν ὑμεῖς κομιεῖσθε· [2] οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἴδιοι· μισθὸς δ᾽ οὐκ ἔστιν· [3] ἐκεῖ δὲ, κίνδυνοι μὲν ἐλάττους, τὰ δὲ λήμματα τῶν ἐφεστηκότων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν,— Λάμψακος, Σίγειον, τὰ πλοῖα, ἃ συλῶσιν. Επὶ ὃν τὸ λυσιτελοῦν αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι χωροῦσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ, ὅταν μὲν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψητε φαύλως ἔχοντα, τοὺς ἐφεστηκότας κρίνετε· ὅταν δὲ, [4] δόντες λόγον, τὰς ἀνάγκας ἀκούσητε ταύτας, ἀφίετε. Περίεστι τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐρίζειν, καὶ διεστάναι, τοῖς μὲν ταῦτα πεπεισμένοις, τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα· τὰ κοινὰ δ᾽ ἔχειν φαύλως. Πρότερον μὲν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, [5] εἰσεφέρετε κατὰ συμμορίας· νυνὶ δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας· ῥήτωρ ἡγεμὼν ἑκατέρων, καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ βοηθησόμενοι οἱ τριακόσιοι· οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι προσνενέμησθε, [6] οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτους, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκείνους. [7] Δεῖ δὴ ταῦτα ἐπανέντας, καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν γενομένους, κοινὸν καὶ τὸ λέγειν, καὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πράττειν ποιῆσαι. [8] Εἰ δὲ, τοῖς μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐκ τυραννίδος, ὑμῶν, ἐπιτάττειν ἀποδώσετε· τοῖς δὲ, ἀναγκάζεσθαι τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, στρατεύεσθαι· τοῖς δὲ, ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τούτων μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδοτιοῦν συμπονεῖν· οὐχὶ γενήσεται τῶν δεόντων ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἐν

καιρῷ· τὸ γὰρ ἠδικημένον αἰεὶ μέρος ἐλλείψει· εἶθ' ὑμῖν τούτους κολάζειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιέσται. Λέγω δὴ κεφάλαιον, πάντας εἰσφέρειν, ἀφ' ὧν ἕκαστος ἔχει, τὸ ἴσον· πάντας ἐξιέναι κατὰ μέρος, ἕως ἂν ἅπαντες στρατεύσησθε· πᾶσι τοῖς παριοῦσι λόγον διδόναι, καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα, ὧν ἂν ἀκούσητε, αἱρεῖσθαι, [1] μὴ ἃ ἂν ὁ δεῖνα, ἢ ὁ δεῖνα εἴπῃ. Κἂν ταῦτα ποιῆτε, οὐ τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον παραχρῆμα ἐπαινέσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον, πολλῷ βέλτιον τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἐχόντων.

If you pursue this course you will not praise only the speaker at the moment but afterwards yourselves [illegible] all your affairs [illegible] be settled

[1]ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Β'.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Επεμψαν βοήθειαν τοῖς Ολυνθίοις οἱ Αθηναῖοι· καί τι κατορθοῦν ἔδοξαν δι' αὐτῆς· καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἀπηγγέλλετο. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος περιχαρὴς, οἵ τε ῥήτορες παρακαλοῦντες ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν Φιλίππου. Ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης δεδοικὼς, μὴ θαρσήσαντες, ὡς τὰ πάντα νενικηκότες, καὶ ἱκανὴν βοήθειαν πεποιημένοι τοῖς Ολυνθίοις, τῶν λοιπῶν ὀλιγωρήσωσι, διὰ τοῦτο παρελθὼν, ἐπικόπτει τὴν ἀλαζονείαν αὐτῶν· καὶ πρὸς εὐλάβειαν σώφρονα τὴν γνώμην μεθίστησι, λέγων οὐ περὶ τῆς Φιλίππου τιμωρίας νῦν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων σωτηρίας. [2]οἶδε γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ Αθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλοι πού τινες, τοῦ μὲν μὴ τὰ οἰκεῖα προέσθαι ποιοῦνται φροντίδα· περὶ δὲ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἧττον σπουδάζουσιν. Εν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ [3]τῆς περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν χρημάτων συμβουλῆς φανερώτερον ἅπτεται, καὶ ἀξιοῖ λυθῆναι τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἐπιτιθέντας ζημίαν τοῖς γράψασιν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι στρατιωτικὰ, [4]ἵνα ἄδεια ᾖ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν τὰ βέλτιστα. Παραινεῖ δὲ καὶ ὅλως πρὸς τὸν τῶν προγόνων ζῆλον ἀναστῆναι, [5]καὶ στρατεύεσθαι σώμασιν οἰκείοις· καὶ ἐπιτιμήσει πολλῇ κέχρηται κατὰ τοῦ δήμου τέως ἐκλελυμένου, καὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς προϊσταμένων τῆς πόλεως.

[6]ΟΥΧΙ ταὐτὰ παρίσταταί μοι γινώσκειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Αθηναῖοι, ὅταν τέ εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω, καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἀκούω. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γινομένους· τὰ δὲ πράγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα, ὥστε, ὅπως μὴ πεισόμεθα αὐτοὶ πρότερον κακῶς, σκέψασθαι δέον. [7]Οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες, ἢ, τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, περὶ ἧς βουλεύεσθε, οὐχὶ τὴν οὖσαν παριστάντες ὑμῖν, ἁμαρτάνειν. Εγὼ δ', ὅτι μέν ποτ' ἐξῆν τῇ πόλει, καὶ

τὰ αὑτῆς ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ Φίλιππον τιμωρήσασθαι, καὶ μάλα ἀκριβῶς οἶδα· [1] ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γὰρ, οὐχὶ πάλαι, γέγονε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα. Νῦν μέντοι πέπεισμαι [2] τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν προλαβεῖν εἶναι ἡμῖν τὴν πρώτην, ὅπως τοὺς συμμάχους σώσωμεν. Ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο βεβαίως ὑπάρξῃ, [3] τότε καὶ περὶ τοῦ τίνα τρόπον τιμωρήσεταί τις ἐκεῖνον ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν. Πρὶν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς ὑποθέσθαι, μάταιον ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ὁντινοῦν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον. Ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρὸς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴπερ ποτὲ, καὶ νῦν πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς δεῖται. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ, ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ τῶν παρόντων συμβουλεῦσαι, χαλεπώτατον ἡγοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἀπορῶ, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν· πέπεισμαι γὰρ, ἐξ ὧν παρὼν καὶ ἀκούων σύνοιδα, τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐκπεφευγέναι, τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν, οὐ τῷ μὴ συνιέναι. Ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἂν μετὰ παῤῥησίας ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους, ὑπομένειν, τοῦτο θεωροῦντας, εἰ τἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα τὰ λοιπὰ βελτίω γένηται. Ὁρᾶτε γὰρ, ὡς [4] ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν ἐνίους, εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα πράγματα. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ὑπολαμβάνω, μικρὰ τῶν γεγενημένων πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι. Μέμνησθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτ' ἀπηγγέλθη Φίλιππος ὑμῖν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ, τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τουτὶ, Ἡραῖον τεῖχος πολιορκῶν· τότε τοίνυν [5] μὴν μὲν ἦν Μαιμακτηριών· πολλῶν δὲ λόγων καὶ θορύβου γιγνομένου παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐψηφίσασθε τετταράκοντα τριήρεις καθέλκειν, καὶ τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν, καὶ [6] τάλαντα ἑξήκοντα εἰσφέρειν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, διελθόντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου, [7] Ἑκατομβαιὼν, Μεταγειτνιὼν, Βοηδρομιών· τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς μόγις, [8] μετὰ τὰ Μυστήρια, δέκα ναῦς ἀπεστείλατε ἔχοντα Χαρίδημον

κενάς, καὶ πέντε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου.—ὡς γὰρ ἠγγέλθη Φίλιππος ἀσθενῶν, ἢ τεθνεώς· [ἦλθε γὰρ ἀμφότερα·] οὐκέτι καιρὸν οὐδένα τοῦ βοηθεῖν νομίσαντες, ἀφήκατε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ἀπόστολον. Ἦν δ' οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς αὐτός· εἰ γὰρ τότε ἐκεῖσε ἐβοηθήσαμεν, ὥσπερ ἐψηφισάμεθα, προθύμως, οὐκ ἂν ἠνώχλει νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε σωθείς. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τότε πραχθέντα οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔχοι· νῦν δ' ἑτέρου πολέμου καιρὸς ἥκει. Τίς οὗτος;—δι' ὃν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐμνήσθην, ἵνα μὴ ταὐτὰ πάθητε. Τί δὴ χρησόμεθα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τούτῳ; εἰ γὰρ μὴ βοηθήσετε παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, [1] θεάσασθε, ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἐστρατηγηκότες ἔσεσθε πάντα ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. Ὑπῆρχον Ὀλύνθιοι δύναμίν τινα κεκτημένοι, καὶ διέκειθ' οὕτω τὰ πράγματα· [2] οὔτε Φίλιππος ἐθάῤῥει τούτους, οὔθ' οὗτοι Φίλιππον· [3] ἐπράξαμεν ἡμεῖς κἀκεῖνοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην· ἦν τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐμπόδισμά τι τῷ Φιλίππῳ, [4] καὶ δυσχερές, [5] πόλιν μεγάλην ἐφορμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς, διηλλαγμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἐκπολεμῶσαι δεῖν ᾠόμεθα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου· καὶ ὃ πάντες ἐθρύλλουν τέως, τοῦτο πέπρακται νυνὶ [6] ὅπως δήποτε. Τί οὖν ὑπόλοιπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλὴν βοηθεῖν ἐῤῥωμένως καὶ προθύμως, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ. χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς περιστάσης ἂν ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνης, εἰ καθυφείμεθά τι τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδὲ τὸν φόβον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρὸν ὁρῶ τὸν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐχόντων μὲν ὡς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων ἡμῖν, ἀπειρηκότων δὲ χρήμασι Φωκέων· [7] μηδενὸς δ' ἐμποδὼν ὄντος Φιλίππῳ, τὰ παρόντα καταστρεψαμένῳ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπικλῖναι τὰ πράγματα. Ἀλλὰ μήν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν [8] εἰς τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσειν τὰ δέοντα, ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν βούλεται τὰ δεινά, [9] ἐξὸν ἀκούειν ἄλλοθι γινόμενα, καὶ βοηθοὺς ἑαυτῷ ζητεῖν, ἐξὸν νῦν ἑτέροις αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο περιστήσεται τὰ

πράγματα, ἐὰν τὰ παρόντα προώμεθα, σχεδὸν ἴσμεν ἅπαντες δήπου. Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν δὴ δεῖ βοηθεῖν, εἴποι τις ἄν, πάντες ἐγνώκαμεν, καὶ βοηθήσομεν· τὸ δὲ ὅπως, τοῦτο λέγε. Μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαυμάσητε, ἂν παράδοξόν εἴπω τι τοῖς πολλοῖς. [1] Νομοθέτας καθίστατε· [2] ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς νομοθέταις, μὴ θῆσθε νόμον μηδένα· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἱκανοί· ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἰς τὸ παρὸν βλάπτοντας ὑμᾶς λύσατε· λέγω δὲ τοὺς [3] περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, σαφῶς οὑτωσί, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐνίους· ὧν οἱ μὲν τὰ [4] στρατιωτικὰ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσι διανέμουσι θεωρικά· οἱ δὲ [5] τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας ἀθῴους καθιστᾶσιν· εἶτα καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βουλομένους ἀθυμοτέρους ποιοῦσιν. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτα λύσητε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν ὁδὸν παράσχητε ἀσφαλῆ, τηνικαῦτα τὸν γράψοντα, ἃ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι συμφέρει, ζητεῖτε. Πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι, μὴ σκοπεῖτε, τίς, εἰπὼν τὰ βέλτιστα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀπολέσθαι βουλήσεται· οὐ γὰρ εὑρήσετε· ἄλλως τε καὶ τούτου μόνου περιγίγνεσθαι μέλλοντος, τοῦ παθεῖν ἀδίκως τι κακὸν τὸν ταῦτ' εἰπόντα καὶ γράψαντα, μηδὲν δὲ ὠφελῆσαι [6] τὰ πράγματα· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν μᾶλλον ἔτι, ἢ νῦν, τὸ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν φοβερώτερον ποιῆσαι. Καὶ λύειν γε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς νόμους δεῖ τούτους αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν, οἵπερ καὶ τεθείκασιν. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον, τὴν μὲν χάριν, ἣ πᾶσαν ἔβλαψε τὴν πόλιν, [7] τοῖς τότε θεῖσιν ὑπάρχειν· τὴν δ' ἀπέχθειαν, δι' ἧς ἂν ἅπαντες ἄμεινον πράξαιμεν, τῷ νῦν τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι ζημίαν γενέσθαι. Πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα εὐτρεπίσαι, μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδένα ἀξιοῦτε τηλικοῦτον εἶναι παρ' ὑμῖν, ὥστε τοὺς νόμους τούτους παραβάντα μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, μηδ' οὕτως ἀνόητον, ὥστε εἰς προὖπτον κακὸν αὑτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γ' ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν δεῖ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ψή-

φισμα οὐδενὸς ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ἂν μὴ προσγένηται τὸ ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τά γε δόξαντα προθύμως ὑμᾶς. Εἰ γὰρ αὐτάρκη τὰ ψηφίσματα ἦν, ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζειν, ἃ προσήκει, πράττειν, [1] ἢ, περὶ ὧν γράφει, διαπράξασθαι, οὔτ᾽ ἂν ὑμεῖς πολλὰ ψηφιζόμενοι, μικρὰ, μᾶλλον δ᾽ οὐδὲν, ἐπράττετε τούτων, οὔτε Φίλιππος τοσοῦτον ὑβρίκει χρόνον· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν, ἕνεκά γε ψηφισμάτων, ἐδεδώκει δίκην. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ οὕτω ταῦτ᾽ ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ πράττειν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὕστερον ὂν τῇ τάξει, πρότερον τῇ δυνάμει καὶ κρεῖττόν ἐστι. Τοῦτ᾽ οὖν δεῖ προσεῖναι, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα ὑπάρχει· καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα παρ᾽ ὑμῖν εἰσιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυνάμενοι, καὶ γνῶναι πάντων ὑμεῖς ὀξύτατοι τὰ ῥηθέντα· καὶ πρᾶξαι δὲ δυνήσεσθε νῦν, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς ποιῆτε. Τίνα γὰρ χρόνον, ἢ τίνα καιρὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ παρόντος βελτίω ζητεῖτε; ἢ πότε, ἃ δεῖ, πράξετε, εἰ μὴ νῦν; Οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν ἡμῶν τὰ χωρία προείληφεν ἄνθρωπος; εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς χώρας γενήσεται, πάντων αἴσχιστα πεισόμεθα. [2] Οὐχ, οὓς, εἰ πολεμήσαιεν, ἑτοίμως σώσειν ὑπισχνούμεθα, οὗτοι νῦν πολεμοῦνται; Οὐκ ἐχθρός; οὐκ ἔχων τὰ ἡμέτερα; οὐ βάρβαρος; οὐχ—ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι τις; Ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν, [3] ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐάσαντες, καὶ μονονουχὶ συγκατασκευάσαντες αὐτῷ, τότε τοὺς αἰτίους, οἵτινές εἰσι, τούτων ζητήσομεν; Οὐ γὰρ αὐτοί γ᾽ αἴτιοι φήσομεν εἶναι, σαφῶς οἶδα τοῦτ᾽ ἐγώ· οὐδὲ γὰρ, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις, τῶν φευγόντων οὐδεὶς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τῶν πλησίον, καὶ πάντων μᾶλλον. Ἥττηνται δ᾽ ὅμως διὰ πάντας τοὺς φεύγοντας δήπου· μένειν γὰρ ἐξῆν τῷ κατηγοροῦντι τῶν ἄλλων· εἰ δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίει ἕκαστος, ἐνίκων ἄν. Καὶ νῦν, οὐ λέγει τις τὰ βέλτιστα; ἀναστὰς ἄλλος εἰπάτω· μὴ τοῦτον αἰτιάσθω. Ἕτερος λέγει τις βελτίω; ταῦτα ποιεῖτε

τὰ αὑτῆς ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ Φίλιππον τιμωρήσασθαι, καὶ μάλα ἀκριβῶς οἶδα· [1] ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γάρ, οὐχὶ πάλαι, γέγονε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα. Νῦν μέντοι πέπεισμαι [2] τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν προλαβεῖν εἶναι ἡμῖν τὴν πρώτην, ὅπως τοὺς συμμάχους σώσωμεν. Ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο βεβαίως ὑπάρξῃ, [3] τότε καὶ περὶ τοῦ τίνα τρόπον τιμωρήσεταί τις ἐκεῖνον ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν. Πρὶν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς ὑποθέσθαι, μάταιον ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ὁντινοῦν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον. Ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρός, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴπερ ποτέ, καὶ νῦν πολλῆς φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς δεῖται. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐχ, ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ τῶν παρόντων συμβουλεῦσαι, χαλεπώτατον ἡγοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἀπορῶ, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν· πέπεισμαι γάρ, ἐξ ὧν παρὼν καὶ ἀκούων σύνοιδα, τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐκπεφευγέναι, τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν, οὐ τῷ μὴ συνιέναι. Ἀξιῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἂν μετὰ παῤῥησίας ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους, ὑπομένειν, τοῦτο θεωροῦντας, εἰ τἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα τὰ λοιπὰ βελτίω γένηται. Ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὡς [4] ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν ἐνίους, εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα πράγματα. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ὑπολαμβάνω, μικρὰ τῶν γεγενημένων πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι. Μέμνησθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτ' ἀπηγγέλθη Φίλιππος ὑμῖν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ, τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τουτί, Ἡραῖον τεῖχος πολιορκῶν· τότε τοίνυν [5] μὴν μὲν ἦν Μαιμακτηριών· πολλῶν δὲ λόγων καὶ θορύβου γιγνομένου παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐψηφίσασθε τετταράκοντα τριήρεις καθέλκειν, καὶ τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν, καὶ [6] τάλαντα ἑξήκοντα εἰσφέρειν. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, διελθόντος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου, [7] Ἑκατομβαιών, Μεταγειτνιών, Βοηδρομιών· τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς μόγις, [8] μετὰ τὰ Μυστήρια, δέκα ναῦς ἀπεστείλατε ἔχοντα Χαρίδημον

κενὰς, καὶ πέντε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου.—ὡς γὰρ ἠγγέλθη Φίλιππος ἀσθενῶν, ἢ τεθνεώς· ἦλθε γὰρ ἀμφότερα· οὐκέτι καιρὸν οὐδένα τοῦ βοηθεῖν νομίσαντες, ἀφήκατε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ἀπόστολον. Ἦν δ' οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς αὐτός· εἰ γὰρ τότε ἐκεῖσε ἐβοηθήσαμεν, ὥσπερ ἐψηφισάμεθα, προθύμως, οὐκ ἂν ἠνώχλει νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε σωθείς. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τότε πραχθέντα οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔχοι· νῦν δ' ἑτέρου πολέμου καιρὸς ἥκει. Τίς οὗτος;—δι' ὃν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐμνήσθην, ἵνα μὴ ταὐτὰ πάθητε. Τί δὴ χρησόμεθα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τούτῳ; εἰ γὰρ μὴ βοηθήσετε παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, [1] θεάσασθε, ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἐστρατηγηκότες ἔσεσθε πάντα ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. Ὑπῆρχον Ὀλύνθιοι δύναμίν τινα κεκτημένοι, καὶ διέκειθ' οὕτω τὰ πράγματα· [2] οὔτε Φίλιππος ἐθάῤῥει τούτους, οὔθ' οὗτοι Φίλιππον· [3] ἐπράξαμεν ἡμεῖς κἀκεῖνοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην· ἦν τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐμπόδισμά τι τῷ Φιλίππῳ, [4] καὶ δυσχερὲς, [5] πόλιν μεγάλην ἐφορμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς, διηλλαγμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἐκπολεμῶσαι δεῖν ᾠόμεθα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου· καὶ ὃ πάντες ἐθρύλλουν τέως, τοῦτο πέπρακται νυνὶ [6] ὅπως δήποτε. Τί οὖν ὑπόλοιπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλὴν βοηθεῖν ἐῤῥωμένως καὶ προθύμως, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ. χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς περιστάσης ἂν ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνης, εἰ καθυφείμεθά τι τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδὲ τὸν φόβον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρὸν ὁρῶ τὸν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐχόντων μὲν ὡς ἔχουσι Θηβαίων ἡμῖν, ἀπειρηκότων δὲ χρήμασι Φωκέων· [7] μηδενὸς δ' ἐμποδὼν ὄντος Φιλίππῳ, τὰ παρόντα καταστρεψαμένῳ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπικλῖναι τὰ πράγματα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν [8] εἰς τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται ποιήσειν τὰ δέοντα, ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν βούλεται τὰ δεινὰ, [9] ἐξὸν ἀκούειν ἄλλοθι γινόμενα, καὶ βοηθοὺς ἑαυτῷ ζητεῖν, ἐξὸν νῦν ἑτέροις αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο περιστήσεται τὰ

πράγματα, ἐὰν τὰ παρόντα προώμεθα, σχεδὸν ἴσμεν ἅπαντες δήπου. Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν δὴ δεῖ βοηθεῖν, εἴποι τις ἂν, πάντες ἐγνώκαμεν, καὶ βοηθήσομεν· τὸ δὲ ὅπως, τοῦτο λέγε. Μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαυμάσητε, ἂν παράδοξόν εἴπω τι τοῖς πολλοῖς. [1] Νομοθέτας καθίστατε· [2] ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς νομοθέταις, μὴ θῆσθε νόμον μηδένα· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἱκανοί· ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἰς τὸ παρὸν βλάπτοντας ὑμᾶς λύσατε· λέγω δὲ τοὺς [3] περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, σαφῶς οὑτωσὶ, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐνίους· ὧν οἱ μὲν τὰ [4] στρατιωτικὰ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσι διανέμουσι θεωρικά· οἱ δὲ [5] τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας ἀθῴους καθιστᾶσιν· εἶτα καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βουλομένους ἀθυμοτέρους ποιοῦσιν. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτα λύσητε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν ὁδὸν παράσχητε ἀσφαλῆ, τηνικαῦτα τὸν γράψοντα, ἃ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι συμφέρει, ζητεῖτε. Πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι, μὴ σκοπεῖτε, τίς, εἰπὼν τὰ βέλτιστα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀπολέσθαι βουλήσεται· οὐ γὰρ εὑρήσετε· ἄλλως τε καὶ τούτου μόνου περιγίγνεσθαι μέλλοντος, τοῦ παθεῖν ἀδίκως τι κακὸν τὸν ταῦτ' εἰπόντα καὶ γράψαντα, μηδὲν δὲ ὠφελῆσαι [6] τὰ πράγματα· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν μᾶλλον ἔτι, ἢ νῦν, τὸ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν φοβερώτερον ποιῆσαι. Καὶ λύειν γε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς νόμους δεῖ τούτους αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν, οἵπερ καὶ τεθείκασιν. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον, τὴν μὲν χάριν, ἣ πᾶσαν ἔβλαψε τὴν πόλιν, [7] τοῖς τότε θεῖσιν ὑπάρχειν· τὴν δ' ἀπέχθειαν, δι' ἧς ἂν ἅπαντες ἄμεινον πράξαιμεν, τῷ νῦν τὰ βέλτιστα εἰπόντι ζημίαν γενέσθαι. Πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα εὐτρεπίσαι, μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδένα ἀξιοῦτε τηλικοῦτον εἶναι παρ' ὑμῖν, ὥστε τοὺς νόμους τούτους παραβάντα μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, μηδ' οὕτως ἀνόητον, ὥστε εἰς προὖπτον κακὸν αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γ' ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν δεῖ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ψη-

φισμα οὐδενὸς ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ἂν μὴ προσγένηται τὸ ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τά γε δόξαντα προθύμως ὑμᾶς. Εἰ γὰρ αὐτάρκη τὰ ψηφίσματα ἦν, ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζειν, ἃ προσήκει, πράττειν, [1] ἤ, περὶ ὧν γράφει, διαπράξασθαι, οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς πολλὰ ψηφιζόμενοι, μικρά, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδέν, ἐπράττετε τούτων, οὔτε Φίλιππος τοσοῦτον ὑβρίκει χρόνον· πάλαι γὰρ ἄν, ἕνεκά γε ψηφισμάτων, ἐδεδώκει δίκην. Ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ πράττειν τοῦ λέγειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὕστερον ὂν τῇ τάξει, πρότερον τῇ δυνάμει καὶ κρεῖττόν ἐστι. Τοῦτ' οὖν δεῖ προσεῖναι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὑπάρχει· καὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰσιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυνάμενοι, καὶ γνῶναι πάντων ὑμεῖς ὀξύτατοι τὰ ῥηθέντα· καὶ πρᾶξαι δὲ δυνήσεσθε νῦν, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς ποιῆτε. Τίνα γὰρ χρόνον, ἢ τίνα καιρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ παρόντος βελτίω ζητεῖτε; ἢ πότε, ἃ δεῖ, πράξετε, εἰ μὴ νῦν; Οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν ἡμῶν τὰ χωρία προείληφεν ἄνθρωπος; εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτης κύριος τῆς χώρας γενήσεται, πάντων αἴσχιστα πεισόμεθα. [2] Οὐχ, οὓς, εἰ πολεμήσαιεν, ἑτοίμως σώσειν ὑπισχνούμεθα, οὗτοι νῦν πολεμοῦνται; Οὐκ ἐχθρός; οὐκ ἔχων τὰ ἡμέτερα; οὐ βάρβαρος; οὐχ—ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι τις; Ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν, [3] ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐάσαντες, καὶ μονονουχὶ συγκατασκευάσαντες αὐτῷ, τότε τοὺς αἰτίους, οἵτινές εἰσι, τούτων ζητήσομεν; Οὐ γὰρ αὐτοί γ' αἴτιοι φήσομεν εἶναι, σαφῶς οἶδα τοῦτ' ἐγώ· οὐδὲ γάρ, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις, τῶν φευγόντων οὐδεὶς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τῶν πλησίον, καὶ πάντων μᾶλλον. Ἥττηνται δ' ὅμως διὰ πάντας τοὺς φεύγοντας δήπου· μένειν γὰρ ἐξῆν τῷ κατηγοροῦντι τῶν ἄλλων· εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐποίει ἕκαστος, ἐνίκων ἄν. Καὶ νῦν, οὐ λέγει τις τὰ βέλτιστα; ἀναστὰς ἄλλος εἰπάτω· μὴ τοῦτον αἰτιάσθω. Ἕτερος λέγει τις βελτίω; ταῦτα ποιεῖτε

[1] ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡδέα ταῦτα; οὐκέτι τοῦθ' ὁ λέγων ἀδικεῖ· [2] πλὴν εἰ, δέον εὔξασθαι, παραλείπει· [3] εὔξασθαι μὲν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ῥᾴδιον, εἰς ταὐτὸ πάνθ', ὅσα βούλεταί τις, ἀθροίσαντα ἐν ὀλίγῳ· ἑλέσθαι δέ, ὅταν περὶ πραγμάτων προτεθῇ σκοπεῖν, οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως εὔπορον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὰ βέλτιστα ἀντὶ τῶν ἡδέων, ἂν μὴ συναμφότερα ἐξῇ, λαμβάνειν. Εἰ δέ τις ἡμῖν [4] ἔχει καὶ τὰ θεωρικὰ ἐᾶν, καὶ πόρους ἑτέρους λέγειν στρατιωτικούς, οὐχ οὗτος κρεῖττον; εἴποι τις ἄν. Φημ' ἔγωγε, εἴπερ ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω, [5] εἴ τῳ ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων ἢ γέγονεν, ἢ γενήσεται, ἂν τὰ παρόντα ἀναλώσῃ, πρὸς ἃ μὴ δεῖ, τῶν ἀπόντων εὐπορῆσαι, πρὸς ἃ δεῖ. Ἀλλ', οἶμαι, μέγα τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑπάρχει λόγοις ἡ παρ' ἑκάστου βούλησις· διόπερ ῥᾷστον ἁπάντων ἐστὶν αὑτὸν ἐξαπατῆσαι· ὃ γὰρ βούλεται, τοῦθ' ἕκαστος καὶ οἴεται· τὰ δὲ πράγματα πολλάκις οὐχ οὕτω πέφυκεν. Ὁρᾶτε οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦθ' οὕτως, ὅπως καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδέχεται, καὶ δυνήσεσθε ἐξιέναι, καὶ μισθὸν ἕξετε. Οὔτοι σωφρόνων, οὐδὲ γενναίων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐλλείποντάς τι, δι' ἔνδειαν χρημάτων, τῶν τοῦ πολέμου, εὐχερῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνείδη φέρειν· οὐδ' ἐπὶ μὲν Κορινθίους, καὶ Μεγαρέας, ἁρπάσαντας τὰ ὅπλα πορεύεσθαι· Φίλιππον δ' ἐᾶν πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, δι' ἀπορίαν ἐφοδίων τοῖς στρατευομένοις. Καὶ ταῦτ', οὐχ ἵν' ἀπέχθωμαί τισιν ὑμῶν, τηνάλλως προῄρημαι λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἄφρων, οὐδ' ἀτυχής τις εἰμὶ ἐγώ, ὥστε ἀπεχθάνεσθαι βούλεσθαι, μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν νομίζων· ἀλλὰ δικαίου πολίτου κρίνω, τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων σωτηρίαν, ἀντὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν χάριτος, αἱρεῖσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς [6] ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν λέγοντας ἀκούω, ὥσπερ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὓς ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν οἱ παριόντες ἅπαντες, μιμοῦνται δ' οὐ πάνυ, τούτῳ τῷ ἔθει καὶ

τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς πολιτείας χρῆσθαι, τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐκεῖνον τὸν Νικίαν, [1] τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐμαυτῷ, τὸν Περικλέα. Ἐξ οὗ δ' οἱ διερωτῶντες ὑμᾶς οὗτοι πεφήνασι ῥήτορες, τί βούλεσθε; τί γράψω; τί ὑμῖν χαρίσωμαι; [2] προπέποται τῆς παραυτίκα ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα· καὶ τοιαυτὶ συμβαίνει· καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων πάντα καλῶς ἔχει, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα αἰσχρῶς. Καίτοι σκέψασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἅ [3] τις ἂν κεφάλαια εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, τῶν τ' ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἔργων, καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ὑμῶν. Ἔσται δὲ βραχὺς καὶ γνώριμος ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίοις ὑμῖν χρωμένοις παραδείγμασιν, ἀλλ' οἰκείοις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εὐδαίμοσιν ἔξεστι γενέσθαι. Ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν, οἷς οὐκ ἐχαρίζονθ' οἱ λέγοντες, οὐδ' ἐφίλουν αὐτοὺς, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς οὗτοι νῦν, πέντε μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη [4] τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξαν ἑκόντων· πλείω δ' ἢ μύρια τάλαντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγον· ὑπήκουε δὲ ὁ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔχων αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ προσῆκον βάρβαρον Ἕλλησι· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καλὰ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες ἔστησαν τρόπαια αὐτοὶ στρατευόμενοι· μόνοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων κρείττω τὴν [5] ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις δόξαν τῶν φθονούντων κατέλιπον. Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν θεάσασθε ὁποῖοι, ἔν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις. Δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοίνυν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ κάλλη τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα κατεσκεύασαν ἡμῖν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἀναθημάτων, ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι. ἰδίᾳ δ' οὕτω σώφρονες ἦσαν καὶ σφόδρα ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἤθει μένοντες, ὥστε τὴν Ἀριστείδου, καὶ τὴν Μιλτιάδου, καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν εἴ τις ἄρα οἶδεν ὑμῶν, ὁποία ποτ' ἐστὶν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὖσαν. οὐ γὰρ

[1] εἰς περιουσίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπράττετο τὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὔξειν ἕκαστος ᾤετο δεῖν. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πιστῶς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς, τὰ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἴσως διοικεῖν, μεγάλην εἰκότως ἐκτήσαντο εὐδαιμονίαν. Τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνοις χρωμένοις, οἷς εἶπον, προστάταις. Νυνὶ δὲ πῶς ὑμῖν [2] ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν τὰ πράγματα ἔχει; [3] ἆρά γε ὁμοίως ἢ καὶ παραπλησίως; Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν. [4] Ἀλλ' ὅσης ἅπαντες ὁρᾶτε ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἀπολωλότων, Θηβαίων δ' ἀσχόλων ὄντων, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἀξιόχρεω περὶ τῶν πρωτείων ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξασθαι· [5] ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων δίκαια βραβεύειν· ἀπεστερήμεθα μὲν χώρας οἰκείας· πλείω δ' ἢ χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον· οὓς δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, εἰρήνης οὔσης, ἀπολωλέκασιν οὗτοι· ἐχθρὸν δ' ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τηλικοῦτον ἠσκήκαμεν—ἢ φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ παρελθών, πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἰσχυρὸς γέγονεν, ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, Φίλιππος. Ἀλλ', [6] ὦ 'τάν, εἰ ταῦτα φαύλως, τά γ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχει. Καὶ τί ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι;—[7] Τὰς ἐπάλξεις, ἃς κονιῶμεν; καὶ τὰς ὁδούς, ἃς ἐπισκευάζομεν; καὶ κρήνας; καὶ λήρους;—Ἀποβλέψατε δὴ πρὸς τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πολιτευομένους, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀδόξων ἔντιμοι· ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας [8] εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι· ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐλάττω [9] γέγονε, τοσούτῳ τὰ τούτων ηὔξηται. Τί δὴ τὸ πάντων αἴτιον τούτων; καὶ τί δήποτε ἅπαντ' εἶχε καλῶς τότε, καὶ νῦν

οὐκ ὀρθῶς; Ὅτι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, καὶ στρατεύεσθαι τολμῶν αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος, [1] δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευομένων ἦν, καὶ κύριος αὐτὸς ἁπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν· [2] καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἦν, παρὰ τοῦ δήμȣ, τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάςῳ, καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος μεταλαβεῖν· νῦν δὲ τοὐναντίον, κύριοι μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται· ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ὁ δῆμος ἐκνενευρισμένοι, καὶ περιῃρημένοι χρήματα, καὶ συμμάχȣς, ἐν ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει γεγένησθε, [3] ἀγαπῶντες [4] ἐὰν μεταδιδῶσι θεωρικῶν ὑμῖν, ἢ βοΐδια πέμψωσιν οὗτοι· καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀνανδρότατον, [5] τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν χάριν προσοφείλετε· οἱ δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καθείρξαντες ὑμᾶς, ἐπάγουσιν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τιθασσεύουσι, χειροήθεις αὐτοῖς ποιοῦντες. Ἔστι δ᾽ οὐδέποτ᾽, οἶμαι, μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα πράττοντας· [6] ὁποῖ᾽ ἄττα γὰρ ἂν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾖ, [7] τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἔχειν. Ταῦτα, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι, εἰ μείζων εἰπόντι ἐμοὶ γένοιτο παρ᾽ ὑμῶν βλάβη, [8] τῶν πεποιηκότων αὐτὰ γενέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ παῤῥησία περὶ πάντων αἰεὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐστιν· ἀλλ᾽ ἔγωγε, ὅτι καὶ νῦν γέγονε, θαυμάζω. Ἐὰν οὖν ἀλλὰ νῦν γ᾽ ἔτι [9] ἀπαλλαγέντες τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν, ἐθελήσητε στρατεύεσθαί τε καὶ πράττειν ἀξίως ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῖς περιουσίαις ταῖς οἴκοι ταύταις ἀφορμαῖς [10] ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν ἀγαθῶν χρήσησθε, ἴσως ἄν, ἴσως, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τέλειόν τι καὶ μέγα κτήσαισθε ἀγαθόν, καὶ [11] τῶν τοιούτων λημμάτων ἀπαλλαγείητε, ἃ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσι παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν σιτίοις διδομένοις ἔοικε· καὶ γὰρ οὔτ᾽ ἰσχὺν ἐκεῖνα ἐντίθησιν, οὔτ᾽ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐᾷ· καὶ ταῦτα, ἃ νέμεσθε νῦν ὑμεῖς, οὔτε τοσαῦτά ἐστιν, ὥστε ὠφέλειαν ἔχειν τινὰ διαρκῆ, οὔτ᾽ ἀπογνόντας ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἐᾷ· ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι ταῦτα τὴν ἑκάστου ῥᾳθυμίαν ὑμῶν ἐπαυξάνοντα. [12] Οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν

λέγεις; φήσει τις. [1] Καὶ παραχρῆμά γε τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἁπάντων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα τῶν κοινῶν ἕκαστος τὸ μέρος λαμβάνων, ὅτου δέοιτο ἡ πόλις, εἰς τοῦθ' ἑτοίμως χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχοι. Ἔξεστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν;—[2] οἴκοι μένων εἰ βελτίων, τοῦ δι' ἔνδειαν ἀνάγκῃ τι ποιεῖν αἰσχρὸν ἀπηλλαγμένος. Συμβαίνει τι τοιοῦτον, οἷον καὶ [3] τὰ νῦν;—στρατιώτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων λημμάτων, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. Ἔστι τὶς ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ὑμῶν;—ὅσα οὗτος νῦν ἀτάκτως λαμβάνων οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, ταῦτ' [4] ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει λαμβανέτω, πάντ' ἐφορῶν καὶ διοικῶν, ἃ χρὴ πράττεσθαι. Ὅλως δὲ, οὔτ' ἀφελὼν, οὔτε προσθεὶς, πλὴν μικρὸν, τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελὼν, εἰς τάξιν ἤγαγον τὴν πόλιν, [5] τὴν αὐτὴν, τοῦ λαβεῖν, τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι, τοῦ δικάζειν, τοῦ ποιεῖν τοῦθ', ὅ τι καθ' ἡλικίαν ἕκαστος [6] ἔχοι, καὶ ὅτου καιρὸς εἴη, τάξιν ποιήσας. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου τοῖς μηδὲν ποιοῦσιν ἐγὼ τὰ τῶν ποιησόντων εἶπον ὡς δεῖ νέμειν· [7] οὐδ' αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀργεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν καὶ ἀπορεῖν, ὅτι δὲ οἱ τοῦ δεῖνος νικῶσι ξένοι, ταῦτα πυνθάνεσθαι·—ταῦτα γὰρ νυνὶ γίνεται. Καὶ οὐχὶ μέμφομαι τὸν ποιοῦντά τι τῶν δεόντων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ πράττειν ταῦτα, ἐφ' οἷς ἑτέρους τιμᾶτε· καὶ μὴ παραχωρεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς τάξεως, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς ἀρετῆς μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον. Σχεδὸν εἴρηκα, ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν· ὑμεῖς δ' ἕλοισθε, ὅ τι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἅπασι συνοίσειν ὑμῖν μέλλει.

[1] ΕΚ ΤΟΥ

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΛΟΓΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

* * *

[2] Ὁ Σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, [3] καὶ δίδωσιν αὑτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τοῖς καιροῖς, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας, ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἄν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. [4] Ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς, τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων. [5] Ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε, ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν, πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. [6] Εἰ γάρ ἐσθ' ὅ τι τις νῦν ἑώρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθὲν, τοῦτ' ἐγώ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἐστὶ, μήτε ἦν, μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; [7] οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἑλέσθαι; Τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐποίησα ἐγὼ, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; οὐ, τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων; οὐδὲ, τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι [8] τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι; Σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου, ἐγὼ παρελθὼν, ἔλεγον. Ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον,—εἰπέ· τίς ἢ [9] λόγος, ὅντινα ἐχρῆν εὑρεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς

πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν [1] τουτονσί; Ἀλλὰ μὴν, τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον, ἢ τὸ παρὸν, τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. Τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν· ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, [2] μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. Μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῇς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τὴν μάχην· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐν ἐμοί. Ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα, ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν, εἱλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα, καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην, καὶ ἀναγκαῖα,—ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότ' ἤδη κατηγόρει μου. Εἰ δ' [3] ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς, [ἢ χειμὼν,] μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; Ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον, πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα, καὶ πᾶσι κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον, ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθήσεσθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον, καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν, ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῷτο. Ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν, φήσειεν ἄν· ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγὼ, οὔτε τῆς τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογίζου, καὶ ὅρα, εἰ μετὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζομένοις οὕτως εἵμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί χρῆν προσδοκᾷν, εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο· ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ' ἐκεῖνος πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς; Καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης, τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἴ που πλησίον τῆς χώρας ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδο-

κῆσαι χρῆν; [1] ἆρ' οἴεσθε ἔτι νῦν ἂν στῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι; [2] Πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει. Τότε δὲ——ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἅ γε μηδ' εἰς πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινος εὔνοια, καὶ τὸ προβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταυτὴν τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς. Εστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι, [3] τὰ πολλά, πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους· ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον αὐτόν, τὸν κατάπτυστον, βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει μοι λόγος. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότ' ἔδει σε προλέγειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ προῄδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις· ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς, ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ', ἃ λέγω, (καὶ οὔπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι,) ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον, οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος· σὺ δὲ οὔτε ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίω τούτων, (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο,) οὔτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σεαυτὸν παρέσχες. Ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει, [4] τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι· καὶ ἅμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ, καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, [5] οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους, καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ. Καίτοι, ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος, ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· [6] καὶ ὅτῳ συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὔνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι. Δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῇς, καὶ ποιεῖς, καὶ πολιτεύῃ, καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ. Πράττεταί τι των ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης. Ἀντ-

ἐκρουσέ τι, καὶ γέγονεν, οἷον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης. ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα, καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας, ὃ λέγω, θεωρησάτω. Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προῄδεσαν ἅπαντες, καὶ σὺ προύλεγες, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγὼς, ὃς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴπερ ἢ δόξης, ἢ προγόνων, ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. [1] Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ. Τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτ' ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. Εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονιτὶ, [2] περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὅντινοῦν οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, [3] τίς ἂν οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ· μὴ γὰρ δὴ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ; Τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς, πρὸς Διὸς, ἑωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, [4] εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματα, εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ, περιέστη, ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ κύριος ᾑρέθη Φίλιππος ἁπάντων, [5] τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτα ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι; καὶ ταῦτα, μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ᾑρημένης. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων, [6] καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γεγενημένων Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, [7] μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ, τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐᾶν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς

Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς τότε πάτρια, οὐδ' ἀνεκτά, οὐδ' ἔμφυτα· οὐδ' ἠδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι, τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μέν, μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι, προσθεμένην, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν· [1] ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης, καὶ κινδυνεύουσα, πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκε. Καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε· εἰκότως. Τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν, εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι; τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ἀποφηνάμενον [2] Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. Οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα, οὔτε στρατηγόν, δι' ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν εὐτυχῶς· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἠξίουν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῖς ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. Διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων, [3] τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει· ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν, ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. Νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω· καὶ δείκνυμι, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ πόλις· τῆς μέντοι διακονίας, τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναί φημι.

Οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν, ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει γεγενημένῳ, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. [1] Εἰ γὰρ, ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου, τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνωμοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, [2] τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι· [3] Οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους, ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας· οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς, ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. Δικαίως. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται· τῇ τύχῃ δὲ, ἣν ὁ δαίμων ἀπένειμεν ἑκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηνται. * * *

FINIS

EXCERPTORUM EX ORATORIBUS.

ANALECTA GRÆCA MAJORA.

PROSE SELECTIONS.

PART THIRD.

PHILOSOPHICAL EXTRACTS.

I.

[1] E XENOPHONTE.

[2] ΕΚ ΤΩΝ

ΤΟΥ ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ

ΤΟΥ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ

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SOCRATES—parens Philosophiae jure dici potest.
Cicero de Finibus, II. 1.

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ.

ΚΕΦ. α.

ΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣ ἐθαύμασα, [3] τίσι ποτὲ λόγοις Ἀθηναίους ἔπεισαν [4] οἱ γραψάμενοι Σωκράτην, ὡς ἄξιος εἴη θανάτου τῇ πόλει. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ γραφὴ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ [5] τοιάδε τις ἦν —[6] ΑΔΙΚΕΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΟΜΙΖΕΙ ΘΕΟΥΣ, ΟΥ ΝΟΜΙΖΩΝ, ΕΤΕΡΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙΝΑ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ ΕΙΣΦΕΡΩΝ· ΑΔΙΚΕΙ ΔΕ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΑΦΘΕΙΡΩΝ.

[1] Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὡς οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν, οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς, ποίῳ ποτ᾽ ἐχρήσαντο τεκμηρίῳ; [2] θύων τε γὰρ φανερὸς ἦν, πολλάκις μὲν οἴκοι, πολλάκις δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως βωμῶν· καὶ μαντικῇ χρώμενος οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν. διετεθρύλλητο γὰρ, ὡς φαίη Σωκράτης, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἑαυτῷ σημαίνειν· [3] ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστά μοι δοκοῦσιν αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρειν.

Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν καινότερον εἰσέφερε τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι, [4] μαντικὴν νομίζοντες, [5] οἰωνοῖς τε χρῶνται, καὶ φήμαις, καὶ συμβόλοις, καὶ θυσίαις. οὗτοί τε γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, οὐ τοὺς ὄρνιθας, [6] οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας εἰδέναι τὰ συμφέροντα τοῖς μαντευομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τούτων αὐτὰ σημαίνειν· κἀκεῖνος οὕτως ἐνόμιζεν.

Ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι φασὶν ὑπό τε τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν ἀπαντώντων ἀποτρέπεσθαί τε καὶ προτρέπεσθαι. Σωκράτης δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὕτως ἔλεγε· τὸ δαιμόνιον γὰρ ἔφη σημαίνειν· καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν ξυνόντων προηγόρευε, τὰ μὲν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν, ὡς τοῦ δαιμονίου προσημαίνοντος· καὶ τοῖς μὲν πειθομένοις αὐτῷ συνέφερε, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις μετέμελε.

Καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν [7] ὁμολογήσειεν, αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι μήτ᾽ ἠλίθιον μήτ᾽ ἀλαζόνα φαίνεσθαι τοῖς συνοῦσιν; ἐδόκει δ᾽ ἂν ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, εἰ προαγορεύων ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ φαινόμενα [8] καὶ ψευδόμενος ἐφαίνετο. δῆλον οὖν, [9] ὅτι οὐκ ἂν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευεν ἀληθεύσειν· [10] ταῦτα δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλῳ πιστεύσειεν, ἢ θεῷ; πιστεύων δὲ θεοῖς, πῶς οὐκ εἶναι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν;

[11] Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐποίει καὶ τάδε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα συνεβούλευε καὶ πράττειν, ὡς ἐνόμιζεν ἄριστ᾽ ἂν πραχθῆναι· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδήλων ὅπως ἀποβήσοιτο, [12] μαντευσομένους ἔπεμπεν, εἰ ποιητέα.

[1] Καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας οἴκους τε καὶ πόλεις καλῶς οἰκήσειν μαντικῆς ἔφη προσδεῖσθαι.—Τεκτονικὸν μὲν γὰρ, ἢ χαλκευτικὸν, ἢ γεωργικὸν, ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἀρχικὸν, ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἐξεταστικὸν, ἢ λογιστικὸν, ἢ οἰκονομικὸν, ἢ στρατηγικὸν γενέσθαι, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα, καὶ ἀνθρώπου γνώμῃ αἱρετέα ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι.—[2] Τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις, ἔφη, τοὺς θεοὺς ἑαυτοῖς καταλείπεσθαι, ὧν οὐδὲν δῆλον εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· οὔτε γὰρ τῷ καλῶς ἀγρὸν φυτευσαμένῳ δῆλον, ὅστις καρπώσεται· οὔτε τῷ καλῶς οἰκίαν οἰκοδομησαμένῳ δῆλον, ὅστις οἰκήσει· ὔτε τῷ στρατηγικῷ δῆλον, εἰ συμφέρει στρατηγεῖν· οὔτε τῷ πολιτικῷ δῆλον, εἰ συμφέρει τῆς πόλεως προστατεῖν· οὔτε τῷ καλὴν γήμαντι, ἵνα εὐφραίνηται, δῆλον, εἰ διὰ ταύτην ἀνιάσεται· οὔτε τῷ δυνατοὺς εν τῇ πόλει κηδεστὰς λαβόντι δῆλον, εἰ διὰ τούτους [3] στερήσεται τῆς πόλεως.

Τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων οἰομένους εἶναι δαιμόνιον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης, [4] δαιμονᾷν ἔφη· δαιμονᾷν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαντευομένους, ἃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ [5] μαθοῦσι διακρίνειν· οἷον, εἴ τις [6] ἐπερωτῴη, πότερον ἐπιστάμενον ἡνιοχεῖν ἐπὶ ζεῦγος λαβεῖν κρεῖττον, ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον· ἢ πότερον ἐπιστάμενον κυβερνᾷν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κρεῖττον λαβεῖν, ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον· ἢ, ἃ ἔξεστιν ἀριθμήσαντας ἢ μετρήσαντας ἢ [7] στήσαντας εἰδέναι, τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθανομένους ἀθέμιστα ποιεῖν ἡγεῖτο. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν, ἃ μὲν μαθόντας ποιεῖν ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ, μανθάνειν· ἃ δὲ μὴ δῆλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ, πειρᾶσθαι [8] διὰ μαντικῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· τοὺς θεοὺς γὰρ, οἷς ἂν ὦσιν [9] ἵλεῳ, σημαίνειν.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐκεῖνός γε ἀεὶ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ· πρωῒ τε γὰρ εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια [10] ᾔει, καὶ πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς ἐκεῖ φανερὸς ἦν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν

ἀεὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν, ὅπου πλείστοις μέλλοι συνέσεσθαι καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν [1] ὡς τὸ πολὺ, τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις ἐξῆν ἀκούειν.

Οὐδεὶς δὲ πώποτε Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἀσεβὲς, οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον, οὔτε πράττοντος εἶδεν, οὔτε λέγοντος ἤκουσεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως, [2] ἧπερ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλεῖστοι, διελέγετο, σκοπῶν, ὅπως ὁ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κόσμος ἔφυ, καὶ [3] τίσιν ἀνάγκαις ἕκαστα γίνεται τῶν οὐρανίων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φροντίζοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα μωραίνοντας ἐπεδείκνυεν.

[4] Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει, πότερά ποτε νομίσαντες ἱκανῶς ἤδη τἀνθρώπινα εἰδέναι, [5] ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων φροντίζειν· ἢ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα παρέντες, τὰ δαιμόνια δὲ σκοποῦντες, ἡγοῦνται τὰ προσήκοντα πράττειν.

[6] Ἐθαύμαζε δὲ, εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις εὑρεῖν· [7] ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τούτων λέγειν οὐ ταὐτὰ δοξάζειν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαινομένοις ὁμοίως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Τῶν τε γὰρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδ' ἐν ὄχλῳ δοκεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν ὁτιοῦν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐξιτητέον εἰς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὔθ' ἱερὸν, οὔτε βωμὸν, οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν θείων οὐδὲν τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους [8] καὶ ξύλα τὰ τυχόντα καὶ θηρία σέβεσθαι. Τῶν τε περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνώντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἓν μόνον τὸ ὂν εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ κινεῖσθαι πάντα, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲν ἄν ποτε κινηθῆναι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάντα γίγνεσθαί τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δ' οὔτ' ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲν, οὔτ' ἀπολέσθαι.

Εσκόπει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τάδε· ἆρ', ὥσπερ οἱ τἀνθρώπεια μανθάνοντες ἡγοῦνται τοῦθ', ὅ τι ἂν μάθωσιν, ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτῳ ἂν βούλωνται, ποιήσειν· οὕτω καὶ οἱ τὰ θεῖα ζητοῦντες νομίζουσιν, ἐπειδὰν γνῶσιν, αἷς ἀνάγκαις ἕκαστα γίγνεται, ποιήσειν, ὅταν βούλωνται, καὶ ἀνέμους, καὶ ὕδατα, καὶ ὥρας, καὶ ὅτου δ' ἂν ἄλλου δέωνται τῶν τοιούτων· ἢ τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐλπίζουσιν, ἀρκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς γνῶναι μόνον, [1] ᾗ τῶν τοιούτων ἕκαστα γίγνεται; Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ταῦτα πραγματευομένων τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν.

[2] Αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀεὶ διελέγετο, σκοπῶν, τί εὐσεβὲς, τί ἀσεβές· τί καλὸν, τί αἰσχρόν· τί δίκαιον, τί ἄδικον· τί σωφροσύνη, τί μανία· τί ἀνδρία, τί δειλία· τί πόλις, τί πολιτικός· τί ἀρχὴ ἀνθρώπων, τί ἀρχικὸς ἀνθρώπων· καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότας ἡγεῖτο καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἀγνοοῦντας ἀνδραποδώδεις ἂν δικαίως κεκλῆσθαι.

Ὅσα μὲν οὖν μὴ φανερὸς ἦν, ὅπως ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν, ὑπὲρ τούτων περὶ αὐτοῦ [3] παραγνῶναι τοὺς δικαστάς· ὅσα δὲ πάντες ᾔδεσαν, θαυμαστὸν, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἐνεθυμήθησαν.

[4] Βουλεύσας γάρ ποτε, καὶ τὸν βουλευτικὸν ὅρκον ὀμόσας, ἐν ᾧ ἦν, κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλεύσειν, Ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμήσαντος τοῦ δήμου, παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐννέα στρατηγοὺς μιᾷ ψήφῳ, [5] τοὺς ἀμφὶ Θράσυλον καὶ Ἐρασινίδην, ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας, [6] οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιψηφίσαι, ὀργιζομένου μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ δήμου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν ἀπειλούντων· ἀλλὰ [7] περὶ πλείονος ἐποιήσατο εὐορκεῖν, ἢ χαρίσασθαι τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, [8] καὶ φυλάξασθαι τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ

[1] ὃν τρόπον οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν· οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ οἴονται, τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ μὲν εἰδέναι, τὰ δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι· Σωκράτης δὲ πάντα μὲν ἡγεῖτο θεοὺς εἰδέναι, τά τε λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα, καὶ τὰ σιγῇ βουλευόμενα, πανταχοῦ δὲ παρεῖναι, καὶ σημαίνειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πάντων.

Θαυμάζω οὖν, ὅπως ποτὲ ἐπείσθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, Σωκράτην περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μὴ σωφρονεῖν, τὸν ἀσεβὲς μὲν οὐδέν ποτε περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτ᾽ εἰπόντα οὔτε πράξαντα, τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα περὶ θεῶν, οἷά τις ἂν καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων εἴη τε καὶ νομίζοιτο εὐσεβέστατος

ΚΕΦ. β΄.

Θαυμαστὸν δὲ φαίνεταί μοι καὶ τὸ πεισθῆναί τινας, ὡς Σωκράτης τοὺς νέους διέφθειρεν, ὃς, πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις, πρῶτον μὲν ἀφροδισίων, καὶ γαστρὸς, πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγκρατέστατος ἦν· εἶτα πρὸς χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος, καὶ πάντας πόνους καρτερικώτατος· ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μετρίων δεῖσθαι πεπαιδευμένος οὕτως, [2] ὥστε πάνυ μικρὰ κεκτημένος, πάνυ ῥᾳδίως ἔχειν ἀρκοῦντα.

Πῶς οὖν, αὐτὸς ὢν τοιοῦτος, ἄλλους ἂν ἢ ἀσεβεῖς, ἢ παρανόμους, ἢ λίχνους, ἢ ἀφροδισίων ἀκρατεῖς, ἢ πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν μαλακοὺς ἐποίησεν; [3] ἀλλ᾽ ἔπαυσε μὲν τούτων πολλοὺς, ἀρετῆς ποιήσας ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ ἐλπίδας παρασχὼν, ἂν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμελῶνται, καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι.

Καίτοι γε οὐδὲ πώποτε ὑπέσχετο διδάσκαλος εἶναι τούτου· [4] ἀλλὰ τῷ φανερὸς εἶναι τοιοῦτος ὢν, ἐλπίζειν ἐποίει τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἑαυτῷ, μιμουμένους ἐκεῖνον, τοιούσδε γενήσεσθαι. * * *

—Πῶς ἂν οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ διαφθείροι τοὺς νέους, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἡ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλεια διαφθορά ἐστιν;

Ἀλλά, νὴ Δία, ὁ κατήγορος ἔφη, [1] ὑπερορᾷν ἐποίει τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων τοὺς συνόντας, λέγων, ὡς μωρῶν εἴη, [2] τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἀπὸ κυάμου καθίστασθαι, κυβερνήτῃ δὲ μηδένα θέλειν κεχρῆσθαι κυαμευτῷ, μηδὲ τέκτονι, μηδ' αὐλητῇ, μηδ' ἐπ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἃ πολλῷ ἐλάττονας βλάβας ἁμαρτανόμενα ποιεῖ τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἁμαρτανομένων· τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους λόγους ἐπαίρειν ἔφη τοὺς νέους καταφρονεῖν [3] τῆς καθεστώσης πολιτείας, καὶ ποιεῖν βιαίους.

Ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι τοὺς φρόνησιν ἀσκοῦντας, καὶ νομίζοντας ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι τὰ συμφέροντα διδάσκειν τοὺς πολίτας, ἥκιστα γίγνεσθαι βιαίους, [4] εἰδότας, ὅτι τῇ μὲν βίᾳ πρόσεισιν ἔχθραι καὶ κίνδυνοι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ πείθειν ἀκινδύνως τε καὶ μετὰ φιλίας τὰ αὐτὰ γίγνεται. * * *

Ἀλλ', ἔφη γε ὁ κατήγορος, Σωκράτει ὁμιλητὰ γενομένω Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης πλεῖστα κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐποιησάτην. Κριτίας μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πάντων πλεονεκτίστατός τε καὶ βιαιότατος ἐγένετο· Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ αὖ τῶν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων ἀκρατέστατος, καὶ ὑβριστότατος, [καὶ βιαιότατος.]

Ἐγὼ δ', εἰ μέν τι κακὸν ἐκείνω τὴν πόλιν ἐποιησάτην, οὐκ ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν δὲ πρὸς Σωκράτην συνουσίαν αὐτοῖν, ὡς ἐγένετο, διηγήσομαι.

Ἐγενέσθην μὲν γὰρ δὴ τὼ ἄνδρε τούτω φύσει φιλοτιμοτάτω πάντων Ἀθηναίων, βουλομένω τε πάντα δι' ἑαυτῶν πράττεσθαι, καὶ πάντων ὀνομαστοτάτω γενέσθαι. [5] ᾔδεσαν δὲ [6] Σωκράτην ἀπ' ἐλαχίστων μὲν χρημάτων αὐταρκέστατα ζῶντα, τῶν ἡδονῶν δὲ πασῶν ἐγκρατέστατον ὄντα· τοῖς δὲ διαλεγομένοις αὐτῷ πᾶσι χρώμενον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὅπως βούλοιτο. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντε, καὶ ὄντε οἵω

προειρήσθον, πότερόν τις αὐτὼ φῆ τοῦ βίου τοῦ Σωκράτους ἐπιθυμήσαντε, καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης, ἣν ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν, [1] ὀρέξασθαι τῆς ὁμιλίας αὐτοῦ· ἢ νομίσαντε, εἰ ὁμιλησαίτην ἐκείνῳ, γενέσθαι ἂν ἱκανωτάτω λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν;

Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι, θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτοῖν, ἢ ζῆν ὅλον τὸν βίον, ὥσπερ ζῶντα Σωκράτην ἑώρων, ἢ τεθνάναι, [2] ἑλέσθαι ἂν αὐτὼ μᾶλλον τεθνάναι. Δήλω δ᾽ ἐγενέσθην, ἐξ ὧν ἐπραξάτην· ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα κρείττονε τῶν συγγινομένων ἡγησάσθην εἶναι, [3] εὐθὺς ἀποπηδήσαντε Σωκράτους, ἐπραττέτην τὰ πολιτικά, ὧνπερ ἕνεκα [4] Σωκράτους ὠρεχθήτην. * * *

Καὶ Κριτίας δὴ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἕως μὲν Σωκράτει [5] συνήστην, ἐδυνάσθην, ἐκείνῳ χρωμένω συμμάχῳ, τῶν μὴ καλῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν κρατεῖν· [6] ἐκείνου δ᾽ ἀπαλλαγέντε, Κριτίας μὲν φυγὼν εἰς Θετταλίαν, ἐκεῖ συνῆν ἀνθρώποις ἀνομίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοσύνῃ χρωμένοις· Ἀλκιβιάδης δ᾽ αὖ, διὰ μὲν κάλλος ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ σεμνῶν γυναικῶν θηρώμενος, διὰ δύναμιν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις, [7] ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ δυνατῶν κολακεύειν ἀνθρώπων διαθρυπτόμενος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος, καὶ ῥᾳδίως πρωτεύων, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνων ἀθληταὶ ῥᾳδίως πρωτεύοντες ἀμελοῦσι τῆς ἀσκήσεως, οὕτω κἀκεῖνος ἠμέλησεν αὐτοῦ.

Τοιούτων δὲ συμβάντων αὐτοῖν, καὶ ὠγκωμένω μὲν ἐπὶ γένει, ἐπηρμένω δ᾽ ἐπὶ πλούτῳ, πεφυσημένω δ᾽ ἐπὶ δυνάμει, διατεθρυμμένω δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις διεφθαρμένω, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπὸ Σωκράτους γεγονότε, τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ ὑπερηφάνω ἐγενέσθην;

Εἶτα, εἰ μέν τι ἐπλημμελησάτην, τούτου Σωκράτην ὁ κατήγορος αἰτιᾶται· ὅτι δὲ νέω ὄντε αὐτώ, (ἡνίκα καὶ ἀγνωμονεστάτω καὶ ἀκρατεστάτω εἰκὸς εἶναι,) Σωκράτης

παρέσχε σώφρονε, οὐδενὸς ἐπαίνου δοκεῖ τῷ κατηγόρῳ ἄξιος εἶναι; [1] οὐ μὴν τά γε ἄλλα οὕτω κρίνεται.

Τίς μὲν γὰρ αὐλητὴς, τίς δὲ καὶ κιθαριστὴς, τίς δὲ ἄλλος διδάσκαλος ἱκανοὺς ποιήσας τοὺς μαθητὰς, ἐὰν πρὸς ἄλλους ἐλθόντες χείρους φανῶσιν, αἰτίαν ἔχει τούτου; τίς δὲ πατὴρ, ἐὰν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ [2] συνδιατρίβων τῳ σώφρων ᾖ, ὕστερον δὲ ἄλλῳ τῳ συγγενόμενος πονηρὸς γένηται, τὸν πρόσθεν αἰτιᾶται, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ, ὅσῳ ἂν παρὰ τῷ ὑστέρῳ χείρων φαίνηται, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖ τὸν πρότερον; [3] ἀλλ᾽ οἵ γε πατέρες αὐτοὶ συνόντες τοῖς υἱέσι, τῶν παίδων πλημμελούντων, οὐκ αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν, ἐὰν αὐτοὶ σωφρονῶσιν.

Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην δίκαιον ἦν κρίνειν· εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐποίει τι φαῦλον, εἰκότως ἂν ἐδόκει πονηρὸς εἶναι· εἰ δ᾽ αὐτὸς σωφρονῶν διετέλει, πῶς ἂν δικαίως τῆς οὐκ ἐνούσης αὐτῷ κακίας αἰτίαν ἔχοι; * * *

Ἀλλὰ Κρίτων τε Σωκράτους ἦν ὁμιλητὴς, καὶ Χαιρεφῶν, καὶ Χαιρεκράτης, καὶ Σιμμίας, καὶ Κέβης, καὶ Φαιδώνδης, καὶ ἄλλοι, οἳ ἐκείνῳ συνῆσαν, οὐχ ἵνα δημηγορικοὶ ἢ δικανικοὶ γένοιντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα καλοί τε κἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, καὶ οἴκῳ, καὶ οἰκέταις, καὶ οἰκείοις, καὶ φίλοις, καὶ πόλει, καὶ πολίταις δύναιντο καλῶς χρῆσθαι· καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς, οὔτε νεώτερος οὔτε πρεσβύτερος ὢν, οὔτ᾽ ἐποίησε κακὸν οὐδὲν, οὔτ᾽ αἰτίαν ἔσχεν.

Ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γ᾽, ἔφη ὁ κατήγορος, τοὺς πατέρας [4] προπηλακίζειν ἐδίδασκε, πείθων μὲν τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ, σοφωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν πατέρων. * * *

—Καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς ἐποίει ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς αὐτῷ συνοῦσι, λέγων, ὡς οὔτε τοὺς κάμνοντας, οὔτε τοὺς δικαζομένους οἱ συγγενεῖς ὠφελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἰατροὶ, τοὺς δὲ οἱ συνδικεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι.

Ἔφη δὲ, καὶ περὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὡς οὐδὲν ὄφελος εὔνους εἶναι, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὠφελεῖν δυνήσονται· [1] μόνους δὲ φάσκειν αὐτὸν ἀξίους εἶναι τιμῆς τοὺς εἰδότας τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυναμένες· ἀναπείθοντα οὖν τοὺς νέες αὐτὸν, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη σοφώτατός τε, καὶ ἄλλους ἱκανώτατος ποιῆσαι σοφοὺς, οὕτω διατιθέναι τοὺς αὐτῷ συνόντας, ὥστε μηδαμοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι [2] πρὸς ἑαυτόν. * * *

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔλεγεν,—καὶ παρεκάλει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τε ὡς φρονιμώτατον εἶναι καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον, ὅπως, ἐάν τε ὑπὸ πατρὸς, ἐάν τε ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐάν τε ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς βούληται τιμᾶσθαι, μὴ, τῷ οἰκεῖος εἶναι πιστεύων, ἀμελῇ, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶται, ὑφ' ὧν ἂν βούλοιτο τιμᾶσθαι, τούτοις ὠφέλιμος εἶναι.

Ἔφη δ' αὐτὸν ὁ κατήγορος καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ποιητῶν ἐκλεγόμενον τὰ πονηρότατα, καὶ τούτοις μαρτυρίοις χρώμενον, διδάσκειν τοὺς συνόντας κακούργους εἶναι, καὶ τυραννικούς· Ἡσιόδου μὲν τὸ,

Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργείη δέ τ' ὄνειδος·

τοῦτο δὴ λέγειν αὐτὸν, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς κελεύοι μηδενὸς ἔργου, μήτε ἀδίκου, μήτε αἰσχροῦ ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ κέρδει.

Σωκράτης δ', ἐπειδὴ ὁμολογήσαιτο, τὸ μὲν ἐργάτην εἶναι, ὠφέλιμόν τε ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀργὸν, βλαβερόν τε καὶ κακὸν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγαθὸν, τὸ δὲ ἀργεῖν κακόν· τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας ἐργάζεσθαί τε ἔφη, καὶ ἐργάτας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι· τοὺς δὲ κυβεύοντας, ἤ τι ἄλλο πονηρὸν καὶ ἐπιζήμιον ποιοῦντας, ἀργοὺς ἀπεκάλει· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὀρθῶς ἂν ἔχοι τὸ,

[2] Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργείη δέ τ' ὄνειδος.

Τὸ δὲ Ὁμήρου, ἔφη ὁ κατήγορος, πολλάκις αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὅτι Ὀδυσσεὺς,

[1]Ὅντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχείη,
Τόνδ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε παραστάς·
Δαιμόνι', οὔ σε ἔοικε, κακὸν ὣς, δειδίσσεσθαι·
Ἀλλ' αὐτός τε κάθησο, καὶ ἄλλους ἵδρυε λαούς.
Ὃν δ' αὖ δήμου τ' ἄνδρα ἴδοι, βοόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι,
Τὸν σκήπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν, ὁμοκλήσασκέ τε μύθῳ·
Δαιμόνι', ἀτρέμας ἧσο, καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουε,
Οἳ σέο φέρτεροί εἰσι· σὺ δ' ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἄναλκις,
Οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμιος, οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ.

Ταῦτα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς [2] ἐπαινοίη παίεσθαι τοὺς δημότας καὶ πένητας.

Σωκράτης δ' οὐ ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν, (καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν οὕτω γ' ἂν ᾤετο δεῖν παίεσθαι,) ἀλλ' ἔφη, δεῖν τοὺς μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ ὠφελίμους ὄντας, μήτε στρατεύματι, μήτε πόλει, μήτε αὐτῷ τῷ δήμῳ, εἴ τι δέοι, βοηθεῖν ἱκανοὺς, ἄλλως τ' ἐὰν πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ θρασεῖς ὦσι, πάντα τρόπον κωλύεσθαι, κἂν πάνυ πλούσιοι [3] τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες. * * *

Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ Σωκράτης, τοιοῦτος ὢν, ἐδόκει τιμῆς ἄξιος εἶναι τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον, ἢ θανάτου· καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους δὲ σκοπῶν ἄν τις, τοῦθ' εὕροι. Κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους, ἐάν τις φανερὸς γένηται κλέπτων, ἢ λωποδυτῶν, ἢ βαλαντιοτομῶν, ἢ τοιχωρυχῶν, ἢ ἀνδραποδιζόμενος, ἢ ἱεροσυλῶν, τούτοις θάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ζημία· ὧν ἐκεῖνος πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῖστον ἀπεῖχεν.

[4]Ἀλλὰ μὴν τῇ πόλει γε οὔτε πολέμου κακῶς συμβάντος, οὔτε στάσεως, οὔτε προδοσίας, οὔτε ἄλλου κακοῦ οὐδενὸς πώποτε αἴτιος ἐγένετο· οὐδὲ μὴν ἰδίᾳ γε οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστέρησεν, οὔτε κακοῖς περιέβαλεν· [5] ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰτίαν τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδενὸς πώποτ' ἔσχε.

[1] Πῶς οὖν ἔνοχος ἂν εἴη τῇ γραφῇ, ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν θεοὺς, (ὡς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐγέγραπτο,) [2] φανερὸς ἦν θεραπεύων τοὺς θεοὺς μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ διαφθείρειν τοὺς νέους, (ὃ δὴ ὁ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν ᾐτιᾶτο,) φανερὸς ἦν τῶν συνόντων τοὺς πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχοντας [3] τούτων μὲν παύων, τῆς δὲ καλλίστης καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτης ἀρετῆς, ᾗ πόλεις τε καὶ οἴκους εὖ οἰκοῦσι, προτρέπων ἐπιθυμεῖν; Ταῦτα δὲ πράττων, πῶς οὐ μενάλης ἄξιος ἦν τιμῆς τῇ πόλει;

ΚΕΦ. γ΄.

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[4] Καὶ εὔχετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἁπλῶς τἀγαθὰ διδόναι, [5] ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας, ὁποῖα ἀγαθά ἐστι· τοὺς δὲ εὐχομένους χρυσίον, ἢ ἀργύριον, ἢ τυραννίδα, ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων, οὐδὲν διάφορον ἐνόμιζεν εὔχεσθαι, ἢ εἰ κυβείαν, ἢ μάχην, ἢ ἄλλο τι εὔχοιντο τῶν φανερῶς ἀδήλων ὅπως ἀποβήσοιτο.

Θυσίας δὲ θύων μικρὰς ἀπὸ μικρῶν, οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο μειοῦσθαι τῶν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων [6] πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θυόντων. Οὔτε γὰρ [ἂν] τοῖς θεοῖς ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ ταῖς μεγάλαις θυσίαις μᾶλλον, ἢ ταῖς μικραῖς ἔχαιρον· (πολλάκις γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν μᾶλλον, ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χρηστῶν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα·) οὔτ' ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄξιον εἶναι ζῆν, εἰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν μᾶλλον ἦν κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς, ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χρηστῶν. Ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζε τοὺς θεοὺς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων τιμαῖς μάλιστα χαίρειν. Ἐπαινέτης δ' ἦν καὶ τοῦ ἔπους τούτου,—

[1] *Καδδύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἱέρ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι·*

καὶ πρὸς φίλους δὲ, καὶ ξένους, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν, καλὴν ἔφη παραίνεσιν εἶναι τὴν καδδύναμιν ἔρδειν. * * *

Διαίτῃ δὲ τήν τε ψυχὴν ἐπαίδευσε καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ᾗ χρώμενος ἄν τις, εἰ μή τι δαιμόνιον εἴη, θαῤῥαλέως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διάγοι, [2] καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειε τοσαύτης δαπάνης. οὕτω γὰρ εὐτελὴς ἦν, [3] ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ', εἴ τις οὕτως ἂν ὀλίγα ἐργάζοιτο, ὥστε μὴ λαμβάνειν τὰ Σωκράτει ἀρκοῦντα. σίτῳ μὲν γὰρ τοσούτῳ ἐχρῆτο, ὅσον ἡδέως ἤσθιε· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὕτως παρεσκευασμένος [4] ᾔει, ὥστε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ σίτου ὄψον αὐτῷ εἶναι· ποτὸν δὲ πᾶν ἡδὺ ἦν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸ μὴ πίνειν, εἰ μὴ διψῴη.

Εἰ δέ ποτε κληθεὶς ἐθελήσειεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐλθεῖν, ὃ τοῖς πλείστοις ἐργωδέστατόν ἐστιν, ὥστε φυλάξασθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν καιρὸν ἐμπίπλασθαι, τοῦτο ῥᾳδίως πάνυ ἐφυλάττετο. τοῖς δὲ μὴ δυναμένοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν συνεβούλευε, φυλάττεσθαι τὰ πείθοντα μὴ πεινῶντας ἐσθίειν, μηδὲ διψῶντας πίνειν· καὶ γὰρ τὰ λυμαινόμενα γαστέρας, καὶ κεφαλὰς, καὶ ψυχὰς, ταῦτ' ἔφη εἶναι.

Οἴεσθαι δ' ἔφη ἐπισκώπτων καὶ τὴν Κίρκην ὗς ποιεῖν, τοιούτοις πολλοῖς δειπνίζουσαν· [5] τὸν δὲ Οδυσσέα, Ἑρμοῦ τε ὑποθημοσύνῃ, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐγκρατῆ ὄντα, [6] καὶ ἀποσχόμενον τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἅπτεσθαι, διὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲ γενέσθαι ὗν. Τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ἔπαιζεν, ἅμα σπουδάζων. * * *

ΚΕΦ. ϛ΄

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Λέξω δὲ πρῶτον, ἅ ποτε αὐτοῦ ἤκουσα περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου διαλεγομένου πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον τὸν Μικρὸν ἐπικαλούμενον. Καταμαθὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὔτε [1] θύοντα τοῖς θεοῖς, οὔτε μαντικῇ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ποιούντων ταῦτα καταγελῶντα· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀριστόδημε, [2] ἔστιν οὕς τινας ἀνθρώπων τεθαύμακας ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ; Ἔγωγ᾽, ἔφη.

Καὶ ὅς, Λέξον ἡμῖν, ἔφη, τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν. Ἐπὶ μὲν τοίνυν Ἐπῶν ποιήσει Ὅμηρον ἔγωγε μάλιστα τεθαύμακα, ἐπὶ δὲ [3] Διθυράμβῳ Μελανιππίδην, ἐπὶ δὲ Τραγῳδίᾳ Σοφοκλέα, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀνδριαντοποιΐᾳ Πολύκλειτον, ἐπὶ δὲ Ζωγραφίᾳ Ζεῦξιν.

Πότερά σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀπεργαζόμενοι εἴδωλα ἄφρονά τε καὶ ἀκίνητα ἀξιοθαυμαστότεροι εἶναι, ἢ οἱ ζῶα ἔμφρονά τε καὶ ἐνεργά; Πολὺ, νὴ Δία, οἱ ζῶα, εἴπερ γε μὴ τύχῃ τινὶ, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ γνώμης ταῦτα γίγνεται. [4] Τῶν δὲ ἀτεκμάρτως ἐχόντων, ὅτου ἕνεκά ἐστι, καὶ τῶν φανερῶς ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ ὄντων, πότερα τύχης καὶ πότερα γνώμης ἔργα κρίνεις; Πρέπει μὲν τὰ ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ γιγνόμενα γνώμης εἶναι ἔργα.

[5] Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιῶν ἀνθρώπους, ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ προσθεῖναι αὐτοῖς, δι᾽ ὧν αἰσθάνονται, ἕκαστα, ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν, ὥσθ᾽ ὁρᾷν τὰ ὁρατὰ, ὦτα δὲ, ὥστ᾽ ἀκούειν τὰ ἀκουστά; ὀσμῶν γε μὴν, εἰ μὴ ῥῖνες προσετέθησαν, τί ἂν ἡμῖν ὄφελος ἦν; τίς δ᾽ ἂν αἴσθησις ἦν γλυκέων,

καὶ δριμέων, καὶ πάντων τῶν διὰ στόματος ἡδέων, εἰ μὴ γλῶττα τούτων γνώμων ἐνειργάσθη;

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, [1] οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ τόδε προνοίας ἔργῳ ἐοικέναι, τὸ, ἐπεὶ ἀσθενὴς μέν ἐστιν ἡ ὄψις, βλεφάροις αὐτὴν θυρῶσαι, ἃ, ὅταν μὲν αὐτῇ χρῆσθαί τι δέῃ, ἀναπετάννυται, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὕπνῳ συγκλείεται· ὡς δ' ἂν μηδὲ ἄνεμοι βλάπτωσιν, ἠθμὸν βλεφαρίδας ἐμφῦσαι, ὀφρύσι τε ἀπογεισῶσαι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμμάτων, ὡς μηδ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἱδρὼς κακουργῇ; τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀκοὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν πάσας φωνὰς, ἐμπίπλασθαι δὲ μήποτε· [2] καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν ὀδόντας πᾶσι ζώοις οἵους τέμνειν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ γομφίους οἵους παρὰ τούτων δεξαμένους λεαίνειν· καὶ στόμα μὲν, δι' οὗ, ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ τὰ ζῶα, εἰσπέμπεται, πλησίον ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ῥινῶν καταθεῖναι· [3] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἀποχωροῦντα δυσχερῆ, ἀποστρέψαι τοὺς τούτων ὀχετοὺς, καὶ ἀπενεγκεῖν, [4] ᾗ δυνατὸν προσωτάτω, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων· ταῦτα οὕτω προνοητικῶς πεπραγμένα, ἀπορεῖς, πότερα τύχης ἢ γνώμης ἔργα ἐστίν;

Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ἀλλ' οὕτω γε σκοπουμένῳ πάνυ ἔοικε ταῦτα σοφοῦ τινος δημιουργοῦ καὶ φιλοζώου τεχνήματι. [5] Τὸ δὲ ἐμφῦσαι μὲν ἔρωτα τῆς τεκνοποιΐας, ἐμφῦσαι δὲ ταῖς γειναμέναις ἔρωτα τοῦ ἐκτρέφειν, τοῖς δὲ τραφεῖσι μέγιστον μὲν πόθον τοῦ ζῆν, μέγιστον δὲ φόβον τοῦ θανάτου; [6] Ἀμέλει καὶ ταῦτα ἔοικε μηχανήμασί τινος ζῶα εἶναι βουλευσαμένου.

Σὺ δὲ σαυτὸν φρόνιμόν τι δοκεῖς ἔχειν;—ἄλλοθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν οἴει φρόνιμον εἶναι;—νοῦν δὲ μόνον ἄρα οὐδαμοῦ ὄντα σὲ εὐτυχῶς πως δοκεῖς συναρπάσαι; Καὶ τάδε τὰ ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρα δι' ἀφροσύνην τινὰ οὕτως οἴει εὐτάκτως ἔχειν;

[7] Μὰ Δί', οὐ γὰρ ὁρῶ τοὺς κυρίους, ὥσπερ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων τοὺς δημιουργούς. [8] Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν σεαυτοῦ

σύ γε ψυχὴν ὁρᾷς, ἣ τοῦ σώματος κυρία ἐστίν· ὥστε, κατά γε τοῦτο, ἔξεστί σοι λέγειν, ὅτι οὐδὲν γνώμῃ, ἀλλὰ τύχῃ πάντα πράττεις.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀριστόδημος, Οὔτοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὑπερορῶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἡγοῦμαι, ἢ ὡς τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπείας προσδεῖσθαι. [1] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ὅσῳ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἀξιοῖ σε θεραπεύειν, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τιμητέον αὐτό.

Εὖ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι, εἰ νομίζοιμι θεοὺς ἀνθρώπων τι φροντίζειν, οὐκ ἂν [2] ἀμελοίην αὐτῶν. Ἔπειτ' οὐκ οἴει φροντίζειν, οἳ πρῶτον μὲν μόνον τῶν ζώων ἄνθρωπον ὀρθὸν ἀνέστησαν, (ἡ δὲ ὀρθότης καὶ προορᾶν πλεῖον ποιεῖ δύνασθαι, καὶ τὰ ὕπερθεν μᾶλλον θεᾶσθαι, καὶ ἧττον κακοπαθεῖν,) καὶ ὄψιν, καὶ ἀκοὴν, καὶ στόμα ἐνεποίησαν; ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἑρπετοῖς πόδας ἔδωκαν, οἳ τὸ πορεύεσθαι μόνον παρέχουσιν· ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ καὶ χεῖρας προσέθεσαν, αἳ τὰ πλεῖστα, οἷς εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἐκείνων ἐσμὲν, ἐξεργάζονται;

Καὶ μὴν γλῶττάν γε πάντων τῶν ζώων ἐχόντων, μόνην τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησαν [3] οἵαν, ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχῇ ψαύουσαν τοῦ στόματος, ἀρθροῦν τε τὴν φωνὴν, καὶ σημαίνειν πάντα ἀλλήλοις, ἃ βουλόμεθα. * * *

Οὐ τοίνυν μόνον ἤρκεσε τῷ θεῷ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἀλλ' (ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστι) καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κρατίστην τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐνέφυσε. Τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου ζώου ψυχὴ πρῶτα μὲν θεῶν, τῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα συνταξάντων, ᾔσθηται, ὅτι εἰσί; τί δὲ φῦλον ἄλλο, ἢ ἄνθρωποι, θεοὺς θεραπεύουσι; ποία δὲ ψυχὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἱκανωτέρα προφυλάττεσθαι ἢ λιμὸν, ἢ δίψος, ἢ ψύχη, ἢ θάλπη, ἢ νόσοις ἐπικουρῆσαι, ἢ ῥώμην ἀσκῆσαι, ἢ (τὰ) πρὸς μάθησιν ἐκπονῆσαι, ἢ ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ, ἢ ἴδῃ, ἢ μάθῃ, ἱκανωτέρα ἐστὶ διαμεμνῆσθαι;

Οὐ γὰρ πάνυ σοι κατάδηλον, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα, ὥσπερ θεοί, ἄνθρωποι βιοτεύουσι, φύσει καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ κρατιστεύοντες; οὔτε γὰρ βοὸς ἂν ἔχων σῶμα, ἀνθρώπου δὲ γνώμην, ἠδύνατ᾽ ἂν πράττειν, ἃ ἐβούλετο· οὔθ᾽ ὅσα χεῖρας ἔχει, ἄφρονα δ᾽ ἐςί, πλέον οὐδὲν ἔχει. Σὺ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πλείστου ἀξίων τετυχηκὼς, οὐκ οἴει σοῦ θεοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; * * *

[1] *Ὦ 'γαθὲ, ἔφη, κατάμαθε, ὅτι καὶ ὁ σὸς νοῦς ἐνὼν. τὸ σὸν σῶμα, ὅπως βούλεται, μεταχειρίζεται. Οἴεσθαι οὖν χρὴ, καὶ τὴν ἐν (τῷ) παντὶ φρόνησιν τὰ πάντα, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ ἡδὺ ᾖ, οὕτω τίθεσθαι· καὶ μὴ, τὸ σὸν μὲν ὄμμα δύνασθαι ἐπὶ πολλὰ στάδια ἐξικνεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἅμα πάντα ὁρᾷν· μηδὲ, τὴν σὴν μὲν ψυχὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ δύνασθαι φροντίζειν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ φρόνησιν μὴ ἱκανὴν εἶναι ἅμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.*

Ην μέντοι, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύων γιγνώσκεις τοὺς ἀντιθεραπεύειν ἐθέλοντας, καὶ χαριζόμενος τοὺς ἀντιχαριζομένους, καὶ συμβουλευόμενος καταμανθάνεις τοὺς φρονίμους, οὕτω καὶ τῶν θεῶν πεῖραν λαμβάνῃς θεραπεύων,—γνώσῃ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥσθ᾽ ἅμα πάντα ὁρᾷν, καὶ πάντα ἀκούειν, καὶ πανταχοῦ παρεῖναι, [2] *καὶ ἅμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτούς.*

[3] *Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν, ταῦτα λέγων, οὐ μόνον τοὺς συνόντας ἐδόκει ποιεῖν, ὁπότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁρῷντο, ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνοσίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁπότε ἐν ἐρημίᾳ εἶεν· ἐπείπερ ἡγήσαιντο μηδὲν ἄν ποτε, ὧν πράττοιεν, θεοὺς διαλαθεῖν.*

* * *

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ.

ΚΕΦ. α΄.

* * *

—Πρόδικος δὲ ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, (ὅπερ δὴ καὶ πλείστοις ἐπιδείκνυται,) [1] ὡσαύτως περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποφαίνεται, ὧδέ πως λέγων, ὅσα ἐγὼ μέμνημαι. Φησὶ γὰρ, Ἡρακλέα, ἐπεὶ ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἥβην ὡρμᾶτο, (ἐν ᾗ οἱ νέοι, ἤδη αὐτοκράτορες γιγνόμενοι, δηλοῦσιν, [2] εἴτε τὴν δι᾽ ἀρετῆς ὁδὸν τρέψονται ἐπὶ τὸν βίον, εἴτε τὴν διὰ κακίας,) [3] ἐξελθόντα εἰς ἡσυχίαν καθῆσθαι, [4] ἀποροῦντα, ὁποτέραν τῶν ὁδῶν τράπηται.

[5] Καὶ φανῆναι αὐτῷ δύο γυναῖκας προϊέναι μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν εὐπρεπῆ τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐλευθέριον, φύσει κεκοσμημένην [6] τὸ μὲν σῶμα καθαρότητι, τὰ δὲ ὄμματα αἰδοῖ, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα σωφροσύνῃ, ἐσθῆτι δὲ λευκῇ· τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν [7] τεθραμμένην μὲν εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἁπαλότητα, [8] κεκαλλωπισμένην δὲ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα, ὥστε λευκοτέραν τε καὶ ἐρυθροτέραν τοῦ ὄντος δοκεῖν φαίνεσθαι, [9] τὸ δὲ σχῆμα, ὥστε δοκεῖν ὀρθοτέραν τῆς φύσεως εἶναι, [10] τὰ δὲ ὄμματα ἔχειν ἀναπεπταμένα, ἐσθῆτα δὲ, ἐξ ἧς ἂν μάλιστα ἡ ὥρα διαλάμποι· κατασκοπεῖσθαι δὲ θαμὰ ἑαυτὴν, ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτὴν θεᾶται· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς σκιὰν ἀποβλέπειν.

Ὡς δ᾽ ἐγένοντο πλησιαίτερον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, τὴν μὲν πρόσθεν ῥηθεῖσαν ἰέναι [11] τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· τὴν δὲ ἑτέ-

ραν, φθάσαι βουλομένην, προσδραμεῖν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ εἰπεῖν· Ὁρῶ σε, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀποροῦντα, ποίαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βίον τράπῃ· ἐὰν οὖν ἐμὲ φίλην ποιήσῃ, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡδίστην τε καὶ ῥάστην ὁδὸν ἄξω σε, καὶ τῶν μὲν τερπνῶν οὐδενὸς ἄγευστος ἔσῃ, τῶν δὲ χαλεπῶν ἄπειρος διαβιώσῃ.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολέμων, οὐδὲ πραγμάτων [1] φροντιεῖς· ἀλλὰ σκοπούμενος [2] διέσῃ, τί ἂν κεχαρισμένον ἢ σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν εὕροις· ἢ τί ἂν ἰδὼν ἢ τί ἀκούσας τερφθείης· ἢ τίνων ὀσφραινόμενος ἢ ἁπτόμενος ἡσθείης· τίσι δὲ παιδικοῖς ὁμιλῶν μάλιστ᾽ ἂν εὐφρανθείης· καὶ πῶς ἂν μαλακώτατα καθεύδοις· καὶ πῶς ἂν ἀπονώτατα τούτων πάντων τυγχάνοις.

Ἐὰν δέ ποτε γένηταί [3] τις ὑποψία σπάνεως, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἔσται ταῦτα, οὐ φόβος, μή σε ἀγάγω ἐπὶ τὸ, πονοῦντα καὶ ταλαιπωροῦντα τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ, ταῦτα πορίζεσθαι· [4] ἀλλ᾽ οἷς ἂν οἱ ἄλλοι ἐργάζωνται, τούτοις σὺ χρήσῃ, [5] οὐδενὸς ἀπεχόμενος, ὅθεν ἂν δυνατὸν ᾖ τι κερδᾶναι. Πανταχόθεν γὰρ ὠφελεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐμοὶ ξυνοῦσιν ἐξουσίαν ἔγωγε παρέχω.

Καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀκούσας ταῦτα, Ὦ γύναι, ἔφη, ὄνομα δέ σοι τί ἐστιν; Ἡ δὲ, Οἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλοι, ἔφη, καλοῦσί με Εὐδαιμονίαν· οἱ δὲ μισοῦντές με [6] ὑποκοριζόμενοι ὀνομάζουσί με Κακίαν.

Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἑτέρα γυνὴ προσελθοῦσα εἶπεν· Καὶ ἐγὼ ἥκω πρὸς σὲ, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, εἰδυῖα τοὺς γεννήσαντάς σε, καὶ τὴν φύσιν τὴν σὴν ἐν τῇ παιδείᾳ καταμαθοῦσα· ἐξ ὧν ἐλπίζω, εἰ τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁδὸν τράποιο, σφόδρ᾽ ἂν σε τῶν καλῶν καὶ σεμνῶν ἐργάτην ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐμὲ ἔτι πολὺ ἐντιμοτέραν, καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς διαπρεπεστέραν φανῆναι. Οὐκ ἐξαπατήσω δέ σε προοιμίοις ἡδο

νῆς, ἀλλ', ἧπερ [1] οἱ θεοὶ διέθεσαν, τὰ ὄντα διηγήσομαι μετ' ἀληθείας.

Τῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν οὐδὲν ἄνευ πόνȣ καὶ ἐπιμελείας θεοὶ διδόασιν ἀνθρώποις· ἀλλ', εἴτε τοὺς θεοὺς [2] ἵλεως εἶναί σοι βούλει, θεραπευτέον τοὺς θεούς· εἴτε ὑπὸ φίλων ἐθέλεις ἀγαπᾶσθαι, τοὺς φίλους εὐεργετητέον· εἴτε ὑπό τινος πόλεως ἐπιθυμεῖς τιμᾶσθαι, τὴν πόλιν ὠφελητέον· εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης ἀξιοῖς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ θαυμάζεσθαι, τὴν Ἑλλάδα πειρατέον εὖ ποιεῖν· εἴτε τὴν γῆν φέρειν σοι βούλει καρποὺς ἀφθόνους, τὴν γῆν θεραπευτέον· εἴτε ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων οἴει δεῖν πλουτίζεσθαι, τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐπιμελητέον· εἴτε διὰ πολέμου ὁρμᾷς αὔξεσθαι, καὶ βούλει δύνασθαι τούς τε φίλους ἐλευθεροῦν, καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χειροῦσθαι, τὰς πολεμικὰς τέχνας αὐτάς τε παρὰ τῶν ἐπισταμένων μαθητέον, καὶ ὅπως αὐταῖς δεῖ χρῆσθαι ἀσκητέον· εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι βούλει δυνατὸς εἶναι, τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπηρετεῖν ἐθιστέον τὸ σῶμα, καὶ γυμναστέον σὺν πόνοις καὶ ἱδρῶτι.

Καὶ ἡ Κακία ὑπολαβοῦσα εἶπεν, (ὥς φησι Πρόδικος·) Ἐννοεῖς, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ὡς χαλεπὴν καὶ μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὰς εὐφροσύνας ἡ γυνή σοι αὕτη διηγεῖται; ἐγὼ δὲ ῥᾳδίαν καὶ βραχεῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἄξω σε.

Καὶ ἡ Ἀρετὴ εἶπεν· Ω τλῆμον, τί δὲ σὺ ἀγαθὸν ἔχεις; ἢ τί ἡδὺ οἶσθα, μηδὲν τούτων ἕνεκα πράττειν ἐθέλουσα; ἥτις οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἡδέων ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναμένεις, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἐπιθυμῆσαι, πάντων ἐμπίπλασαι· [3] πρὶν μὲν πεινῆν, ἐσθίȣσα, πρὶν δὲ διψῆν, πίνουσα· καὶ ἵνα μὲν ἡδέως φάγῃς, ὀψοποιοὺς μηχανωμένη· ἵνα δὲ ἡδέως πίνῃς, οἴνους τε πολυτελεῖς παρασκευάζῃ, [4] καὶ τȣ̃ θέρους χιόνα περιθέουσα ζητεῖς· ἵνα δὲ καθυπνώσῃς ἡδέως, οὐ μόνον τὰς στρωμνὰς

μαλακὰς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κλίνας. καὶ [1] τὰ ὑπόβαθρα ταῖς κλίναις παρασκευάζῃ· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πονεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν, ὅ τι ποιῇς, ὕπνου ἐπιθυμεῖς. Τὰ δ' ἀφροδίσια πρὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἀναγκάζεις, πάντα μηχανωμένη, καὶ γυναιξὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι χρωμένη. Οὕτω γὰρ παιδεύεις τοὺς σαυτῆς φίλους, τῆς μὲν νυκτὸς ὑβρίζουσα, τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας τὸ χρησιμώτατον κατακοιμίζουσα.

Ἀθάνατος δὲ οὖσα, ἐκ θεῶν μὲν ἀπέῤῥιψαι, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἀτιμάζῃ. τοῦ δὲ πάντων ἡδίστου ἀκούσματος, ἐπαίνου σεαυτῆς, ἀνήκοος εἶ, καὶ τοῦ πάντων ἡδίστυ θεάματος ἀθέατος· οὐδὲν γὰρ πώποτε σαυτῆς ἔργον καλὸν τεθέασαι Τίς δ' ἄν σοι λεγούσῃ τι [2] πιστεύσειε; τίς δ' ἂν δεομένῃ τινὸς ἐπαρκέσειεν; ἢ τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν [3] τοῦ σοῦ θιάσου τολμήσειεν εἶναι; οἳ, νέοι μὲν ὄντες, τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδύνατοί εἰσι, πρεσβύτεροι δὲ γενόμενοι, ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνόητοι· ἀπόνως μὲν λιπαροὶ διὰ νεότητος τρεφόμενοι, ἐπιπόνως δὲ αὐχμηροὶ διὰ γήρως περῶντες· τοῖς μὲν πεπραγμένοις αἰσχυνόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πραττομένοις βαρυνόμενοι· τὰ μὲν ἡδέα ἐν τῇ νεότητι διαδραμόντες, τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀποθέμενοι.

Ἐγὼ δὲ σύνειμι μὲν θεοῖς, σύνειμι δὲ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· ἔργον δὲ καλὸν οὔτε θεῖον οὔτε ἀνθρώπινον χωρὶς ἐμῦ γίγνεται. Τιμῶμαι δὲ μάλιστα πάντων καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς, καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, οἷς προσήκει· ἀγαπητὴ μὲν συνεργὸς τεχνίταις, πιστὴ δὲ φύλαξ οἴκων δεσπόταις, εὐμενὴς δὲ παραστάτις οἰκέταις, ἀγαθὴ δὲ συλλήπτρια τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόνων, βεβαία δὲ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ σύμμαχος ἔργων, ἀρίστη δὲ φιλίας κοινωνός.

Ἐστι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐμοῖς φίλοις ἡδεῖα μὲν καὶ ἀπράγμων σίτων καὶ ποτῶν ἀπόλαυσις· ἀνέχονται γὰρ, ἕως ἂν ἐπιθυ-

μήσωσιν αὐτῶν. Ὕπνος δὲ αὐτοῖς πάρεστιν ἡδίων, ἢ τοῖς ἀμόχθοις· καὶ οὔτε ἀπολιπόντες αὐτὸν ἄχθονται, οὔτε διὰ τοῦτον [1] μεθιᾶσι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι τοῖς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐπαίνοις χαίρουσιν, οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι ταῖς τῶν νέων τιμαῖς ἀγάλλονται. καὶ ἡδέως μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν πράξεων μέμνηνται, εὖ δὲ τὰς παρέσας ἥδονται πράττοντες, δι' ἐμὲ φίλοι μὲν θεοῖς ὄντες, ἀγαπητοὶ δὲ φίλοις, τίμιοι δὲ πατρίσιν. Ὅταν δ' ἔλθῃ [2] τὸ πεπρωμένον τέλος, οὐ μετὰ λήθης ἄτιμοι κεῖνται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ μνήμης [3] τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ὑμνούμενοι θάλλουσι.—Τοιαῦτά σοι, ὦ παῖ τοκέων ἀγαθῶν Ἡράκλεις, ἔξεστι διαπονησαμένῳ, τὴν μακαριστοτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν κεκτῆσθαι. * * *

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ΚΕΦ. δ'.

Ἤκουσα δέ ποτε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ φίλων διαλεγομένου, ἐξ ὧν ἔμοιγε ἐδόκει μάλιστ' ἄν τις ὠφελεῖσθαι πρὸς φίλων κτῆσίν τε καὶ χρείαν. [4] Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν ἔφη ἀκούειν, ὡς πάντων κτημάτων κράτιστον ἂν εἴη φίλος σαφὴς καὶ ἀγαθός· ἐπιμελουμένους δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ὁρᾷν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἢ φίλων κτήσεως.

Καὶ γὰρ οἰκίας, καὶ ἀγροὺς, καὶ ἀνδράποδα, καὶ βοσκήματα, καὶ σκεύη κτωμένους τε ἐπιμελῶς ὁρᾷν ἔφη, καὶ τὰ ὄντα σώζειν πειρωμένους· φίλον δὲ, (ὃ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναί φασιν,) ὁρᾷν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς οὔτε, ὅπως κτήσωνται, φροντίζοντας, οὔτε, [5] ὅπως οἷόν τε, ἑαυτοῖς σώζοντας.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ, καμνόντων φίλων τε καὶ οἰκετῶν, ὁρᾷν τινας ἔφη τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις καὶ ἰατροὺς εἰσάγοντας, καὶ τἄλλα

πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπιμελῶς παρασκευάζοντας, των δὲ φίλων ὀλιγωροῦντας· ἀποθανόντων τε ἀμφοτέρων, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀχθομένους καὶ ζημίαν ἡγουμένους, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς φίλοις οὐδὲν οἰομένους ἐλαττοῦσθαι· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κτημάτων οὐδὲν ἐῶντας ἀθεράπευτον, οὐδ᾽ ἀνεπίσκεπτον, τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐπιμελείας δεομένων ἀμελοῦντας.

Ἐτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις, ὁρᾷν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κτημάτων, καὶ πάνυ πολλῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων, [1] το πλῆθος εἰδότας· τῶν δὲ φίλων ὀλίγων ὄντων οὐ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος ἀγνοοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τοῦτο καταλέγειν ἐγχειρήσαντας, οὓς ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἔθεσαν, [2] πάλιν τούτους ἀνατίθεσθαι· τοσοῦτον αὐτοὺς τῶν φίλων φροντίζειν.

Καίτοι πρὸς ποῖον κτῆμα τῶν ἄλλων παραβαλλόμενος φίλος ἀγαθὸς, οὐκ ἂν πολλῷ κρείττων φανείη; ποῖος γὰρ ἵππος, ἢ ποῖον ζεῦγος οὕτω χρήσιμον, ὥσπερ ὁ χρηστὸς φίλος; ποῖον δὲ ἀνδράποδον οὕτως εὔνουν καὶ παραμόνιμον; ἢ ποῖον ἄλλο κτῆμα οὕτω πάγχρηστον;

Ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς φίλος ἑαυτὸν τάττει πρὸς πᾶν τὸ ἐλλεῖπον τῷ φίλῳ, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευῆς, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν πράξεων. καὶ ἄν τέ τινα εὖ ποιῆσαι δέῃ, συνεπισχύει· ἄν τέ τις φόβος ταράττῃ, συμβοηθεῖ, [3] τὰ μὲν συναναλίσκων, τὰ δὲ συμπράττων, καὶ τὰ μὲν συμπείθων, τὰ δὲ βιαζόμενος· καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττοντας πλεῖστα εὐφραίνων, [4] σφαλλομένους δὲ πλεῖστα ἐπανορθῶν.

Ἃ δὲ αἵ τε χεῖρες ἑκάστῳ ὑπηρετοῦσι, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ προορῶσι, καὶ τὰ ὦτα προακούουσι, καὶ οἱ πόδες διανύτουσι, [5] τούτων φίλος εὐεργετῶν οὐδενὸς λείπεται. Πολλάκις δὲ, ἃ πρὸ αὑτοῦ τις ἢ [6] οὐκ ἐξειργάσατο, ἢ οὐκ εἶδεν, ἢ οὐκ ἤκουσεν, ἢ οὐ διήνυσε, ταῦτα ὁ φίλος πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐξήρκεσεν. Ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἔνιοι δένδρα μὲν πειρῶνται

θεραπεύειν τοῦ καρποῦ ἕνεκεν· τοῦ δὲ παμφορωτάτου κτήματος, ὃ καλεῖται φίλος, ἀργῶς καὶ ἀνειμένως οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπιμέλονται.

ΚΕΦ. ϛ'.

[1] Ἐδόκει δέ μοι καὶ εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν φίλους, ὁποίους ἄξιον κτᾶσθαι, φρενοῦν, τοιάδε λέγων· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, εἰ δεοίμεθα φίλου ἀγαθοῦ, [2] πῶς ἂν ἐπιχειροίημεν σκοπεῖν; ἆρα πρῶτον μὲν ζητητέον, [3] ὅστις ἄρχει γαστρός τε, καὶ φιλοποσίας, καὶ λαγνείας, καὶ ὕπνου, καὶ ἀργίας; ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων κρατούμενος οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δύναιτ' ἂν, οὔτε φίλῳ, τὰ δέοντα πράττειν. Μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆτα, ἔφη. [4] Οὐκοῦν τοῦ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀρχομένου ἀφεκτέον δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

[5] Τί γάρ; ἔφη, ὅστις, δαπανηρὸς ὤν, μὴ αὐτάρκης ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τῶν πλησίον δεῖται, καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν, μὴ δύναται ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ λαμβάνων δὲ, τὸν μὴ διδόντα μισεῖ· οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ οὗτος χαλεπὸς φίλος εἶναι; Πάνυ, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν ἀφεκτέον καὶ τούτου; Ἀφεκτέον μέντοι, ἔφη.

Τί γάρ; ὅστις χρηματίζεσθαι μὲν δύναται, πολλῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσξύμβολός ἐστι, καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν ἥδεται, ἀποδιδόναι δὲ οὐ βούλεται; Ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, ἔφη, οὗτος ἔτι πονηρότερος ἐκείνου εἶναι. [6] Τί δέ; ὅστις, διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι, μηδὲ πρὸς ἓν ἄλλο σχολὴν ποιεῖται, ἢ ὁπόθεν αὐτὸς κερδανεῖ; [7] Ἀφεκτέον

καὶ τούτου, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ· ἀνωφελὴς γὰρ ἂν εἴη τῷ χρωμένῳ.

Τί δέ; ὅστις στασιώδης τέ ἐστι, καὶ θέλων πολλοὺς τοῖς φίλοις ἐχθροὺς παρέχειν; Φευκτέον, νὴ Δία, καὶ τοῦτον. Εἰ δέ τις τούτων μὲν τῶν κακῶν μηδὲν ἔχει, [1] εὖ δὲ πάσχων ἀνέχεται, μηδὲν φροντίζων τοῦ ἀντευεργετεῖν; [2] Ἀνωφελὴς ἂν εἴη καὶ οὗτος. Ἀλλὰ ποῖον, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπιχειρήσομεν [3] φίλον ποιεῖσθαι;

Οἶμαι μὲν, ὃς, τἀναντία τούτων, ἐγκρατὴς μέν ἐστι τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν, εὔορκος δὲ καὶ εὐξύμβολος [4] ὢν τυγχάνει, καὶ [5] φιλόνικος πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐλλείπεσθαι εὖ ποιῶν τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας ἑαυτὸν, ὥστε λυσιτελεῖν τοῖς χρωμένοις.

Πῶς οὖν ἂν ταῦτα δοκιμάσαιμεν, ὦ Σώκρατες, πρὸ τοῦ χρῆσθαι; Τοὺς μὲν ἀνδριαντοποιοὺς, ἔφη, δοκιμάζομεν, οὐ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν τεκμαιρόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν ὁρῶμεν τοὺς πρόσθεν ἀνδριάντας καλῶς εἰργασμένον, τούτῳ πιστεύομεν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εὖ ποιήσειν.

Καὶ ἄνδρα δὴ λέγεις, ἔφη, ὃς ἂν τοὺς φίλους τοὺς πρόσθεν εὖ ποιῶν φαίνηται, δῆλον εἶναι καὶ [6] τοὺς ὑστέρους εὐεργετήσοντα. Καὶ γὰρ ἵπποις, ἔφη, ὃν ἂν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὁρῶ καλῶς χρώμενον, τοῦτον καὶ ἄλλοις οἶμαι καλῶς χρήσεσθαι. * * *

—Ὅταν—, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, φίλος τινὶ βούλῃ γενέσθαι, ἐάσεις με [7] κατειπεῖν σου πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅτι ἄγασαί τε αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖς φίλος αὐτοῦ εἶναι; Κατηγόρει, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· οὐδένα γὰρ οἶδα μισοῦντα τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας.

[8] Ἐὰν δέ σου προσκατηγορήσω, ἔφη, ὅτι διὰ τὸ [9] ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχεις πρὸς αὐτὸν, [10] ἆρα μὴ διαβάλλεσθαι δόξεις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ; Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ μοι,

ἔφη, ἐγγίγνεται εὔνοια, πρὸς οὓς ἂν ὑπολάβω εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἐμέ.

Ταῦτα μὲν δή, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐξέσται μοι λέγειν περὶ σοῦ, πρὸς οὓς ἂν βούλῃ φίλους ποιήσασθαι. ἐὰν δέ μοι ἔτι ἐξουσίαν δῷς λέγειν περὶ σοῦ, ὅτι ἐπιμελής τε τῶν φίλων εἶ, καὶ οὐδενὶ οὕτω χαίρεις ὡς φίλοις ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ἐπί τε τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις τῶν φίλων ἀγάλλῃ οὐχ ἧττον, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν φίλων χαίρεις οὐδὲν ἧττον, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ· ὅπως τε ταῦτα γίγνηται τοῖς φίλοις, [1] οὐκ ἀποκάμνεις μηχανώμενος· καὶ ὅτι ἔγνωκας ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν εἶναι, νικᾷν τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς κακῶς· πάνυ ἂν οἶμαί σοι ἐπιτήδειον εἶναί με [2] σύνθηρον τῶν ἀγαθῶν φίλων.

Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἐμοὶ τοῦτο λέγεις, [3] ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ σοὶ ὄν, ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ, περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν; Μὰ Δί' οὐχ, ὥς ποτε ἐγὼ [4] Ἀσπασίας ἤκουσα· ἔφη γὰρ [5] τὰς ἀγαθὰς προμνηστρίδας, μετὰ μὲν ἀληθείας τἀγαθὰ διαγγελλούσας, δεινὰς εἶναι συνάγειν ἀνθρώπους εἰς κηδείαν, ψευδομένας δ' οὐκ ὠφελεῖν ἐπαινούσας· τοὺς γὰρ ἐξαπατηθέντας ἅμα μισεῖν ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τὴν προμνησαμένην· ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ πεισθεὶς [6] ὀρθῶς ἔχειν, ἡγοῦμαι οὐκ ἐξεῖναί μοι περὶ σοῦ λέγειν ἐπαινοῦντι οὐδέν, ὅ τι ἂν μὴ ἀληθεύω.

Σὺ μὲν ἄρα, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, τοιοῦτός μοι φίλος εἶ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οἷος, ἂν μέν τι αὐτὸς ἔχω ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὸ φίλους κτήσασθαι, συλλαμβάνειν μοι· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοις πλάσας τι εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ὠφελείᾳ. Πότερα δ' ἄν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, δοκῶ σοι μᾶλλον ὠφελεῖν σε, τὰ ψευδῆ ἐπαινῶν, ἢ πείθων πειρᾶσθαί σε ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι;—[7] εἰ δὲ μὴ φανερὸν οὕτω σοι, ἐκ τῶνδε σκέψαι.—

Εἰ γάρ σε βουλόμενος φίλον ποιῆσαι ναυκλήρῳ, ψευδόμενος [1] ἐπαινοίην, φάσκων ἀγαθὸν εἶναι κυβερνήτην, ὁ δέ μοι πεισθεὶς [2] ἐπιτρέψειέ σοι τὴν ναῦν μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ κυβερνᾶν· ἔχεις τινὰ ἐλπίδα, μὴ ἂν σαυτόν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀπολέσαι; [3] ἢ εἴ σοι πείσαιμι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν ψευδόμενος, ὡς ἂν στρατηγικῷ τε καὶ δικαστικῷ καὶ πολιτικῷ, ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτρέψαι· τί ἂν οἴει σαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ σοῦ παθεῖν; ἢ εἴ τινας [4] ἰδίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν πείσαιμι ψευδόμενος, ὡς ὄντι οἰκονομικῷ τε και ἐπιμελεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιτρέψαι· ἆρ' οὐκ ἄν, πεῖραν διδοὺς, ἅμα τε βλαβερὸς εἴης, καὶ καταγέλαστος φαίνοιο;

Ἀλλὰ συντομωτάτη τε, καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη, καὶ καλλίστη ὁδὸς, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ δοκεῖν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ γενέσθαι ἀγαθὸν πειρᾶσθαι. * * *

ΚΕΦ. ζ'.

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—[5] Φασὶν,—ὅτε φωνήεντα ἦν τὰ ζῶα, τὴν οἶν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην εἰπεῖν· Θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς, ὃς ἡμῖν μὲν ταῖς καὶ ἔριά σοι καὶ ἄρνας καὶ τύρον παρεχούσαις οὐδὲν δίδως, [6] ὅ τι ἂν μὴ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λάβωμεν· [7] τῷ δὲ κυνὶ, ὃς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν σοι παρέχει, μεταδίδως οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἔχεις σίτου.

Τὸν κύνα οὖν ἀκούσαντα εἰπεῖν· [8] Ναὶ μὰ Δία· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτὰς σώζων, ὥστε μήτε ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κλέπτεσθαι, μήτε ὑπὸ λύκων ἁρπάζεσθαι· ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς γε, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ προφυλάττοιμι ὑμᾶς, οὐδ' ἂν νέμεσθαι δύναισθε, φοβούμεναι μὴ ἀπόλησθε. Οὕτω δὴ λέγεται καὶ τὰ πρόβατα συγχωρῆσαι, τὸν κύνα προτιμᾶσθαι. * * *

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ.

ΚΕΦ. α.

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Οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα γεραρὸν ἔφη εἶναι, καὶ οὕτω ὅδε, στρατηγεῖν μαθὼν, γεραρώτερος φαίνεσθαι; καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ κιθαρίζειν μαθὼν, κἂν μὴ κιθαρίζῃ, κιθαριστής ἐστι· καὶ ὁ μαθὼν ἰᾶσθαι, κἂν μὴ ἰατρεύῃ, ὅμως ἰατρός ἐστιν· [1] *οὕτω καὶ ὅδε ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ χρόνου διατελεῖ στρατηγὸς ὢν, κἂν μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἕληται. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος, οὔτε στρατηγὸς, οὔτε ἰατρός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ἐὰν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱρεθῇ.* * * *

Καὶ γὰρ παρασκευαστικὸν τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶναι χρὴ, καὶ ποριστικὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ μηχανικὸν, καὶ ἐργαστικὸν, καὶ ἐπιμελῆ, καὶ καρτερικὸν, καὶ ἀγχίνουν· καὶ φιλόφρονά τε καὶ ὠμὸν, καὶ ἁπλοῦν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλον, καὶ φυλακτικόν τε καὶ κλέπτην, καὶ προετικὸν καὶ ἅρπαγα, καὶ φιλόδωρον καὶ πλεονέκτην, καὶ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἐπιθετικόν· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ φύσει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ δεῖ τὸν εὖ στρατηγήσοντα ἔχειν. Καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τακτικὸν εἶναι.

Πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρει στράτευμα τεταγμένον ἀτάκτου· ὥσπερ λίθοι τε, καὶ πλίνθοι, καὶ ξύλα, καὶ κέραμος, ἀτάκτως μὲν ἐῤῥιμμένα, οὐδὲν χρήσιμά ἐστιν· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταχθῇ κάτω μὲν καὶ ἐπιπολῆς τὰ μήτε σηπόμενα, μήτε τηκόμενα, οἵ τε λίθοι, καὶ ὁ κέραμος, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αἵ τε πλίνθοι, καὶ τὰ ξύλα, ὥσπερ ἐν οἰκοδομίᾳ συντίθενται, τότε γίγνεται πολλοῦ ἄξιον κτῆμα, οἰκία. * * *

[1] ΚΕΦ. ι.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ εἴ ποτε τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐργασίας ἕνεκα χρωμένων αὐταῖς, διαλέγοιτό τισι, καὶ τούτοις ὠφέλιμος ἦν. Εἰσελθὼν μὲν γάρ ποτε πρὸς Παῤῥάσιον τὸν ζωγράφον, καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, Ἆρα, ἔφη, ὦ Παῤῥάσιε, ἡ γραφική ἐστιν εἰκασία τῶν ὁρωμένων; [2] τὰ γοῦν κοῖλα καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ, καὶ τὰ σκοτεινὰ καὶ τὰ φωτεινὰ, καὶ τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ, καὶ τὰ τραχέα καὶ τὰ λεῖα, καὶ τὰ νέα καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ σώματα διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων ἀπεικάζοντες ἐκμιμεῖσθε. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη.

Καὶ μὴν τά γε καλὰ εἴδη ἀφομοιοῦντες, ἐπειδὴ οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἑνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτυχεῖν ἄμεμπτα πάντα ἔχοντι, ἐκ πολλῶν συνάγοντες τὰ ἐξ ἑκάστου κάλλιστα, οὕτως ὅλα τὰ σώματα καλὰ ποιεῖτε φαίνεσθαι; [3] Ποιοῦμεν γὰρ, ἔφη, οὕτως.

[4] Τί γάρ; ἔφη, τὸ πιθανώτατόν τε, καὶ ἥδιστον, καὶ φιλικώτατον, καὶ ποθεινότατον, καὶ ἐρασμιώτατον ἀπομιμεῖσθε τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος; ἢ οὐδὲ μιμητόν ἐστι τοῦτο; [5] Πῶς γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη, μιμητὸν εἴη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὃ μήτε συμμετρίαν, μήτε χρῶμα, μήτε, ὧν σὺ εἶπας ἄρτι, μηδὲν ἔχει, μηδὲ ὅλως ὁρατόν ἐστιν;

Ἆρ' οὖν, ἔφη, γίγνεται ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ [6] τό τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ ἐχθρῶς βλέπειν πρός τινας; Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτό γε μιμητὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τῶν φίλων ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς ὁμοίως σοι δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν τὰ πρόσωπα οἵ τε φροντίζοντες καὶ οἱ μή; Μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆτα, ἔφη· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς φαιδροὶ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς σκυθρωποὶ γίγνονται. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα δυνατὸν ἀπεικάζειν; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον, καὶ τὸ ταπεινόν τε καὶ ἀνελεύθερον, καὶ τὸ σωφρονητικόν τε καὶ φρόνιμον, καὶ τὸ ὑβριστικόν τε καὶ ἀπειρόκαλον, καὶ διὰ τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ [1] διὰ τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἑστώτων καὶ κινουμένων ἀνθρώπων, διαφαίνει. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ταῦτα μιμητά; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Πότερον οὖν, ἔφη, νομίζεις ἥδιον ὁρᾶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, δι' ὧν τὰ καλά τε κἀγαθὰ καὶ ἀγαπητὰ ἤθη φαίνεται, ἢ δι' ὧν τὰ αἰσχρά τε καὶ πονηρὰ καὶ μισητά; Πολὺ νὴ Δί', ἔφη, διαφέρει, ὦ Σώκρατες.

Πρὸς δὲ Κλείτωνα τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιὸν εἰσελθών ποτε, καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, Ὅτι μέν, ἔφη, ὦ Κλείτων, ἀλλοίους ποιεῖς δρομεῖς τε, καὶ παλαιστάς, καὶ πύκτας, καὶ παγκρατιαστάς, ὁρῶ τε καὶ οἶδα· ὃ δὲ μάλιστα ψυχαγωγεῖ διὰ τῆς ὄψεως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὸ ζωτικὸν φαίνεσθαι, πῶς τοῦτο ἐνεργάζῃ τοῖς ἀνδριάσιν;

[2] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορῶν ὁ Κλείτων οὐ ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνατο· [3] Ἆρ', ἔφη, τοῖς τῶν ζώντων εἴδεσιν ἀπεικάζων τὸ ἔργον, ζωτικωτέρους ποιεῖς φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνδριάντας; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. [4] Οὐκοῦν τά τε ὑπὸ τῶν σχημάτων κατασπώμενα καὶ τὰ ἀνασπώμενα ἐν τοῖς σώμασι, καὶ τὰ συμπιεζόμενα καὶ τὰ διελκόμενα, καὶ τὰ ἐντεινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀνιέμενα ἀπεικάζων, ὁμοιότερά τε τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς καὶ πιθανώτερα ποιεῖς φαίνεσθαι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

[5] Τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν ποιούντων τι σωμάτων ἀπομιμεῖσθαι, οὐ ποιεῖ τινα τέρψιν τοῖς θεωμένοις; Εἰκὸς γοῦν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν μὲν μαχομένων ἀπειλητικὰ τὰ ὄμματα ἀπεικαστέον, τῶν δὲ νενικηκότων εὐφραινομένων ἡ ὄψις μιμητέα; Σφόδρα γε, ἔφη. Δεῖ ἄρα, ἔφη, τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιὸν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα τῷ εἴδει προσεικάζειν.

Πρὸς δὲ Πιστίαν [1] τὸν θωρακοποιὸν εἰσελθὼν, (ἐπιδείξαντος αὐτοῦ τῷ Σωκράτει θώρακας εὖ εἰργασμένους,) Νὴ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, καλόν γε, ὦ Πιστία, τὸ εὕρημα, τὸ τὰ μὲν δεόμενα σκέπης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σκεπάζειν τὸν θώρακα, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ μὴ κωλύειν χρῆσθαι.

Ἀτὰρ, ἔφη, λέξον μοι, ὦ Πιστία, διὰ τί, οὔτε ἰσχυροτέρους, [2] οὔτε πολυτελεστέρους τῶν ἄλλων ποιῶν τοὺς θώρακας, πλείονος πωλεῖς; Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, [3] εὐρυθμοτέρους ποιῶ. [4] Τὸν δὲ ῥυθμὸν, ἔφη, πότερα μέτρῳ ἢ σταθμῷ ἐπιδεικνύων, πλείονος τιμᾷ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἴσους γε πάντας, οὐδὲ ὁμοίους οἶμαί σε ποιεῖν, εἴγε ἁρμόττοντας ποιεῖς. [5] Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί', ἔφη, ποιῶ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄφελός ἐστι θώρακος ἄνευ τούτου.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, σώματά γε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν εὔρυθμά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἄρυθμα; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, τῷ ἀρύθμῳ σώματι ἁρμόττοντα τὸν θώρακα εὔρυθμον ποιεῖς; Ὥσπερ καὶ ἁρμόττοντα, ἔφη· ὁ ἁρμόττων γάρ ἐστιν εὔρυθμος.

Δοκεῖς μοι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τὸ εὔρυθμον οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὸ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν χρώμενον· ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ φαίης ἀσπίδα, ᾧ ἐὰν ἁρμόττῃ, τούτῳ εὔρυθμον εἶναι, καὶ χλαμύδα, καὶ τἄλλα ὡσαύτως ἔοικεν ἔχειν τῷ σῷ λόγῳ. —Ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι οὐ μικρὸν ἀγαθὸν τῷ ἁρμόττειν πρόσεστι. Δίδαξον, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἴ τι ἔχεις.

Ἧττον, ἔφη, τῷ βάρει πιέζουσιν οἱ ἁρμόττοντες τῶν ἀναρμόστων, τὸν αὐτὸν σταθμὸν ἔχοντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάρμοστοι, ἢ ὅλοι ἐκ τῶν ὤμων κρεμάμενοι, ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοῦ σώματος σφόδρα πιέζοντες, δύσφοροι καὶ χαλεποὶ γίγνονται· [6] οἱ δὲ ἁρμόττοντες, διειλημμένοι τὸ βάρος, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κλειδῶν καὶ ἐπωμίδων, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὤμων, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ στήθους, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ νώτου, τὸ

δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς γαστρὸς, [1] ὀλίγου δεῖν οὐ φορήματι, ἀλλὰ προσθήματι ἐοίκασιν.

Εἴρηκας, ἔφη, αὐτὸ, δι' ὅπερ ἔγωγε τὰ ἐμὰ ἔργα πλείστου ἄξια νομίζω εἶναι· ἔνιοι μέντοι τοὺς ποικίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχρύσους θώρακας μᾶλλον ὠνοῦνται. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη, εἴγε διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἁρμόττοντας ὠνοῦνται, κακὸν ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι ποικίλον τε καὶ ἐπίχρυσον ὠνεῖσθαι.

Ἀτὰρ, ἔφη, τοῦ σώματος μὴ μένοντος, ἀλλὰ τοτὲ μὲν κυρτουμένου, τοτὲ δὲ ὀρθουμένου, πῶς ἂν ἀκριβεῖς θώρακες ἁρμόττοιεν; Οὐδαμῶς, ἔφη. Λέγεις, ἔφη, ἁρμόττειν, οὐ τοὺς ἀκριβεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὴ λυποῦντας ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ. Αὐτὸς, ἔφη, τοῦτο λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, [2] καὶ τὰ νῦν ὀρθῶς ἀποδέχῃ.

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΥ.

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ΚΕΦ. γ'.

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Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ περὶ θεοὺς ἐπειρᾶτο σώφρονας ποιεῖν τοὺς συνόντας. [3] Ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλλους οὕτως ὁμιλοῦντι παραγενόμενοι διηγοῦντο· [4] ἐγὼ δὲ, ὅτε πρὸς Εὐθύδημον τοιάδε διελέγετο, παρεγενόμην.

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, ἤδη ποτέ σοι ἐπῆλθεν ἐνθυμηθῆναι, ὡς ἐπιμελῶς οἱ θεοὶ, ὧν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δέονται, κατεσκευάκασι; Καὶ ὅς, Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, [5] οὐκ

ἔμοιγε. [1] Ἀλλ' οἶσθά γ', ἔφη, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν φωτὸς δεόμεθα, ὃ ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ παρέχουσι; Νὴ Δί', ἔφη, ὅ γ' εἰ μὴ εἴχομεν, ὅμοιοι τοῖς τυφλοῖς ἂν ἦμεν, ἕνεκά γε τῶν ἡμετέρων ὀφθαλμῶν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀναπαύσεώς γε δεομένοις ἡμῖν νύκτα παρέχουσι, [2] κάλλιστον ἀναπαυτήριον. Πάνυ γ', ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο χάριτος ἄξιον.

Οὐκοῦν καί, [3] ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν ἥλιος φωτεινὸς ὢν τάς τε ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας ἡμῖν καὶ τἆλλα πάντα σαφηνίζει, ἡ δὲ νὺξ, διὰ τὸ σκοτεινὴ εἶναι, ἀσαφεστέρα ἐστὶν, ἄστρα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνέφηναν, ἃ ἡμῖν τὰς ὥρας τῆς νυκτὸς ἐμφανίζει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ, ὧν δεόμεθα, πράττομεν; Ἐστι ταῦτα, ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἥ γε σελήνη οὐ μόνον τῆς νυκτὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μηνὸς, τὰ μέρη φανερὰ ἡμῖν ποιεῖ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

[4] Τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ τροφῆς δεόμεθα, ταύτην ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδόναι, καὶ ὥρας ἁρμοττούσας πρὸς τοῦτο παρέχειν, αἳ ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον, ὧν δεόμεθα, πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα παρασκευάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς εὐφραινόμεθα; Πάνυ, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα φιλάνθρωπα.

Τὸ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἡμῖν παρέχειν οὕτω πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ὥστε καὶ [5] ... φύειν τε καὶ συναύξειν τῇ γῇ καὶ ταῖς ὥραις πάντα τὰ χρήσιμα ἡμῖν· συντρέφειν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς, καὶ μιγνύμενον πᾶσι τοῖς τρέφουσιν ἡμᾶς, εὐκατεργαστότερά τε, καὶ ὠφελιμώτερα, καὶ ἡδίω ποιεῖν αὐτά· [6] καὶ, ἐπειδὴ πλείστου δεόμεθα τούτου, ἀφθονέστατον αὐτὸ παρέχειν ἡμῖν; Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, προνοητικόν.

Τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ πορίσαι ἡμῖν, ἐπίκουρον μὲν ψύχους, ἐπίκουρον δὲ σκότους, συνεργὸν δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν τέχνην, καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ὠφελείας ἕνεκα ἄνθρωποι κατασκευάζονται; [7] ὡς γὰρ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον

ἄνευ πυρὸς ἄνθρωποι τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων κατασκευάζονται. Ὑπερβάλλει, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο φιλανθρωπίᾳ.

Τὸ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον, ἐπειδὰν ἐν χειμῶνι τράπηται, προσιέναι τὰ μὲν ἁδρύνοντα, τὰ δὲ ξηραίνοντα, [1] ὧν καιρὸς διελήλυθεν· καὶ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενον μηκέτι ἐγγυτέρω προσιέναι, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέπεσθαι, φυλαττόμενον μή τι ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος θερμαίνων βλάψῃ· καὶ ὅταν αὖ πάλιν ἀπιὼν γένηται, ἔνθα καὶ ἡμῖν δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι, εἰ προσωτέρω ἄπεισιν, ἀποπαγησόμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους, πάλιν αὖ τρέπεσθαι, καὶ προσχωρεῖν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, [2] ἔνθα ἂν μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ὠφελοίη; Νὴ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα παντάπασιν ἔοικεν ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκα [3] γιγνομένοις.

Τὸ δ' αὖ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτο φανερὸν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ὑπενέγκοιμεν οὔτε τὸ καῦμα, οὔτε τὸ ψῦχος, εἰ ἐξαπίνης γίγνοιτο, οὕτω μὲν κατὰ μικρὸν προσιέναι τὸν ἥλιον, οὕτω δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπιέναι, [4] ὥστε λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς εἰς ἑκάτερα τὰ ἰσχυρότατα καθισταμένους; Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Εὐθύδημος, ἤδη τοῦτο σκοπῶ, εἰ ἄρα [5] τί ἐστι τοῖς θεοῖς ἔργον, ἢ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύειν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ μόνον ἐμποδίζει με, ὅτι καὶ τἄλλα ζῶα τούτων μετέχει.

[6] Οὐ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, φανερὸν, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων ἕνεκα γίγνεταί τε καὶ ἀνατρέφεται; τί γὰρ ἄλλο ζῶον αἰγῶν τε, καὶ οἰῶν, καὶ ἵππων, καὶ βοῶν, καὶ ὄνων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων τοσαῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύει, ὅσα ἄνθρωποι; [7] ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ πλείω τῶν φυτῶν. [8] τρέφονται γοῦν, καὶ χρηματίζονται οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀπὸ τούτων, ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. πολὺ δὲ γένος ἀνθρώπων τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένοις εἰς τροφὴν οὐ χρῶνται, ἀπὸ δὲ βοσκη-

μάτων γάλακτι καὶ τυρῷ καὶ κρέασι τρεφόμενοι ζῶσιν. πάντες δέ, τιθασσεύοντες καὶ δαμάζοντες τὰ χρήσιμα τῶν ζώων, εἴς τε πόλεμον καὶ εἰς ἄλλα πολλὰ συνεργοῖς χρῶνται. Ὁμογνωμονῶ σοι καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη· ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πολὺ ἰσχυρότερα ἡμῶν οὕτως ὑποχείρια γιγνόμενα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὥστε χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται.

[1] Τὸ δ', ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα, διαφέροντα δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, προσθεῖναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰσθήσεις ἁρμοττούσας πρὸς ἕκαστα, δι' ὧν ἀπολαύομεν πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν; Τὸ δὲ καὶ λογισμὸν ἡμῖν ἐμφῦσαι, ᾧ, περὶ ὧν αἰσθανόμεθα, λογιζόμενοί τε καὶ μνημονεύοντες καταμανθάνομεν, ὅπῃ ἕκαστα συμφέρει, καὶ πολλὰ μηχανώμεθα, δι' ὧν τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύομεν, καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀλεξόμεθα; Τὸ δὲ καὶ ἑρμηνείαν δοῦναι, δι' ἧς πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν μεταδίδομέν τε ἀλλήλοις διδάσκοντες καὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, [2] καὶ νόμους τιθέμεθα, καὶ πολιτευόμεθα; Παντάπασιν ἐοίκασιν, ὦ Σώκρατες, οἱ θεοὶ πολλὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι.

[3] Τὸ δὲ καὶ, εἰ ἀδυνατοῦμεν τὰ συμφέροντα προνοεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων, ταύτῃ αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν συνεργεῖν, διὰ μαντικῆς τοῖς πυνθανομένοις φράζοντας τὰ ἀποβησόμενα, καὶ διδάσκοντας, [4] ᾗ ἂν ἄριστα γίγνοιντο; [5] Σοὶ δ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐοίκασιν ἔτι φιλικώτερον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρῆσθαι, εἴγε μηδὲ ἐπερωτώμενοι ὑπὸ σοῦ προσημαίνουσί σοι, ἅ τε χρὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ ἃ μή.

Ὅτι δέ γε ἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ σὺ, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, γνώσῃ, ἂν μὴ ἀναμένῃς, ἕως ἂν τὰς μορφὰς τῶν θεῶν ἴδῃς, ἀλλ' ἐξαρκῇ σοι, τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὁρῶντι, σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεούς.

Εννόει δὲ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοὶ [1] οὕτως ὑποδεικνύουσιν. Οἵ τε γὰρ ἄλλοι ἡμῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ διδόντες, οὐδὲν τούτων εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἰόντες διδόασιν· καὶ Ὁ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον συντάττων τε καὶ συνέχων, ἐν ᾧ πάντα τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά ἐστι, καὶ ἀεὶ μὲν χρωμένοις ἀτριβῆ τε καὶ [2] ὑγιᾶ καὶ ἀγήρατον παρέχων, θᾶττον δὲ νοήματος ἀναμαρτήτως ὑπηρετοῦντα, οὗτος τὰ μέγιστα μὲν πράττων ὁρᾶται, [3] τάδε δὲ οἰκονομῶν ἀόρατος ἡμῖν ἐστιν.

Εννόει δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πᾶσι φανερὸς δοκῶν εἶναι ἥλιος οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἑαυτὸν ἀκριβῶς ὁρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις αὐτὸν ἀναιδῶς ἐγχειρῇ θεᾶσθαι, τὴν ὄψιν ἀφαιρεῖται. Καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας δὲ τῶν θεῶν εὑρήσεις ἀφανεῖς ὄντας. κεραυνός τε γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἄνωθεν ἀφίεται, δῆλον, καὶ ὅτι, οἷς ἂν ἐντύχῃ, πάντων κρατεῖ· ὁρᾶται δ' οὔτ' ἐπιὼν, οὔτε κατασκήψας, οὔτε ἀπιών. καὶ ἄνεμοι αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶνται, ἃ δὲ ποιοῦσι, φανερὰ ἡμῖν ἐστι, καὶ προσιόντων αὐτῶν αἰσθανόμεθα. Αλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀνθρώπου γε ψυχὴ, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τοῦ θείου μετέχει· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ βασιλεύει ἐν ἡμῖν, φανερόν· ὁρᾶται δὲ οὐδ' αὐτή. Ἃ χρὴ κατανοοῦντα μὴ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀοράτων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν γινομένων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν καταμανθάνοντα, τιμᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον.

Εγὼ μὲν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Εὐθύδημος, ὅτι μὲν οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἀμελήσω τοῦ δαιμονίου, σαφῶς οἶδα· ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἀθυμῶ, [4] ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ τὰς τῶν θεῶν εὐεργεσίας οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ποτε ἀνθρώπων ἀξίαις χάρισιν ἀμείβεσθαι.

Αλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο ἀθύμει, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε· ὁρᾷς γὰρ, ὅτι ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς, ὅταν τις αὐτὸν ἐπερωτᾷ, πῶς ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς χαρίζοιτο, ἀποκρίνεται, ΝΟΜῼ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ. Νόμος δὲ δήπου πανταχοῦ ἐστι, Κατὰ δύναμιν

ἱεροῖς θεοὺς ἀρέσκεσθαι. Πῶς οὖν ἄν τις κάλλιον καὶ εὐσεβέστερον [1] τιμῴη θεούς, ἢ, ὡς αὐτοὶ κελεύουσιν, οὕτω ποιῶν;

Ἀλλὰ χρὴ τῆς μὲν δυνάμεως μηδὲν ὑφίεσθαι· ὅταν γάρ τις τοῦτο ποιῇ, [2] φανερὸς δήπου ἐστὶ τότε οὐ τιμῶν θεούς. χρὴ οὖν μηδὲν ἐλλείποντα κατὰ δύναμιν τιμᾷν τὸς θεούς, θαῤῥεῖν τε καὶ ἐλπίζειν τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθά. [3] οὐ γὰρ παρ' ἄλλων γ' ἄν τις μείζω ἐλπίζων σωφρονοίη, ἢ παρὰ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελεῖν δυναμένων, οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλως μᾶλλον, ἢ εἰ τούτοις ἀρέσκοι. ἀρέσκοι δὲ πῶς ἂν μᾶλλον, ἢ εἰ ὡς μάλιστα πείθοιτο αὐτοῖς; Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ λέγων τε, καὶ αὐτὸς ποιῶν, εὐσεβεστέρους τε καὶ σωφρονεστέρους τοὺς συνόντας παρεσκεύαζεν.

* * *

ΚΕΦ. η.

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[4] Τῶν δὲ Σωκράτην γιγνωσκόντων, οἷος ἦν, οἱ ἀρετῆς ἐφιέμενοι πάντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελοῦσι πάντων μάλιστα ποθοῦντες ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ὠφελιμώτατον ὄντα πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν. Ἐμοὶ μὲν δή,—τοιοῦτος ὤν, οἷον ἐγὼ διήγημαι, εὐσεβὴς μὲν οὕτως, ὥστε μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης ποιεῖν· δίκαιος δὲ, ὥστε βλάπτειν μὲν μηδὲ μικρὸν μηδένα, ὠφελεῖν δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῷ· ἐγκρατὴς δὲ, ὥστε μηδέποτε προαιρεῖσθαι τὸ ἥδιον ἀντὶ τοῦ βελτίονος· φρόνιμος δὲ, ὥστε μὴ διαμαρτάνειν κρίνων τὰ βελτίω καὶ τὰ χείρω, μηδὲ ἄλλου προσδεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ αὐτάρκης εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τούτων γνῶσιν· ἱκανὸς

δὲ καὶ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν τε, καὶ διορίσασθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους δοκιμάσαι τε, καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντας ἐξελέγξαι, καὶ προτρέψασθαι ἐπ᾽ ἀρετὴν καὶ καλοκἀγαθίαν—ἐδόκει [1] τοιοῦτος εἶναι, οἷος ἂν εἴη ἄριστός γε ἀνὴρ, καὶ εὐδαιμονέστατος. Εἰ δέ τῳ μὴ ἀρέσκει ταῦτα, παραβάλλων τὸ ἄλλου ἦθος πρὸς ταῦτα, οὕτω κρινέτω.

II.

[1] E PLATONE.

Quis enim uberior in dicendo PLATONE? *Jovem, siquidem aiunt Philosophi, si Graecè loquatur, sic loqui.* CICERO IN BRUT.

[2] *ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ*

Κ Ρ Ι Τ Ω Ν,

ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΑΚΤΕΟΥ.

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ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΚΡΙΤΩΝ.

[3] *ΤΙ τηνικάδε ἀφῖξαι, ὦ Κρίτων; ἢ οὐ πρωῒ ἔτι ἐστί; ΚΡ.* [4] *Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. ΣΩΚ. Πηνίκα μάλιστα; ΚΡ. Ορθρος βαθύς. ΣΩΚ. Θαυμάζω, ὅπως ἠθέλησέ σοι ὁ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου φύλαξ ὑπακοῦσαι. ΚΡ. Ξυνήθης ἤδη μοί ἐστιν, ὦ Σώκρατες, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις δεῦρο φοιτᾷν· καί τι καὶ εὐεργετεῖται ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ. ΣΩΚ. Αρτι δὲ ἥκεις, ἢ πάλαι; ΚΡ. Επιεικῶς πάλαι. ΣΩΚ. Εἶτα πῶς οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπήγειράς με, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ παρακάθησαι; ΚΡ Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐδ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς ἤθε-*

λον ἐν τοσαύτῃ ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ λύπῃ εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ σοῦ πάλαι θαυμάζω, αἰσθανόμενος ὡς ἡδέως καθεύδεις· καὶ ἐπίτηδές σε οὐκ ἤγειρον, ἵνα ὡς ἥδιστα διάγῃς. Καὶ πολλάκις μὲν δή σε καὶ πρότερον ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ εὐδαιμόνισα [1] τοῦ τρόπου, πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα [2] ἐν τῇ νῦν παρεστώσῃ ξυμφορᾷ, ὡς ῥᾳδίως αὐτὴν καὶ πρᾴως φέρεις. ΣΩΚ. Καὶ γὰρ ἄν, ὦ Κρίτων, πλημμελὲς εἴη ἀγανακτεῖν τηλικοῦτον ὄντα, εἰ δεῖ ἤδη τελευτᾶν. ΚΡ. Καὶ ἄλλοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, τηλικοῦτοι ἐν τοιαύταις ξυμφοραῖς ἁλίσκονται, [3] ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιλύεται ἡ ἡλικία τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ. ΣΩΚ. Εστι ταῦτα.—Ἀλλὰ τί δὴ οὕτω πρωῒ ἀφῖξαι; ΚΡ. Ἀγγελίαν, ὦ Σώκρατες, φέρων χαλεπὴν, οὐ σοὶ, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις πᾶσι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν· [4] ἣν ἐγὼ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκῶ, ἐν τοῖς βαρύτατα ἂν ἐνέγκαιμι. ΣΩΚ. Τίνα ταύτην; ἢ [5] τὸ πλοῖον ἀφῖκται ἐκ Δήλου, οὗ δεῖ ἀφικομένου τεθνάναι με; ΚΡ. Οὔτοι δὴ ἀφῖκται, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μέν μοι ἥξειν τήμερον, ἐξ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ἥκοντές τινες ἀπὸ Σουνίου, καὶ καταλιπόντες ἐκεῖ αὐτό. Δῆλον οὖν ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἀγγέλων, ὅτι ἥξει τήμερον, καὶ ἀνάγκη δὴ εἰσαύριον ἔσται, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸν βίον σε τελευτᾶν.

β΄. ΣΩΚ. Ἀλλ', ὦ Κρίτων, [6] τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ· εἰ [7] ταύτῃ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον, ταύτῃ ἔστω· οὐ μέντοι οἶμαι ἥξειν αὐτὸ τήμερον. ΚΡ. Πόθεν τοῦτο τεκμαίρῃ; ΣΩΚ. Ἐγώ σοι ἐρῶ. Τῇ γάρ που ὑστεραίᾳ δεῖ με ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ ᾗ ἂν ἔλθοι τὸ πλοῖον. ΚΡ. Φασί γέ τοι δὴ οἱ τούτων κύριοι. ΣΩΚ. Οὐ τοίνυν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας οἶμαι αὐτὸ ἥξειν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἑτέρας· τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ἔκ τινος ἐνυπνίου, ὃ ἑώρακα ὀλίγον πρότερον ταύτης τῆς νυκτός· [8] καὶ κινδυνεύεις ἐν καιρῷ τινι οὐκ ἐγεῖραί με. ΚΡ. Ην δὲ δὴ τί τὸ ἐνύπνιον;

ΣΩΚ. Ἐδόκει τίς μοι γυνὴ προσελθοῦσα, καλὴ καὶ εὐειδής, λευκὰ ἱμάτια ἔχουσα, καλέσαι με, καὶ εἰπεῖν· Ὦ Σώκρατες,

[1] Ἤματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἵκοιο.

ΚΡ. Ὡς ἄτοπον τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὦ Σώκρατες. ΣΩΚ. Ἐναργὲς μὲν οὖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὦ Κρίτων. ΚΡ. Λίαν γε, ὡς ἔοικεν.

γ'. Ἀλλ', ὦ δαιμόνιε Σώκρατες, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐμοὶ πείθου, καὶ σώθητι· ὡς ἐμοί, ἐὰν σὺ ἀποθάνῃς, [2] οὐδὲ μία ξυμφορά ἐστιν· ἀλλά, χωρὶς μὲν σοῦ ἐστερῆσθαι, τοιούτου ἐπιτηδείου, οἷον ἐγὼ οὐδένα μήποτε εὑρήσω, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πολλοῖς δόξω, οἳ ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ μὴ σαφῶς ἴσασιν, [3] ὡς, οἷός τε ὢν σε σώζειν, εἰ ἤθελον ἀναλίσκειν χρήματα, ἀμελήσαιμι. Καίτοι τίς ἂν αἰσχίων εἴη ταύτης δόξα, ἢ δοκεῖν χρήματα [4] περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ φίλους; οὐ γὰρ πείσονται οἱ πολλοί, ὡς σὺ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἠθέλησας ἀπιέναι ἐνθένδε, ἡμῶν προθυμουμένων. ΣΩΚ. Ἀλλὰ τί ἡμῖν, ὦ μακάριε Κρίτων, οὕτω τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης μέλει; οἱ γὰρ ἐπιεικέστατοι, ὧν μᾶλλον ἄξιον φροντίζειν, ἡγήσονται αὐτὰ οὕτω πεπρᾶχθαι, ὥσπερ ἂν πραχθῇ. ΚΡ. Ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς δή, ὅτι ἀνάγκη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης μέλειν. Αὐτὰ δὲ δηλοῖ τὰ παρόντα νυνί, ὅτι οἷοί τε εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί, οὐ τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν τὰ μέγιστα, ἐάν τις ἐν αὐτοῖς διαβεβλημένος ᾖ. ΣΩΚ. Εἰ γὰρ ὤφελον, ὦ Κρίτων, οἷοί τε εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἐξεργάζεσθαι, ἵνα οἷοί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀγαθὰ τὰ μέγιστα· καὶ καλῶς ἂν εἶχε. Νῦν δὲ οὐδέτερα οἷοί τε· οὔτε γὰρ φρόνιμον, οὔτε ἄφρονα δυνατοὶ ποιῆσαι· ποιοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο, ὅ τι ἂν τύχωσι.

δ'. ΚΡ. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐχέτω. Τάδε δέ, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἰπέ μοι· [5] ἆρά γε μὴ ἐμοῦ προμηθῇ καὶ τῶν

ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, μὴ, ἐὰν σὺ ἐνθένδε ἐξέλθῃς, [1] οἱ συκοφάνται ἡμῖν πράγματα παρέχωσιν, ὡς σὲ ἐνθένδε ἐκκλέψασι, καὶ ἀναγκασθῶμεν ἢ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢ συχνὰ χρήματα, ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι πρὸς τούτοις παθεῖν; Εἰ γάρ τι τοιοῦτον φοβῇ, ἔασον αὐτὸ χαίρειν. Ἡμεῖς γάρ που δίκαιοί ἐσμεν, σώσαντές σε, κινδυνεύειν τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον· καὶ, ἐὰν δέῃ, ἔτι τούτου μείζω. Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθου, καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποίει. ΣΩΚ. Καὶ ταῦτα προμηθοῦμαι, ὦ Κρίτων, καὶ ἄλλα πολλά. ΚΡ. Μὴ τοίνυν ταῦτα φοβοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πολὺ τἀργύριόν ἐστιν, ὃ θέλουσι λαβόντες τινὲς σῶσαί σε καὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐνθένδε. Ἔπειτα οὐχ ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὡς εὐτελεῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἂν δέοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου; σοὶ δὲ ὑπάρχει μὲν τὰ ἐμὰ χρήματα, ὡς ἐγᾦμαι, ἱκανά· ἔπειτα καὶ, εἴ τι ἐμοῦ κηδόμενος, οὐκ οἴει δεῖν ἀναλίσκειν τἀμὰ, ξένοι οὗτοι ἐνθάδε ἕτοιμοι ἀναλίσκειν· εἷς δὲ καὶ κεκόμικεν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀργύριον ἱκανὸν, Σιμμίας ὁ Θηβαῖος· ἕτοιμος δὲ καὶ Κέβης, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ πάνυ. Ὥστε, ὅπερ λέγω, μήτε ταῦτα φοβούμενος ἀποκάμῃς σῶσαι σαυτόν· μήτε, ὃ ἔλεγες ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, δυσχερές σοι γενέσθω, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις ἐξελθὼν, ὅ τι χρῷο σεαυτῷ. Πολλαχοῦ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοσε, ὅποι ἂν ἀφίκῃ, ἀγαπήσουσί σε· ἂν δὲ βούλῃ εἰς Θετταλίαν ἰέναι, εἰσὶν ἐμοὶ ἐκεῖ ξένοι, οἵ σε περὶ πολλοῦ ποιήσονται, καὶ ἀσφάλειάν σοι παρέξονται, ὥστε σε μηδένα λυπεῖν τῶν κατὰ Θετταλίαν.

έ. Ἔτι δὲ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐδὲ δίκαιόν μοι δοκεῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν πρᾶγμα, σαυτὸν προδοῦναι, [2] ἐξὸν σωθῆναι· καὶ τοιαῦτα σπεύδεις περὶ σαυτὸν γενέσθαι, ἅπερ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἐχθροί σου σπεύσαιέν τε καὶ ἔσπευσαν, σὲ διαφθεῖραι βουλόμενοι. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς τοὺς σαυτοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖς προδιδόναι, οὕς σοι ἐξὸν καὶ ἐκθρέψαι καὶ ἐκπαι-

δεῦσαι, οἰχήσῃ καταλιπὼν, [1]καὶ τὸ σὸν μέρος, ὅ τι ἂν τύχωσι, τοῦτο πράξουσι· τεύξονται δὲ, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, τοιούτων, οἷά περ εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ὀρφανίαις περὶ τοὺς ὀρφανούς. Η γὰρ οὐ χρῆν ποιεῖσθαι παῖδας, ἢ ξυνδιαταλαιπωρεῖν καὶ τρέφοντα καὶ παιδεύοντα. Σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς τὰ ῥᾳθυμότατα αἱρεῖσθαι· χρὴ δὲ, ἅπερ ἂν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος ἕλοιτο, ταῦτα αἱρεῖσθαι, φάσκοντά γε δὴ ἀρετῆς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. Ὡς ἔγωγε καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν σῶν ἐπιτηδείων αἰσχύνομαι, μὴ δόξῃ ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ περὶ σὲ ἀνανδρίᾳ τινὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πεπρᾶχθαι· καὶ ἡ εἴσοδος τῆς δίκης εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὡς εἰσῆλθες, ἐξὸν μὴ εἰσελθεῖν· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀγὼν τῆς δίκης, ὡς ἐγένετο· καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον δὴ τουτὶ, ὥσπερ κατάγελως τῆς πράξεως, κακίᾳ τινὶ καὶ ἀνανδρίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ διαπεφευγέναι ἡμᾶς δοκεῖν, οἵτινές σε οὐ διεσώσαμεν, οὐδὲ σὺ σαυτὸν, οἷόν τε ὂν καὶ δυνατὸν, εἴτι καὶ σμικρὸν ἡμῶν ὄφελος ἦν. Ταῦτ' οὖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅρα, μὴ ἅμα τῷ κακῷ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ᾖ σοί τε καὶ ἡμῖν· ἀλλὰ βουλεύου· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ βουλεύεσθαι ἔτι ὥρα, ἀλλὰ βεβουλεῦσθαι. Μία δὲ βουλή· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς πάντα ταῦτα δεῖ πεπρᾶχθαι. Εἰ δὲ περιμενοῦμεν, ἀδύνατον καὶ οὐκέτι οἷόν τε. Ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ, ὦ Σώκρατες, πείθου μοι, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἄλλως ποίει.

ϛʹ. ΣΩΚ. Ω φίλε Κρίτων, ἡ προθυμία σου πολλοῦ ἀξία, εἰ μετά τινος ὀρθότητος εἴη· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὅσῳ μείζων, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέρα. Σκοπεῖσθαι οὖν χρὴ ἡμᾶς, εἴτε ταῦτα πρακτέον, εἴτε μή· ὡς ἐγὼ οὐ μόνον νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀεὶ τοιοῦτος, οἷος τῶν ἐμῶν μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ πείθεσθαι, ἢ τῷ λόγῳ, ὃς ἄν μοι λογιζομένῳ βέλτιστος φαίνηται. Τοὺς δὴ λόγους, οὓς ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἔλεγον, οὐ δύναμαι

νῦν ἐκβαλεῖν, ἐπειδή μοι ἥδε ἡ τύχη γέγονεν· ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τι ὅμοιοι φαίνονταί μοι, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πρεσβεύω καὶ τιμῶ, οὕσπερ καὶ πρότερον· ὧν ἐὰν μὴ βελτίω ἔχωμεν λέγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εὖ ἴσθι, ὅτι οὐ μή σοι ξυγχωρήσω, οὐδ' ἄν, πλείω τῶν νῦν παρόντων, ἡ τῶν πολλῶν δύναμις, ὥσπερ παῖδας, ἡμᾶς μορμολύττηται, δεσμοὺς καὶ θανάτους ἐπιπέμπουσα, καὶ χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσεις. ΚΡ. Πῶς οὖν ἂν μετριώτατα σκοποίμεθα αὐτά; ΣΩΚ. [1] Εἰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἀναλάβοιμεν, ὃν σὺ λέγεις περὶ τῶν δοξῶν, πότερον καλῶς ἐλέγετο ἑκάστοτε, ἢ οὔ, ὅτι ταῖς μὲν δεῖ τῶν δοξῶν προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ταῖς δὲ οὔ· ἢ πρὶν μὲν ἐμὲ δεῖν ἀποθνήσκειν, καλῶς ἐλέγετο, νῦν δὲ κατάδηλος ἄρα ἐγένετο, ὅτι ἄλλως ἕνεκα λόγου ἐλέγετο, ἦν δὲ παιδιὰ καὶ φλυαρία ὡς ἀληθῶς. Ἐπιθυμῶ δ' ἔγωγε ἐπισκέψασθαι, ὦ Κρίτων, κοινῇ μετὰ σοῦ, [2] εἴτι μοι ἀλλοιότερος φανεῖται, ἐπειδή γε ὧδε ἔχω, ἢ ὁ αὐτὸς, καὶ ἐάσομεν χαίρειν, ἢ πεισόμεθα αὐτῷ. Ἐλέγετο δέ πως, ὡς ἐγῷμαι, ἑκάστοτε ὧδε ὑπὸ τῶν οἰομένων τι λέγειν, ὥσπερ νῦν δὴ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον· ὅτι τῶν δοξῶν, ἃς οἱ ἄνθρωποι δοξάζουσι, δέοι τὰς μὲν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ μή. Τοῦτο, πρὸς θεῶν, ὦ Κρίτων, οὐ δοκεῖ καλῶς σοι λέγεσθαι; Σὺ γάρ, [3] ὅσα γε τἀνθρώπεια, ἐκτὸς εἶ τοῦ μέλλειν ἀποθνήσκειν αὔριον, καὶ οὐκ ἄν σε παρακρούοι ἡ παροῦσα ξυμφορά. Σκόπει δή· οὐχ ἱκανῶς δοκεῖ σοι λέγεσθαι, ὅτι οὐ πάσας χρὴ τὰς δόξας τῶν ἀνθρώπων τιμᾷν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μέν, τὰς δ' οὔ; οὐδὲ πάντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν μέν, τῶν δ' οὔ; Τί φῄς; ταῦτα οὐχὶ καλῶς λέγεται; ΚΡ. Καλῶς. ΣΩΚ. Οὐκοῦν τὰς μὲν χρηστὰς τιμᾷν, τὰς δὲ πονηρὰς μή; ΚΡ. Ναί. ΣΩΚ. Χρησταὶ δὲ οὐχ αἱ τῶν φρονίμων· πονηραὶ δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀφρόνων; ΚΡ. Πῶς δ' οὔ;

ζ΄. ΣΩΚ. [1] Φέρε δὴ, πῶς αὖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλέγετο; Γυμναζόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ τοῦτο πράττων πότερον παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπαίνῳ καὶ ψόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ τὸν νοῦν προσέχει, ἢ ἑνὸς μόνου ἐκείνου, [2] ὃς ἂν τυγχάνοι ἰατρὸς ἢ παιδοτρίβης ὤν; ΚΡ. Ἑνὸς μόνου. ΣΩΚ. Οὐκοῦν φοβεῖσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ψόγους, καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι τοὺς ἐπαίνους τοὺς τοῦ ἑνὸς ἐκείνου, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν; ΚΡ. Δῆλα δή. ΣΩΚ. Ταύτῃ ἄρα αὐτῷ πρακτέον καὶ γυμναστέον, καὶ ἐδεστέον γε καὶ ποτέον, ᾗ ἂν τῷ ἑνὶ δοκῇ, τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ καὶ ἐπαΐοντι, μᾶλλον ἢ, ᾗ ξύμπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις. ΚΡ. Εστι ταῦτα. ΣΩΚ. Εἶεν. Ἀπειθήσας δὲ τῷ ἑνὶ, καὶ ἀτιμάσας αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους, τιμήσας δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἐπαϊόντων, ἆρα οὐδὲν κακὸν πείσεται; ΚΡ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ; ΣΩΚ. Τί δ᾽ ἔστι τὸ κακὸν τȣ̃το; καὶ ποῖ τείνει, καὶ εἰς τί τῶν τȣ̃ ἀπειθοῦντος; ΚΡ. Δῆλον ὅτι εἰς τὸ σῶμα· τοῦτο γὰρ διόλλυσι. ΣΩΚ. Καλῶς λέγεις. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τἄλλα, ὦ Κρίτων, οὕτως; (ἵνα μὴ πάντα διίωμεν·) καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων, καὶ αἰσχρῶν καὶ καλῶν, καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, περὶ ὧν νῦν ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἡ βουλὴ, πότερον τῇ τῶν πολλῶν δόξῃ δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἕπεσθαι, καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὴν, ἢ τῇ τοῦ ἑνὸς, εἴτις ἐστὶν ἐπαΐων, ὃν δεῖ καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ ξύμπαντας τοὺς ἄλλους· ᾧ εἰ μὴ ἀκολουθήσομεν, διαφθεροῦμεν ἐκεῖνο καὶ λωβησόμεθα, ὃ τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ βέλτιον ἐγίγνετο, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ ἀπώλλυτο; ἢ οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο; ΚΡ. Οἶμαι ἔγωγε, ὦ Σώκρατες.

ή. ΣΩΚ. Φέρε δὴ, ἐὰν τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑγιεινοῦ μὲν βέλτιον γιγνόμενον, ὑπὸ τοῦ νοσώδους δὲ διαφθειρόμενον, διολέσωμεν, πειθόμενοι μὴ τῇ τῶν ἐπαϊόντων δόξῃ, ἆρα βιωτὸν ἡμῖν ἐστι διεφθαρμένου αὐτοῦ; ἔστι δέ που τοῦτο σῶμα, ἢ οὐχί; ΚΡ. Ναί. ΣΩΚ. Ἆρ᾽ οὖν βιωτὸν ἡμῖν

ἔστι μετα μοχθηροῦ καὶ διεφθαρμένου σώματος; ΚΡ. Οὐδαμῶς. ΣΩΚ. Ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡμῖν βιωτὸν διεφθαρμένου, ὃ τὸ ἄδικον μὲν λωβᾶται, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ὀνίνησιν; ἢ φαυλότερον ἡγούμεθα εἶναι τοῦ σώματος ἐκεῖνο, ὅ τι ποτ' ἐστὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων, περὶ ὃ ἥ τε ἀδικία καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἐστίν; ΚΡ. Οὐδαμῶς. ΣΩΚ. Ἀλλὰ τιμιώτερον; ΚΡ. Πολύ γε. ΣΩΚ. Οὐκ ἄρα, ὦ βέλτιστε, πάνυ ἡμῖν οὕτω φροντιστέον, ὅ τι ἐροῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὅ τι ὁ ἐπαΐων περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἀδίκων, ὁ εἷς, καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια. Ὥστε πρῶτον μὲν ταύτῃ οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἰσηγῇ, εἰσηγούμενος τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης δεῖν ἡμᾶς φροντίζειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων. Ἀλλὰ μὲν δή, φαίη γ' ἄν τις, οἷοί τε εἰσὶν ἡμᾶς οἱ πολλοὶ ἀποκτιννύναι. ΚΡ. Δῆλα δὴ καὶ ταῦτα· φαίη γὰρ ἄν, ὦ Σώκρατες. ΣΩΚ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις. Ἀλλ', ὦ θαυμάσιε, οὗτός γε ὁ λόγος, ὃν διεληλύθαμεν, [1] ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ὅμοιος εἶναι καὶ πρότερον. Καὶ τόνδε δὲ αὖ σκόπει, εἰ ἔτι μένει ἡμῖν, ἢ οὔ, ὅτι οὐ τὸ ζῆν περὶ πλείστου ποιητέον, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὖ ζῆν. ΚΡ. Ἀλλὰ μένει. ΣΩΚ. Τὸ δὲ εὖ, καὶ καλῶς, καὶ δικαίως, ὅτι ταὐτόν ἐστι, μένει, ἢ οὐ μένει; ΚΡ. Μένει.

θ'. ΣΩΚ. Οὐκοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων τοῦτο σκεπτέον, πότερον δίκαιον ἐμὲ ἐνθένδε πειρᾶσθαι ἐξιέναι, μὴ ἀφιέντων Ἀθηναίων, ἢ οὐ δίκαιον· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν φαίνηται δίκαιον, πειρώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐῶμεν. Ἃς δὲ σὺ λέγεις τὰς σκέψεις περί τε χρημάτων ἀναλώσεως, καὶ δόξης, καὶ παίδων τροφῆς, [2] μὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτα, ὦ Κρίτων, σκέμματα ᾖ τῶν ῥᾳδίως ἀποκτιννύντων, καὶ ἀναβιωσκομένων γ' ἄν, εἰ οἷοί τε ἦσαν, οὐδενὶ ξὺν νῷ,—τούτων τῶν πολλῶν· ἡμῖν δ', (ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος οὕτως αἱρεῖ,) μὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σκεπτέον ᾖ, ἢ ὅπερ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, πότερον δίκαια

πράξομεν, καὶ χρήματα τελοῦντες τούτοις τοῖς ἐμὲ ἐνθένδε ἐξάξουσι καὶ χάριτας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξάγοντές τε καὶ ἐξαγόμενοι, ἢ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀδικήσομεν πάντα ταῦτα ποιοῦντες· κἂν φαινώμεθα ἄδικα αὐτὰ ἐργαζόμενοι, μὴ, οὐ δέῃ ὑπολογίζεσθαι, οὔτ' εἰ ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ παραμένοντας καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας, οὔτε ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν πάσχειν πρὸ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν. ΚΡ. Καλῶς μέν μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, ὦ Σώκρατες· ὅρα δὲ τί δρῶμεν. ΣΩΚ. [1] Σκοπῶμεν, ὦ 'γαθὲ, κοινῇ· καὶ εἴ πῃ ἔχεις ἀντιλέγειν ἐμοῦ λέγοντος, ἀντίλεγε, καί σοι πείσομαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, παῦσαι ἤδη, ὦ μακάριε, πολλάκις μοι λέγων τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, ὡς χρὴ ἐνθένδε, ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἐμὲ ἀπιέναι· ὡς ἐγὼ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι πεῖσαί σε ταῦτα πράττειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄκοντος. Ὅρα δὲ δὴ τῆς σκέψεως τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐάν σοι ἱκανῶς λέγηται, καὶ πειρῶ ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ ἐρωτώμενον, ᾗ ἂν μάλιστα οἴῃ. ΚΡ. Ἀλλὰ πειράσομαι.

ι. ΣΩΚ. Οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ φαμὲν ἑκόντας ἀδικητέον εἶναι; ἢ τινὶ μὲν ἀδικητέον τρόπῳ, τινὶ δὲ οὔ; ἢ οὐδαμῶς τό γε ἀδικεῖν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν, οὔτε καλὸν, ὡς πολλάκις ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ ὡμολογήθη, ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι ἐλέγετο; ἢ πᾶσαι ἡμῖν ἐκεῖναι αἱ πρόσθεν ὁμολογίαι ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἐκκεχυμέναι εἰσὶ, καὶ πάλαι, ὦ Κρίτων, ἄρα τηλικοίδε γέροντες ἄνδρες, πρὸς ἀλλήλους σπουδῇ διαλεγόμενοι, [2] ἐλάθομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παίδων οὐδὲν διαφέροντες; ἢ παντὸς μᾶλλον οὕτως ἔχει, ὥσπερ τότε ἡμῖν ἐλέγετο, εἴτε φασὶν οἱ πολλοὶ, εἴτε μή; καὶ εἴτε δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῶνδε χαλεπώτερα πάσχειν, εἴτε καὶ πρᾳότερα, ὅμως τό γε ἀδικεῖν τῷ ἀδικοῦντι καὶ κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν τυγχάνει ὂν παντὶ τρόπῳ; φαμὲν, ἢ οὔ; ΚΡ. Φαμέν. ΣΩΚ. Οὐδαμῶς

ἄρα δεῖ ἀδικεῖν. ΚΡ. Οὐ δῆτα. ΣΩΚ. Οὐδὲ ἀδικούμενον ἄρα ἀνταδικεῖν, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, ἐπειδή γε οὐδαμῶς δεῖ ἀδικεῖν. ΚΡ. Οὐ φαίνεται. ΣΩΚ. Τί δαὶ δή; κακουργεῖν δεῖ, ὦ Κρίτων, ἢ οὔ; ΚΡ. Οὐ δεῖ δή που, ὦ Σώκρατες. ΣΩΚ. [1] Τί δέ; ἀντικακουργεῖν κακῶς πάσχοντα, ὡς οἱ πολλοί φασι, δίκαιον, ἢ οὐ δίκαιον; ΚΡ. Οὐδαμῶς. ΣΩΚ. Τὸ γάρ που κακῶς ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους τοῦ ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲν διαφέρει. ΚΡ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις. ΣΩΚ. Οὔτε ἄρα ἀνταδικεῖν δεῖ, οὔτε κακῶς ποιεῖν οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων, οὐδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν πάσχῃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν.—Καὶ ὅρα, ὦ Κρίτων, ταῦτα καθομολογῶν, ὅπως μὴ παρὰ δόξαν ὁμολογῇς· οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι ὀλίγοις τισὶ ταῦτα καὶ δοκεῖ καὶ δόξει. Οἷς δ' οὕτω δέδοκται, καὶ οἷς μή, τούτοις οὐκ ἔστι κοινὴ βουλή, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τούτους ἀλλήλων καταφρονεῖν, ὁρῶντας ἀλλήλων τὰ βουλεύματα. Σκόπει οὖν δὴ καὶ σὺ εὖ μάλα, πότερον κοινωνεῖς, καὶ συνδοκεῖ σοι, καὶ ἀρχώμεθα ἐντεῦθεν βουλευόμενοι, ὡς οὐδέποτε ὀρθῶς ἔχοντος οὔτε τοῦ ἀδικεῖν, οὔτε τοῦ ἀνταδικεῖν, οὔτε κακῶς πάσχοντα ἀμύνεσθαι ἀντιδρῶντα κακῶς·—ἢ ἀφίστασαι, καὶ οὐ κοινωνεῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πάλαι οὕτω, καὶ νῦν ἔτι δοκεῖ· σοὶ δὲ εἴ πῃ ἄλλῃ δέδοκται, λέγε καὶ δίδασκε. Εἰ δὲ ἐμμένεις τοῖς πρόσθεν, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄκουε. ΚΡ. Ἀλλ' ἐμμένω τε καὶ ξυνδοκεῖ μοι· ἀλλὰ λέγε. ΣΩΚ. Λέγω δὴ αὖ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐρωτῶ, πότερον, ἃ ἄν τις ὁμολογήσῃ τῳ, δίκαια ὄντα, ποιητέον, ἢ ἐξαπατητέον; ΚΡ. Ποιητέον.

ιά. ΣΩΚ. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ἄθρει. Ἀπιόντες ἐνθένδε ἡμεῖς, μὴ πείσαντες τὴν πόλιν, πότερον κακῶς τινὰς ποιοῦμεν, καὶ ταῦτα, οὓς ἥκιστα δεῖ, ἢ οὔ; καὶ ἐμμένομεν, οἷς ὡμολογήσαμεν, δικαίοις οὖσιν, ἢ οὔ; ΚΡ. Οὐκ

ἔχω, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀποκρίνασθαι, πρὸς ὃ ἐρωτᾷς· οὐ γὰρ ἐννοῶ. ΣΩΚ. Ἀλλ' ὧδε σκόπει. Εἰ μέλλουσιν ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε εἴτε ἀποδιδράσκειν, εἴθ' ὅπως δεῖ ὀνομάσαι τοῦτο, ἐλθόντες οἱ νόμοι καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως, ἐπιστάντες ἔροιντο· Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, τί ἐν νῷ ἔχεις ποιεῖν; ἄλλο τι ἢ τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ, ᾧ ἐπιχειρεῖς, διανοῇ τούς τε νόμους ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, καὶ ξύμπασαν τὴν πόλιν, τὸ σὸν μέρος; ἢ δοκεῖ σοι οἷόν τε ἔτι ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἀνατετράφθαι, ἐν ᾗ ἂν αἱ γενόμεναι δίκαι μηδὲν ἰσχύωσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν ἄκυροί τε γίγνωνται καὶ διαφθείρωνται;—τί ἐροῦμεν, ὦ Κρίτων, πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα; πολλὰ γὰρ ἄν τις ἔχοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ῥήτωρ, εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ τούτου τοῦ νόμου ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς τὰς δίκας τὰς δικασθείσας προστάττει κυρίας εἶναι. ἢ ἐροῦμεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὅτι, Ηδίκει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ πόλις, καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν δίκην ἔκρινε; ταῦτα, ἢ τί ἐροῦμεν; ΚΡ. Ταῦτα νὴ Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες.

ιβ'. ΣΩΚ. Τί οὖν; ἂν εἴπωσιν οἱ νόμοι, Ω Σώκρατες, ἦ καὶ ταῦτα ὡμολόγητο ἡμῖν τε καὶ σοὶ, ἢ ἐμμένειν ταῖς δίκαις, αἷς ἂν ἡ πόλις δικάζοι; Εἰ οὖν αὐτῶν θαυμάζοιμεν λεγόντων, ἴσως ἂν εἴποιεν, ὅτι, Ω Σώκρατες, μὴ θαύμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνου·—ἐπειδὴ καὶ εἴωθας χρῆσθαι τῷ ἐρωτᾷν τε καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι.—Φέρε γὰρ, τί ἐγκαλῶν ἡμῖν καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἐπιχειρεῖς ἡμᾶς ἀπολλύναι; Οὐ πρῶτον μέν σε ἐγεννήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, καὶ δι' ἡμῶν ἔλαβε τὴν μητέρα σου ὁ πατὴρ, καὶ ἐφύτευσέ σε; Φράσον οὖν, τούτοις ἡμῶν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς περὶ τοὺς γάμους μέμφῃ τι, ὡς οὐ καλῶς ἔχουσιν; Οὐ μέμφομαι, φαίην ἄν. Ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τὴν τε γενομένου τροφήν τε καὶ παιδείαν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ σὺ ἐπαιδεύθης; ἢ οὐ καλῶς προσέταττον ἡμῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τούτῳ

τεταγμένοι νόμοι, παραγγέλλοντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ σε ἐν μουσικῇ καὶ γυμναστικῇ παιδεύειν; Καλῶς, φαίην ἄν. Εἶεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένου τε καὶ ἐξετράφης καὶ ἐπαιδεύθης, ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς οὐχὶ ἡμέτερος ἦσθα καὶ ἔκγονος καὶ δοῦλος, αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σοὶ πρόγονοι; Καὶ εἰ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ἆρ᾽ ἐξίσου οἴει εἶναι σοὶ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ ἅττ᾽ ἂν ἡμεῖς σε ἐπιχειρῶμεν ποιεῖν, ταῦτα καὶ σὺ ἀντιποιεῖν οἴει δίκαιον εἶναι; ἢ πρὸς μὲν ἄρα σοι τὸν πατέρα οὐκ ἐξίσου ἦν τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ πρὸς δεσπότην, εἴ σοι ὢν ἐτύγχανεν, ὥστε ἅπερ πάσχεις, ταῦτα καὶ ἀντιποιεῖν, οὔτε κακῶς ἀκούοντα ἀντιλέγειν, οὔτε τυπτόμενον ἀντιτύπτειν, οὔτε ἄλλα τοιαῦτα πολλά· πρὸς δὲ τὴν πατρίδα ἄρα καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐξέσται σοι, ὥστε, ἐάν σε ἐπιχειρῶμεν ἡμεῖς ἀπολλύναι, δίκαιον ἡγούμενοι εἶναι, καὶ σὺ δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν πατρίδα, καθ᾽ ὅσον δύνασαι, ἐπιχειρήσεις ἀνταπολλύναι; καὶ φήσεις, ταῦτα ποιῶν, δίκαια πράττειν, ὁ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενος; Η οὕτως εἶ σοφὸς, ὥστε λέληθέ σε, ὅτι μητρός τε καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προγόνων ἁπάντων τιμιώτερόν ἐστι πατρὶς, καὶ σεμνότερον, καὶ ἁγιώτερον, καὶ ἐν μείζονι μοίρᾳ καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς, καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι; καὶ σέβεσθαι δεῖ, καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπείκειν, καὶ θωπεύειν πατρίδα χαλεπαίνουσαν, ἢ πατέρα; καὶ ἢ πείθειν, ἢ ποιεῖν ἃ ἂν κελεύοι; καὶ πάσχειν, ἐάν τι προστάττῃ παθεῖν, ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντα, ἐάν τε τύπτεσθαι, ἐάν τε δεῖσθαι; ἐάν τε εἰς πόλεμον ἄγῃ τρωθησόμενον ἢ ἀποθανούμενον, ποιητέα ταῦτα, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον οὕτως ἔχει; καὶ οὐχ ὑπεικτέον, οὐδὲ ἀναχωρητέον, οὐδὲ λειπτέον τὴν τάξιν; ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ, καὶ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, καὶ πανταχοῦ, ποιητέον, ἃ ἂν κελεύοι ἡ πόλις τε καὶ ἡ πατρίς, [1] ἢ πείθειν αὐτὴν, ᾗ τὸ δίκαιον πέφυκε; βιάζεσθαι δὲ οὐχ ὅσιον οὔτε μητέρα, οὔτε πατέρα, πολὺ δὲ τούτων

ἔτι ἧττον τὴν πατρίδα; Τί φήσομεν πρὸς ταῦτα, ὦ Κρίτων; ἀληθῆ λέγειν τοὺς νόμους, ἢ οὔ; ΚΡ. Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

ιγ΄. ΣΩΚ. Σκόπει τοίνυν, ὦ Σώκρατες, φαῖεν ἂν ἴσως οἱ νόμοι, εἰ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, ὅτι οὐ δίκαια ἡμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖς δρᾶν, ἃ νῦν ἐπιχειρεῖς. Ἡμεῖς γάρ σε γεννήσαντες, ἐκθρέψαντες, παιδεύσαντες, μεταδόντες ἁπάντων, ὧν οἷοί τε ἦμεν, καλῶν, σοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι πολίταις, ὅμως προαγορεύομεν, [1] τῷ ἐξουσίαν πεποιηκέναι Ἀθηναίων τῷ βουλομένῳ, ἐπειδὰν δοκιμάσῃ καὶ ἴδῃ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πράγματα, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς νόμους, ᾧ ἂν μὴ ἀρέσκωμεν ἡμεῖς, ἐξεῖναι λαβόντα τὰ αὑτοῦ ἀπιέναι, ὅποι ἂν βούληται. [2] καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων ἐμποδών ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἀπαγορεύει, ἐάν τέ τις βούληται ὑμῶν εἰς ἀποικίαν ἰέναι, (εἰ μὴ ἀρέσκοιμεν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἡ πόλις,) ἐάν τε μετοικεῖν ἄλλοσέ ποι ἐλθὼν, ἰέναι ἐκεῖσε, ὅποι ἂν βούληται, ἔχοντα τὰ αὑτοῦ. ὃς δ' ἂν ὑμῶν παραμείνῃ, ὁρῶν ὃν τρόπον ἡμεῖς τάς τε δίκας δικάζομεν, καὶ τἆλλα τὴν πόλιν διοικοῦμεν, ἤδη φαμὲν τοῦτον ὡμολογηκέναι ἔργῳ ἡμῖν, ἃ ἂν ἡμεῖς κελεύωμεν, ποιήσειν ταῦτα. καὶ τὸν μὴ πειθόμενον τριχῇ φαμεν ἀδικεῖν· ὅτι τε γεννήταις οὖσιν ἡμῖν οὐ πείθεται, καὶ ὅτι τροφεῦσι, καὶ ὅτι ὁμολογήσας ἡμῖν πείθεσθαι, οὔτε πείθεται, οὔτε πείθει ἡμᾶς, εἰ μὴ καλῶς τι ποιοῦμεν· προτιθέντων ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγρίως ἐπιταττόντων ποιεῖν, ἃ ἂν κελεύωμεν, ἀλλὰ ἐφιέντων δυοῖν θάτερα, ἢ πείθειν ἡμᾶς, ἢ ποιεῖν· τούτων οὐδέτερα [3] ποιεῖ.

ιδ΄. Ταύταις δή φαμεν καὶ σὲ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνέξεσθαι, εἴπερ ποιήσεις, ἃ ἐπινοεῖς· καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Ἀθηναίων σὲ, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα. Εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ εἴποιμι, διὰ τί δή; [4] ἴσως ἄν μου δικαίως καθάπτοιντο, λέγοντες, [5] ὅτι ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ἀθηναίων ἐγὼ αὐτοῖς

ὡμολογηκὼς τυγχάνω ταύτην τὴν ὁμολογίαν. Φαῖεν γὰρ ἄν, ὅτι, Ὦ Σώκρατες, μεγάλα ἡμῖν τούτων τεκμήριά ἐστιν, ὅτι σοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἠρέσκομεν καὶ ἡ πόλις· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων διαφερόντως ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπεδήμεις, εἰ μή σοι διαφερόντως ἤρεσκε. καὶ οὔτ' ἐπὶ θεωρίαν πώποτε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξῆλθες, ὅτι μὴ ἅπαξ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν, οὔτε ἄλλοσε οὐδαμόσε, εἰ μή ποι στρατευσόμενος, οὔτε ἄλλην ἐποιήσω ἀποδημίαν πώποτε, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι· οὐδ' ἐπιθυμία σε ἄλλης πόλεως οὐδ' ἄλλων νόμων ἔλαβεν εἰδέναι· ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς σοι ἱκανοὶ ἦμεν καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις· οὕτω σφόδρα ἡμᾶς ᾑροῦ, καὶ ὡμολόγεις καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτεύσεσθαι· τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ παῖδας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐποιήσω, ὡς ἀρεσκούσης σοι τῆς πόλεως. Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ δίκῃ ἐξῆν σοι φυγῆς τιμήσασθαι, εἰ ἐβούλου, καὶ, ὅπερ νῦν ἀκούσης τῆς πόλεως ἐπιχειρεῖς, τότε ἑκούσης ποιῆσαι. Σὺ δὲ τότε μὲν ἐκαλλωπίζου, ὡς οὐκ ἀγανακτῶν, εἰ δέοι τεθνάναι σε, ἀλλ' ᾑροῦ, ὡς ἔφησθα, πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς θάνατον· νῦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους αἰσχύνῃ, οὔτε ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων ἐντρέπῃ, ἐπιχειρῶν διαφθεῖραι· πράττεις τε, ἅπερ ἂν δοῦλος ὁ φαυλότατος πράξειεν, ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐπιχειρῶν παρὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας τε καὶ τὰς ὁμολογίας, καθ' ἃς ἡμῖν [1] ξυνέθου πολιτεύσεσθαι. Πρῶτον οὖν ἡμῖν τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἀπόκριναι, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, φάσκοντές σε ὡμολογηκέναι πολιτεύσεσθαι καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἔργῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγῳ· ἢ οὐκ ἀληθῆ; Τί φῶμεν πρὸς ταῦτα, ὦ Κρίτων; ἄλλο τι ἢ ὁμολογῶμεν; ΚΡ. Ἀνάγκη, ὦ Σώκρατες. ΣΩΚ. Ἄλλο τι οὖν, φαῖεν, ἢ ξυνθήκας τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁμολογίας παραβαίνεις; οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ὁμολογήσας, οὐδὲ ἀπατηθεὶς, οὐδὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἀναγκασθεὶς βουλεύσασθαι· ἀλλ' ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐν οἷς ἦν σοι ἀπιέναι, εἰ μὴ ἠρέσκομεν ἡμεῖς, μηδὲ δίκαιαι ἐφαίνοντό σοι αἱ ὁμολογίαι εἶναι. Σὺ

δὲ οὔτε Λακεδαίμονα προῃρῦ, οὔτε Κρήτην, ἃς δὴ ἑκάστοτε φῂς εὐνομεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, οὔτε τῶν βαρβάρων· ἀλλ᾽ ἐλάττω ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπεδήμησας, ἢ οἱ χωλοί τε καὶ τυφλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνάπηροι· οὕτω σοι διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ἤρεσκεν ἡ πόλις τε, καὶ ἡμεῖς [1] οἱ νόμοι, δηλονότι· τίνι γὰρ ἂν πόλις ἀρέσκοι ἄνευ νόμων; Νῦν δὲ δὴ οὐκ ἐμμενεῖς τοῖς ὡμολογημένοις; [ἐμμενεῖς δὲ,] ἐὰν ἡμῖν γε πείθῃ, ὦ Σώκρατες· και οὐ καταγέλαστός γε ἔσῃ, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξελθών.

ιέ. Σκόπει γὰρ δὴ, ταῦτα παραβὰς, καὶ ἐξαμαρτών τι τούτων, τί ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσῃ σαυτὸν, ἢ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους τοὺς σαυτοῦ. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύσουσί γέ σου οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φεύγειν, καὶ στερηθῆναι τῆς πόλεως, ἢ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολέσαι, σχεδόν τι δῆλον. Αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, ἐὰν εἰς τῶν ἐγγύτατά τινα πόλεων ἔλθῃς, ἢ Θήβαζε, ἢ Μεγάραδε, (εὐνομοῦνται γὰρ ἀμφότεραι,) πολέμιος ἥξεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τῇ τούτων πολιτείᾳ· καὶ ὅσοιπερ κήδονται τῶν αὐτῶν πόλεων, ὑποβλέψονταί σε, διαφθορέα ἡγούμενοι τῶν νόμων· καὶ βεβαιώσεις τοῖς δικασταῖς τὴν δόξαν, ὥστε δοκεῖν ὀρθῶς τὴν δίκην δικάσαι. Ὅστις γὰρ νόμων διαφθορεύς ἐστι, σφόδρα που δόξειεν ἂν νέων γε καὶ ἀνοήτων ἀνθρώπων διαφθορεὺς εἶναι. Πότερον οὖν φεύξῃ τάς τε εὐνομουμένας πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κοσμιωτάτους; καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντι ἆρα ἄξιόν σοι ζῆν ἔσται; ἢ πλησιάσεις τούτοις, [2] καὶ ἀναισχυντήσεις διαλεγόμενός τινας λόγους, ὦ Σώκρατες, οἵουσπερ ἐνθάδε, ὡς ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλείστου ἄξιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ οἱ νόμοι; Καὶ οὐκ οἴει ἄσχημον φανεῖσθαι τὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους πρᾶγμα; οἴεσθαί γε χρή. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀπαρεῖς, ἥξεις δὲ εἰς Θετταλίαν παρὰ τοὺς ξένους τοῦ Κρίτωνος. Ἐκεῖ γὰρ δὴ πλείστη ἀταξία καὶ ἀκολασία· καὶ ἴσως ἂν ἡδέως σου ἀκούοιεν, ὡς γελοίως ἐκ

τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ἀπεδίδρασκες, σκευήν τινα περιθέμενος, ἢ διφθέραν λαβὼν, ἢ ἄλλα οἷα δὴ εἰώθασιν ἐνσκευάζεσθαι οἱ ἀποδιδράσκοντες, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ σαυτοῦ μεταλλάξας. Ὅτι δὲ γέρων ἀνὴρ, σμικροῦ χρόνου τῷ βίῳ λοιποῦ ὄντος, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἐτόλμησας οὕτω γλίσχρως ἐπιθυμεῖν ζῆν, νόμους τοὺς μεγίστους παραβὰς, οὐδεὶς ὃς ἐρεῖ; Ἴσως, ἂν μήτινα λυπῇς· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀκούσῃ, ὦ Σώκρατες, πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια σαυτοῦ. ὑπερχόμενος δὴ πάντας ἀνθρώπους βιώσῃ, καὶ δουλεύων.—Τί ποιῶν; ἢ εὐωχούμενος ἐν Θετταλίᾳ; ὥσπερ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἀποδεδημηκὼς εἰς Θετταλίαν; Λόγοι δὲ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς, ποῦ ἡμῖν ἔσονται; Ἀλλὰ δὴ τῶν παίδων ἕνεκα βούλει ζῆν, ἵνα αὐτοὺς ἐκθρέψῃς καὶ παιδεύσῃς. [1] Τί δέ; εἰς Θετταλίαν αὐτοὺς ἀγαγὼν θρέψεις τε καὶ παιδεύσεις, ξένους ποιήσας, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτό σου ἀπολαύσωσιν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὔ, αὐτοῦ δὲ τρεφόμενοι, σοῦ ζῶντος, βέλτιον [2] θρέψονται καὶ παιδεύσονται, μὴ ξυνόντος σοῦ αὐτοῖς; οἱ γὰρ ἐπιτήδειοι οἱ σοὶ ἐπιμελήσονται αὐτῶν. Πότερον, ἐὰν μὲν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀποδημήσῃς, ἐπιμελήσονται, ἐὰν δὲ εἰς Ἅδου ἀποδημήσῃς, οὐχὶ ἐπιμελήσονται; εἴπερ γέ τι ὄφελος αὐτῶν ἐστι, τῶν σοὶ φασκόντων ἐπιτηδείων εἶναι, οἴεσθαί γε χρή.

ιϛʹ. Ἀλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, πειθόμενος ἡμῖν τοῖς σοῖς τροφεῦσι, μήτε παῖδας περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦ, μήτε τὸ ζῆν, μήτε ἄλλο μηδὲν, πρὸ τοῦ δικαίου· ἵνα, εἰς Ἅδου ἐλθὼν, ἔχῃς ταῦτα πάντα ἀπολογήσασθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἄρχουσιν. Οὔτε γὰρ ἐνθάδε σοι φαίνεται ταῦτα πράττοντι ἄμεινον εἶναι, οὐδὲ δικαιότερον, οὐδὲ ὁσιώτερον, οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ τῶν σῶν οὐδενί· οὔτε ἐκεῖσε ἀφικομένῳ ἄμεινον ἔσται. Ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἠδικημένος ἄπει, ἐὰν ἀπίῃς, οὐχ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων· ἐὰν δὲ ἐξέλθῃς οὕτως αἰσχρῶς, ἀνταδικήσας τε καὶ ἀντικακουργήσας, τὰς

σαυτοῦ ὁμολογίας τε καὶ ξυνθήκας τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς παραβὰς, καὶ κακὰ ἐργασάμενος τούτους, οὓς ἥκιστα ἔδει, σαυτόν τε καὶ φίλους καὶ πατρίδα καὶ ἡμᾶς· ἡμεῖς τέ σοι χαλεπανοῦμεν ζῶντι, καὶ ἐκεῖ οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἀδελφοὶ, οἱ ἐν Ἅδου νόμοι, οὐκ εὐμενῶς σε ὑποδέξονται· εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπεχείρησας ἀπολέσαι, τὸ σὸν μέρος. Ἀλλὰ μή σε πείσῃ Κρίτων ποιεῖν ἃ λέγει, μᾶλλον ἢ ἡμεῖς.

ιζ΄. Ταῦτα, ὦ φίλε ἑταῖρε Κρίτων, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ἐγὼ δοκῶ ἀκούειν, [1] ὥσπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες τῶν αὐλῶν δοκοῦσιν ἀκούειν· καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ αὕτη ἡ ἠχὴ τούτων τῶν λόγων βομβεῖ, καὶ ποιεῖ μὴ δύνασθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν· ἀλλὰ ἴσθι, ὅσα γε τὰ νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα, ἐάν τι λέγῃς παρὰ ταῦτα, μάτην ἐρεῖς. Ὅμως μέντοι, εἴ τι οἴει πλέον ποιήσειν, λέγε. *ΚΡ.* Ἀλλ᾽, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. *ΣΩΚ.* Εα τοίνυν, ὦ Κρίτων, καὶ πράττωμεν ταύτῃ, ἐπειδὴ ταύτῃ ὁ θεὸς ὑφηγεῖται.

[1]Ἡ

ΤΟΥ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΒΙΟΥ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗ.

ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΙΔΩΝΟΣ.

* * *

—Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμμία τε καὶ Κέβης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, εἰσαῦθις ἔν τινι χρόνῳ ἕκαστοι πορεύσεσθε· ἐμὲ δὲ νῦν ἤδη καλεῖ (φαίη γ' ἂν ἀνὴρ τραγικὸς) ἡ εἱμαρμένη. καὶ σχεδόν τί μοι ὥρα τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν· δοκεῖ γὰρ ἤδη βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ πράγματα ταῖς γυναιξὶ παρέχειν [2] νεκρὸν λούειν.

ξδ'. Ταῦτα δὴ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κρίτων, Εἶεν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες. Τί δὲ τούτοις ἢ ἐμοὶ ἐπιτέλλῃ, ἢ περὶ τῶν παίδων, ἢ περὶ ἄλλου του, [3] ὅ τι ἂν σοι ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς ἐν χάριτι μάλιστα ποιοῖμεν; Ἅπερ ἀεὶ λέγω, ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων· οὐδὲν καινότερον· ὅτι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι ὑμεῖς,[4] καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν χάριτι ποιήσετε, ἅττ' ἂν ποιῆτε, κἂν μὴ νῦν ὁμολογήσητε· ἐὰν δὲ ὑμῶν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμελῆτε, καὶ μὴ θέλητε, ὥσπερ κατ' ἴχνη, κατὰ τὰ νῦν τε εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ ζῆν, οὐδὲ ἐὰν πολλὰ ὁμολογήσητε ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καὶ σφόδρα, οὐδὲν πλέον ποιήσετε. Ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν [5] προθυμησόμεθα, ἔφη, οὕτω ποιεῖν. [6] Θάπτομεν δὲ τίνα σε τρόπον; Ὅπως ἄν, ἔφη, βούλησθε· ἐάν πέρ γε λάβητέ με, καὶ μὴ ἐκφύγω ὑμᾶς. Γελάσας δὲ ἅμα ἡσυχῇ, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποβλέψας,

εἶπεν, Οὐ πείθω, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, Κρίτωνα, ὡς ἐγώ εἰμι οὗτος ὁ Σωκράτης, ὁ νυνὶ διαλεγόμενος, καὶ διατάττων ἕκαστα τῶν λεγομένων· ἀλλ' οἴεταί με ἐκεῖνον εἶναι, ὃν ὄψεται ὀλίγον ὕστερον νεκρὸν, καὶ ἐρωτᾷ δὴ, πῶς με θάπτῃ. [1]Ὅτι δὲ ἐγὼ πάλαι πολὺν λόγον πεποίημαι, ὡς ἐπειδὰν πίω τὸ φάρμακον, οὐκέτι ὑμῖν παραμενῶ, ἀλλ' οἰχήσομαι ἀπιὼν εἰς μακάρων δή τινας εὐδαιμονίας, ταῦτά μοι δοκῶ αὐτῷ ἄλλως λέγειν, παραμυθούμενος ἅμα μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἅμα δ' ἐμαυτόν. [2]Ἐγγυήσασθε οὖν με πρὸς Κρίτωνα, ἔφη, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐγγύην, ἢ ἣν οὗτος πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἠγγυᾶτο. Οὗτος μὲν γὰρ, ἦ μὴν παραμενεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ, ἦ μὴν μὴ παραμενεῖν, ἐγγυήσασθε, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνω, ἀλλὰ οἰχήσεσθαι ἀπιόντα· ἵνα Κρίτων ῥᾷον φέρῃ, καὶ μὴ, ὁρῶν μου τὸ σῶμα ἢ καιόμενον ἢ κατορυττόμενον, ἀγανακτῇ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ὡς [3]δεινὰ ἄττα πάσχοντος· μηδὲ λέγῃ ἐν τῇ ταφῇ, [4]ὡς ἢ προτίθεται Σωκράτη, ἢ ἐκφέρει, ἢ κατορύττει. Εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, [5]ἦ δ' ὅς, ὦ ἄριστε Κρίτων, τὸ μὴ καλῶς λέγειν, οὐ μόνον εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πλημμελὲς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακόν τι ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς. Ἀλλὰ θαῤῥεῖν τε χρὴ, [6]καὶ φάναι τοὐμὸν σῶμα θάπτειν, καὶ θάπτειν οὕτως, ὅπως ἄν σοι φίλον ᾖ, καὶ μάλιστα ἡγῇ νόμιμον εἶναι.

§ξέ. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀνίστατο εἰς οἴκημά τι ὡς λουσόμενος, καὶ ὁ Κρίτων εἵπετο αὐτῷ· ἡμᾶς δ' ἐκέλευε περιμένειν. Περιεμένομεν οὖν, πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαλεγόμενοι περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ ἀνασκοποῦντες· τοτὲ δ' αὖ περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς διεξιόντες, ὅση ἡμῖν γεγονυῖα εἴη, ἀτεχνῶς ἡγούμενοι, ὥσπερ πατρὸς στερηθέντες, διάξειν ὀρφανοὶ τὸν ἔπειτα βίον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐλούσατο, καὶ ἠνέχθη παρ' αὐτὸν τὰ παιδία, (δύο γὰρ αὐτῷ υἱεῖς σμικροὶ ἦσαν, εἷς δὲ μέγας,) καὶ αἱ οἰκεῖαι γυναῖκες ἀφίκοντο, ἐκείναις ἐναντίον τοῦ Κρίτωνος διαλεχθείς τε

καὶ ἐπιστείλας, ἅττα ἐβούλετο, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδία ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἧκε παρ' ἡμᾶς. Καὶ ἦν ἤδη ἐγγὺς ἡλίου δυσμῶν· χρόνον γὰρ πολὺν διέτριψεν ἔνδον. Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκαθέζετο λελουμένος, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἅττα μετὰ ταῦτα διελέχθη, καὶ ἧκεν [1] ὁ τῶν Ἕνδεκα ὑπηρέτης, καὶ στὰς παρ' αὐτὸν, Ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, οὐ καταγνώσομαί γε σοῦ, ὅπερ ἄλλων καταγινώσκω, ὅτι μοι χαλεπαίνουσι καὶ καταρῶνται, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς παραγγέλλω πίνειν τὸ φάρμακον, ἀναγκαζόντων τῶν ἀρχόντων· σὲ δ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἄλλως ἔγνωκα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ γενναιότατον καὶ πρᾳότατον καὶ ἄριστον ἄνδρα ὄντα τῶν πώποτε δεῦρο ἀφικομένων· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνεις, γινώσκεις γὰρ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνοις. Νῦν οὖν, οἶσθα γὰρ ἃ ἦλθον ἀγγελῶν, χαῖρέ τε, καὶ πειρῶ ὡς ῥᾷστα φέρειν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα. Καὶ ἅμα δακρύσας, μεταστρεφόμενος ἀπῄει. Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὸν, Καὶ σὺ, ἔφη, χαῖρε· καὶ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα ποιήσομεν. Καὶ ἅμα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, Ὡς ἀστεῖος, ἔφη, ὁ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ παρὰ πάντα μοι τὸν χρόνον προσῄει, καὶ διελέγετο ἐνίοτε· καὶ ἦν ἀνδρῶν λῷστος· καὶ νῦν ὡς γενναίως με ἀποδακρύει. Ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Κρίτων, πειθώμεθα αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐνεγκάτω τις τὸ φάρμακον, εἰ τέτριπται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τριψάτω ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Καὶ ὁ Κρίτων, Ἀλλ' οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἔγωγε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔτι ἥλιον εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι, καὶ οὔπω δεδυκέναι. καὶ ἅμα ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ ἄλλους πάνυ ὀψὲ πίνοντας, ἐπειδὰν παραγγελθῇ αὐτοῖς, δειπνήσαντάς τε καὶ πιόντας εὖ μάλα, καὶ συγγενομένους γ' ἐνίους ὧν ἂν τύχωσιν ἐπιθυμοῦντες. ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἐπείγου· ἔτι γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ. Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Εἰκότως γ', ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων, ἐκεῖνοί τε ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, ἃ σὺ λέγεις, οἴονται γὰρ κερδανεῖν ταῦτα ποιήσαντες· καὶ ἔγωγε εἰκότως

ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ οἶμαι κερδανεῖν, ὀλίγον ὕστερον πιὼν, ἄλλο γε ἢ γέλωτα ὀφλήσειν παρ' ἐμαυτῷ, γλιχόμενος τοῦ ζῆν, καὶ φειδόμενος οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἐνόντος. Ἀλλ' ἴθι, ἔφη, πείθου, καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποίει.

ξς'. Καὶ ὁ Κρίτων ἀκούσας ἔνευσε τῷ παιδὶ πλησίον ἑστῶτι· καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐξελθὼν, καὶ συχνὸν χρόνον διατρίψας, ἧκεν ἄγων τὸν μέλλοντα δώσειν τὸ φάρμακον, ἐν κύλικι φέροντα τετριμμένον. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Σωκράτης τὸν ἄνθρωπον, Εἶεν, ἔφη, ὦ βέλτιστε, (σὺ γὰρ τούτων ἐπιστήμων,) τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; Οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἔφη, ἢ πιόντα περιιέναι, ἕως ἄν σου βάρος ἐν τοῖς σκέλεσι γένηται· ἔπειτα κατακεῖσθαι· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ ποιήσει. Καὶ ἅμα ὤρεξε τὴν κύλικα τῷ Σωκράτει. Καὶ ὃς λαβὼν καὶ μάλα ἵλεως, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, οὐδὲν τρέσας οὐδὲ διαφθείρας οὔτε τοῦ χρώματος οὔτε τοῦ προσώπου, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ εἰώθει, [1] ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, Τί λέγεις, ἔφη, περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πόματος, πρὸς τὸ ἀποσπεῖσαί τινι; ἔξεστιν, ἢ οὔ; Τοσοῦτον, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τρίβομεν, ὅσον οἰόμεθα μέτριον εἶναι πιεῖν. Μανθάνω, ἦ δ' ὅς· ἀλλ' εὔχεσθαί γέ που τοῖς θεοῖς ἔξεστί τε καὶ χρὴ, τὴν μετοίκησιν τὴν ἐνθένδε ἐκεῖσε εὐτυχῆ γενέσθαι· ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ εὔχομαί τε, καὶ γένοιτο ταύτῃ. Καὶ ἅμα εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπισχόμενος καὶ μάλα εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως ἐξέπιε. Καὶ ἡμῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τέως μὲν ἐπιεικῶς οἷοί τε ἦσαν κατέχειν τὸ μὴ δακρύειν· ὡς δὲ εἴδομεν πίνοντά τε καὶ πεπωκότα, οὐκέτι. [2] Ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ γε, βίᾳ καὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀστακτὶ ἐχώρει τὰ δάκρυα· ὥστε ἐγκαλυψάμενος ἀπέκλαιον ἐμαυτόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖνόν γε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τύχην, οἵου ἀνδρὸς ἑταίρου ἐστερημένος εἴην. Ὁ δὲ Κρίτων ἔτι πρότερος ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα, ἐξανέστη. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ οὐδὲν ἐπαύετο δακρύων, καὶ

δὴ καὶ τότε ἀναβρυχησάμενος, κλαίων καὶ ἀγανακτῶν, [1] οὐδένα ὅντινα οὐ κατέκλαυσε τῶν παρόντων, πλήν γε αὐτοῦ Σωκράτους. Ἐκεῖνος δέ, Οἷα, ἔφη, ποιεῖτε, ὦ θαυμάσιοι! ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐχ ἥκιστα τούτου ἕνεκα τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπέπεμψα, ἵνα μὴ τοιαῦτα πλημμελοῖεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀκήκοα, ὅτι ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χρὴ τελευτᾶν. ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν τε ἄγετε, καὶ καρτερεῖτε. Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαντες ᾐσχύνθημέν τε καὶ ἐπέσχομεν τοῦ δακρύειν. Ὁ δὲ περιελθών, ἐπειδή οἱ βαρύνεσθαι ἔφη τὰ σκέλη, κατεκλίθη ὕπτιος· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. καὶ ἅμα ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτοῦ οὗτος ὁ δοὺς τὸ φάρμακον, διαλιπὼν χρόνον, ἐπεσκόπει τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰ σκέλη· κἄπειτα σφόδρα πιέσας αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα, ἤρετο, εἰ αἰσθάνοιτο· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔφη· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὖθις τὰς κνήμας, καὶ ἐπανιὼν οὕτως, ἡμῖν ἐπεδείκνυτο, ὅτι [2] ψύχοιτό τε καὶ πήγνυτο. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἥπτετο, καὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐπειδὰν πρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ γένηται αὐτῷ, τότε οἰχήσεται. Ἤδη οὖν σχεδόν τι αὐτοῦ ἦν τὰ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον ψυχόμενα, καὶ ἐκκαλυψάμενος, (ἐνεκεκάλυπτο γάρ,) εἶπεν, (ὃ δὴ τελευταῖον ἐφθέγξατο,) Ὦ Κρίτων, ἔφη, [3] τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὀφείλομεν ἀλεκτρυόνα· ἀλλὰ ἀπόδοτε, καὶ μὴ ἀμελήσητε. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἔσται, ἔφη ὁ Κρίτων· ἀλλ' ὅρα, εἴ τι ἄλλο λέγεις. Ταῦτα ἐρομένου αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀπεκρίνατο· ἀλλ' ὀλίγον χρόνον διαλιπών, ἐκινήθη τε, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξεκάλυψεν αὐτόν. Καὶ ὃς τὰ ὄμματα ἔστησεν· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Κρίτων [4] συνέλαβε τὸ στόμα τε καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

ξζ΄. *Ἥδε ἡ τελευτή, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, τοῦ ἑταίρου ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, [5] ἀνδρός, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαῖμεν ἄν, τῶν τότε ὧν ἐπειράθημεν ἀρίστου, καὶ ἄλλως φρονιμωτάτου καὶ δικαιοτάτου.*

III.

[1]Ex ARISTOTELE.

Ad Edit. Guil. Du Val. Paris. 1654. iv. tom. in Fol.]

Abundantiâ quadam ingenii praestabat, ut mihi quidem videtur Aristoteles. Cicero Acad. I. 4.

[2]*ΕΚ ΤΟΥ*

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ

ΗΘΙΚΩΝ ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΕΙΩΝ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ Δ'.

* * *

[3]*ΚΕΦ. ζ'.*

Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας, ὅτι περὶ τιμάς ἐστι μάλιστα.

* * *

—*ΔΟΚΕΙ*—μεγαλόψυχος εἶναι ὁ μεγάλων αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν, ἄξιος ὤν· [4] ὁ γὰρ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτὸ ποιῶν, ἠλίθιος· τῶν δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν οὐδεὶς ἠλίθιος, οὐδ' ἀνόητος. Μεγαλόψυχος μὲν οὖν ὁ εἰρημένος. ὁ γὰρ μικρῶν ἄξιος, καὶ τούτων ἀξιῶν ἑαυτὸν, σώφρων, μεγαλόψυχος δ' οὔ· ἐν μεγέθει γὰρ ἡ μεγαλοψυχία, ὥσπερ καὶ [5] τὸ κάλλος ἐν μεγάλῳ σώματι· οἱ μικροὶ δ'

ἀστεῖοι καὶ σύμμετροι, καλοὶ δ' οὔ. ὁ δὲ μεγάλων αὑτὸν ἀξιῶν, ἀνάξιος ὤν, χαῦνος· [1] ὁ δὲ μειζόνων, ἢ ἄξιος, οὐ πᾶς χαῦνος· ὁ δ' ἐλαττόνων, ἢ ἄξιος, μικρόψυχος, ἐάν τε μεγάλων, ἐάν τε μετρίων, ἐάν τε καὶ μικρῶν ἄξιος ὤν, ἔτι ἐλαττόνων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιοῖ,—καὶ μάλιστα ἂν δόξειεν ὁ μεγάλων ἄξιος· [2] τί γὰρ ἂν ἐποίει, εἰ μὴ τοιούτων ἦν ἄξιος; [3] Ἔστι δὴ ὁ μεγαλόψυχος τῷ μὲν μεγέθει ἄκρος, τῷ δὲ, ὡς δεῖ, μέσος· τοῦ γὰρ κατ' ἀξίαν ἑαυτὸν ἀξιοῖ· οἱ δ' ὑπερβάλλουσι, καὶ ἐλλείπουσιν. Εἰ δὲ δὴ μεγάλων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιοῖ, ἄξιος ὤν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μεγίστων, [4] περὶ ἓν μάλιστα ἂν εἴη· [τί οὖν τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας ληπτέον·] ἡ δὲ ἀξία λέγεται πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθά· μέγιστον δὲ τοῦτ' ἂν θείημεν, ὃ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπονέμομεν, καὶ οὗ μάλιστα ἐφίενται οἱ ἐν ἀξιώματι, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις ἆθλον· τοιοῦτον δ' ἡ τιμή· μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν. Περὶ τιμὰς δὴ καὶ ἀτιμίας ὁ μεγαλόψυχός ἐστιν, ὡς δεῖ. [5] Καὶ ἄνευ δὲ λόγου φαίνονται οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι περὶ τιμὴν εἶναι· τιμῆς γὰρ μάλισθ' οἱ μεγάλοι ἀξιοῦσιν ἑαυτούς· κατ' ἀξίαν δέ· ὁ δὲ μικρόψυχος ἐλλείπει καὶ πρὸς αὑτὸν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ μεγαλοψύχου ἀξίωμα· ὁ δὲ χαῦνος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν μὲν ὑπερβάλλει· οὐ μὴν τόν γε μεγαλόψυχον. Ὁ δὲ μεγαλόψυχος, εἴπερ τῶν μεγίστων ἄξιος, ἄριστος ἂν εἴη· μείζονος γὰρ ἀεὶ ὁ βελτίων ἄξιος, καὶ μεγίστων ὁ ἄριστος. Τὸν [6] ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄρα μεγαλόψυχον δεῖ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι· [7] καὶ δόξειε δ' ἂν εἶναι μεγαλοψύχου τὸ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἀρετῇ μέγα· οὐδαμῶς τ' ἂν ἁρμόζοι μεγαλοψύχῳ φεύγειν παρασείσαντι, οὐδὲ ἀδικεῖν· τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκα πράξει αἰσχρὰ, ᾧ οὐθὲν μέγα; Καθ' ἕκαστα δ' ἐπισκοποῦντι πάμπαν γελοῖος φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὁ μεγαλόψυχος, μὴ ἀγαθὸς ὤν. Οὐκ εἴη δ' ἂν οὐδὲ τιμῆς ἄξιος, φαῦλος ὤν· τῆς ἀρετῆς γὰρ ἆθλον ἡ τιμὴ, καὶ ἀπονέμε-

ται τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. Ἔοικε μὲν οὖν ἡ μεγαλοψυχία οἷον κόσμος τις εἶναι τῶν ἀρετῶν· μείζους γὰρ αὐτὰς ποιεῖ, καὶ οὐ γίνεται ἄνευ ἐκείνων. διὰ τοῦτο χαλεπὸν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μεγαλόψυχον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἄνευ καλοκἀγαθίας. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν περὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀτιμίας ὁ μεγαλόψυχός ἐστι· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς μεγάλαις, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων, μετρίως ἡσθήσεται, ὡς τῶν οἰκείων τυγχάνων, ἢ καὶ ἐλαττόνων· ἀρετῆς γὰρ παντελοῦς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο ἀξία τιμή· [1] οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀποδέξεταί γε, τῷ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς μείζω αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν. Τῆς δὲ [2] παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ μικροῖς, πάμπαν ὀλιγωρήσει· οὐ γὰρ τούτων ἄξιος. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀτιμίας· οὐ γὰρ ἔσται δικαίως περὶ αὐτόν. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ὁ μεγαλόψυχος περὶ τιμάς. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δυναστείαν, καὶ πᾶσαν εὐτυχίαν καὶ ἀτυχίαν μετρίως ἕξει, ὅπως ἂν γένηται· καὶ οὔτ' εὐτυχῶν περιχαρὴς ἔσται, οὔτε ἀτυχῶν περίλυπος. [3] οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τιμὴν οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς μέγιστον ὄν· αἱ γὰρ δυναστεῖαι καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος διὰ τὴν τιμήν ἐστιν αἱρετά· οἱ γοῦν ἔχοντες αὐτά, τιμᾶσθαι δι' αὐτῶν βούλονται· ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ μικρόν ἐστι, τούτῳ καὶ τἆλλα.

[4] ΚΕΦ. η΄.

Τίνες αἱ κατὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν πράξεις.

[5] Διὸ καὶ ὑπερόπται δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. Δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ εὐτυχήματα συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς μεγαλοψυχίαν· οἱ γὰρ εὐγενεῖς ἀξιοῦνται τιμῆς· καὶ οἱ δυναστεύοντες, ἢ οἱ πλουτοῦντες· ἐν ὑπεροχῇ γάρ· [6] τὸ δ' ἀγαθῷ ὑπερέχον

πᾶν, ἐντιμότερον. Διὸ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μεγαλοψυχοτέρους ποιεῖ· τιμῶνται γὰρ ὑπὸ τινῶν. Κατ' ἀλήθειαν δὲ ὁ ἀγαθὸς μόνος τιμητός· ᾧ δ' ἄμφω ὑπάρχει, μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦται τιμῆς· οἱ δ' ἄνευ ἀρετῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἔχοντες, οὔτε δικαίως ἑαυτοὺς μεγάλων ἀξιοῦσιν, οὔτε ὀρθῶς μεγαλόψυχοι λέγονται· ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρετῆς παντελοῦς οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Ὑπερόπται δὲ καὶ ὑβρισταὶ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχοντες, κακοὶ γίγνονται· ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὐ ῥᾴδιον φέρειν ἐμμελῶς τὰ εὐτυχήματα· οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ φέρειν, καὶ οἰόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχειν, ἐκείνων μὲν καταφρονοῦσιν· αὐτοὶ δὲ, ὅ τι ἂν τύχωσι, πράττουσι· μιμοῦνται γὰρ τὸν μεγαλόψυχον, οὐχ ὅμοιοι ὄντες, τοῦτο δὲ δρῶσιν, ἐν οἷς δύνανται· τὰ μὲν οὖν κατ' ἀρετὴν οὐ πράττουσι· καταφρονοῦσι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων. Ὁ δὲ μεγαλόψυχος δικαίως καταφρονεῖ· δοξάζει γὰρ ἀληθῶς· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τυχόντως. Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ [1] μικροκίνδυνος, οὐδὲ φιλοκίνδυνος, διὰ τὸ ὀλίγα τιμᾶν· μεγαλοκίνδυνος δέ· καὶ ὅταν κινδυνεύῃ, ἀφειδὴς τοῦ βίου, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον ὂν πάντως ζῆν. Καὶ οἷος εὖ ποιεῖν, εὐεργετούμενος δ' αἰσχύνεται· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπερέχοντος, τὸ δὲ ὑπερεχομένου. [2] Καὶ ἀντευεργετικὸς πλειόνων· [3] οὕτω γὰρ προσοφλήσει ὁ ὑπάρξας, καὶ ἔσται εὖ πεπονθώς. Δοκοῦσι δὲ καὶ μνημονεύειν, οὓς ἂν ποιήσωσιν εὖ· [4] ὧν δ' ἂν πάθωσιν, οὔ· ἐλάττων γὰρ ὁ παθὼν εὖ τοῦ ποιήσαντος· βούλεται δὲ ὑπερέχειν· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡδέως ἀκούει, τὰ δ' ἀηδῶς. [5] Διὸ καὶ τὴν Θέτιν οὐ λέγειν τὰς εὐεργεσίας τῷ Διΐ· [6] οὐδ' οἱ Λάκωνες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἃ πεπόνθεσαν εὖ. Μεγαλοψύχου δὲ καὶ τὸ μηθενὸς δεῖσθαι, ἢ μόγις· ὑπηρετεῖν δὲ προθύμως· καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ εὐτυχίαις, μέγαν εἶναι· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μέσους, μέτριον· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑπερέχειν, χαλεπὸν καὶ σεμνόν· τῶν δὲ, ῥᾴδιον· καὶ ἐν

ἐκείνοις μὲν σεμνύνεσθαι οὐκ ἀγεννές· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς φορτικὸν, ὥσπερ εἰς τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἰσχυρίζεσθαι. Καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔντιμα μὴ ἰέναι, ἢ οὗ πρωτεύουσιν ἄλλοι. καὶ ἀργὸν εἶναι καὶ μελλητὴν, ἀλλ' ἢ ὅπου τιμὴ μεγάλη ἢ ἔργον. καὶ ὀλίγων μὲν πρακτικὸν, μεγάλων δὲ καὶ ὀνομαστῶν. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ φανερόμισον εἶναι καὶ φανερόφιλον· τὸ γὰρ λανθάνειν, φοβουμένου. Καὶ μέλειν τῆς ἀληθείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς δόξης, καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν φανερῶς· *[1] καταφρονητικοῦ γάρ· διὸ παῤῥησιαστικός· παῤῥησιαστικοῦ δὲ, διὸ καταφρονητικὸς καὶ ἀληθευτικός· πλὴν ὅσα μὴ δι' εἰρωνείαν· εἴρωνα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς. Καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον μὴ δύνασθαι ζῆν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς φίλον· δουλικὸν γάρ. Διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ κόλακες θητικοί· καὶ οἱ ταπεινοὶ κόλακες. Οὐδὲ θαυμαστικός· οὐθὲν γὰρ μέγα αὐτῷ ἐστιν. Οὐδὲ μνησίκακος· οὐ γὰρ μεγαλοψύχου τὸ ἀπομνημονεύειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ κακά· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον παρορᾶν. Οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπολόγος· οὔτε γὰρ περὶ αὑτοῦ ἐρεῖ, οὔτε περὶ ἑτέρου· οὔτε γὰρ ἵνα ἐπαινῆται, μέλει αὐτῷ, οὐθ' ὅπως οἱ ἄλλοι ψέγωνται. Οὐδ' αὖ ἐπαινετικός ἐστι· διόπερ οὐδὲ κακολόγος, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, εἰ μὴ δι' ὕβριν. Καὶ περὶ ἀναγκαίων ἢ μικρῶν ἥκιστα ὀλοφυρτικὸς καὶ δεητικός· [2] σπουδάζοντος γὰρ οὕτως ἔχειν περὶ ταῦτα. Καὶ οἷος κεκτῆσθαι μᾶλλον τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἄκαρπα τῶν καρπίμων καὶ ὠφελίμων· αὐτάρκους γὰρ μᾶλλον. Καὶ κίνησις δὲ βραδεῖα τοῦ μεγαλοψύχου δοκεῖ εἶναι, καὶ φωνὴ βαρεῖα, καὶ λέξις στάσιμος· οὐ γὰρ σπευστικὸς, ὁ περὶ ὀλίγα σπουδάζων· οὐδὲ σύντονος,

* Lege, cum MSS. Victorii et Turnebi, παῤῥησιαστὴς γάρ, διὰ τὸ καταφρονητικὸς εἶναι· καταφρονητικὸς δὲ, διὰ τὸ παῤῥησιαστικὸς καὶ ἀληθευτικός· πλὴν, &c. Vide notam.

ὁ μηθὲν μέγα οἰόμενος· ἡ δ' ὀξυφωνία καὶ ἡ ταχύτης διὰ τούτων. Τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν ὁ μεγαλόψυχος.

[1] ΚΕΦ. θ'.

Περὶ τοῦ μικροψύχου καὶ τοῦ χαύνου.

Ὁ δ' ἐλλείπων, μικρόψυχος· ὁ δ' ὑπερβάλλων, χαῦνος. οὐ κακοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκοῦσιν εἶναι οὐδ' οὗτοι· οὐ γὰρ κακοποιοί εἰσιν· ἡμαρτημένοι δέ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μικρόψυχος, ἄξιος ὢν ἀγαθῶν, ἑαυτὸν ἀποστερεῖ, ὧν ἄξιός ἐστι. καὶ ἔοικε κακὸν ἔχειν τι, ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἀξιοῦν ἑαυτὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἀγνοεῖν δ' ἑαυτόν· [2] ὠρέγετο γὰρ ἄν, ὧν ἄξιος ἦν, ἀγαθῶν γε ὄντων. οὐ μὴν ἠλίθιοί γε οἱ τοιοῦτοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὀκνηροί. ἡ τοιαύτη δὲ δόξα δοκεῖ καὶ χείρους ποιεῖν· ἕκαστοι γὰρ ἐφίενται τῶν κατ' ἀξίαν· [3] ἀφίστανται δὲ καὶ τῶν πράξεων τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ὡς ἀνάξιοι ὄντες· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀγαθῶν. Οἱ δὲ χαῦνοι, ἠλίθιοι, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοοῦντες, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιφανῶς· ὡς γὰρ ἄξιοι ὄντες, τοῖς ἐντίμοις ἐπιχειροῦσιν, εἶτα ἐξελέγχονται. καὶ ἐσθῆτι κοσμοῦνται, καὶ σχήματι, καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις· καὶ βούλονται τὰ εὐτυχήματα φανερὰ εἶναι αὐτῶν· καὶ λέγουσι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς διὰ τούτων τιμηθησόμενοι. Ἀντιτίθεται δὲ τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ ἡ μικροψυχία μᾶλλον τῆς χαυνότητος· καὶ γὰρ γίγνεται μᾶλλον, καὶ χεῖρόν ἐστιν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν μεγαλοψυχία περὶ τιμήν ἐστι μεγάλην, ὥσπερ εἴρηται.

[1] ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ Η'.

ΚΕΦ. α'.

Ὅτι περὶ φιλίας σκεπτέον· καὶ ἔπαινος αὐτῆς.

[2] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, περὶ φιλίας ἕποιτ' ἂν διελθεῖν· ἔστι γὰρ ἀρετή τις, ἢ μετ' ἀρετῆς. Ἔτι δ', ἀναγκαιότατον εἰς τὸν βίον· ἄνευ γὰρ φίλων, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἕλοιτο ζῆν, ἔχων τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα. καὶ γὰρ πλουτοῦσι, καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ δυναστείας κεκτημένοις, δοκεῖ μάλιστα φίλων εἶναι χρεία. τί γὰρ ὄφελος τῆς τοιαύτης εὐετηρίας, ἀφαιρεθείσης εὐεργεσίας, ἣ γίγνεται μάλιστα καὶ ἐπαινετωτάτη πρὸς φίλους; ἢ πῶς ἂν τηρηθείη καὶ σώζοιτο ἄνευ φίλων; ὅσῳ γὰρ πλείων, τοσούτῳ ἐπισφαλεστέρα. Ἐν πενίᾳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς δυστυχίαις, μόνην οἴονται καταφυγὴν εἶναι τοὺς φίλους. [3] Καὶ νέοις δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀναμάρτητον· καὶ πρεσβυτέροις πρὸς θεραπείαν, καὶ τὸ ἐλλεῖπον τῆς πράξεως δι' ἀσθένειαν βοηθείας· τοῖς τ' ἐν ἀκμῇ, πρὸς τὰς καλὰς πράξεις,

—[4] Σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω,—

καὶ γὰρ νοῆσαι καὶ πρᾶξαι δυνατώτεροι. Φύσει τ' ἐνυπάρχειν ἔοικε πρὸς τὸ γεγεννημένον τῷ γεννήσαντι· καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὀρνέοις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ζώων· καὶ τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσι πρὸς ἄλληλα· καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ὅθεν τοὺς φιλανθρώπους ἐπαινοῦμεν. Ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλάναις, ὡς οἰκεῖον ἅπας ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ φίλον. Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τὰς πόλεις συνέχειν ἡ φιλία· καὶ οἱ νομοθέται μᾶλλον περὶ αὐτὴν σπουδάζειν, ἢ τὴν δικαιοσύνην· ἡ γὰρ ὁμόνοια ὅμοιόν τι τῇ φιλίᾳ ἔοικεν εἶναι· ταύτης δὲ μάλιστα ἐφίενται, καὶ

τὴν στάσιν, ἔχθραν οὖσαν, μάλιστα ἐξελαύνουσι. Καὶ φίλων μὲν ὄντων, οὐδὲν δεῖ δικαιοσύνης· δίκαιοι δὲ ὄντες, προσδέονται φιλίας. [1] Καὶ τῶν δικαίων τὸ μάλιστα φιλικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καλόν· τοὺς γὰρ φιλοφίλους ἐπαινοῦμεν· ἥ τε φιλοφιλία δοκεῖ τῶν καλῶν ἕν τι εἶναι. Ἔτι, καὶ ἔνιοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας οἴονται ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ φίλους.

[1] ΕΚ ΤΟΥ

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ

ΤΕΧΝΗΣ ῬΗΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΥ Β'.

* * *

ΚΕΦ. ιβ'.

Περὶ παθῶν καὶ ἕξεων τῶν νέων.

* [2] ΤΑ δὲ ἤθη ποῖοί τινες, καὶ τὰ πάθη, καὶ τὰς ἕξεις, κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας, καὶ τὰς τύχας, διέλθωμεν μετὰ ταῦτα. Λέγω δὲ πάθη μὲν, ὀργὴν, ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν πρότερον· ἕξεις δὲ, ἀρετὰς, καὶ κακίας· εἴρηται δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων πρότερον, [3] καὶ ποῖα προαιροῦνται ἕκαστοι, καὶ ποίων πρακτικοί. Ἡλικίαι δέ εἰσι, νεότης, καὶ ἀκμὴ, καὶ γῆρας. Τύχην δὲ λέγω, εὐγένειαν, καὶ πλοῦτον, καὶ δυνάμεις, καὶ τἀναντία τούτοις, καὶ ὅλως εὐτυχίαν, καὶ δυστυχίαν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν νέοι [4] τὰ ἤθη εἰσὶν ἐπιθυμητικοὶ, καὶ οἷοι ποιεῖν, ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσι. καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπιθυμιῶν μάλιστα ἀκολουθητικοί εἰσι τῆς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, καὶ ἀκρατεῖς ταύτης. [5] εὐμετάβολοι δὲ καὶ ἁψίκοροι

* Lege, cum Gesnero, *Τὰ ἤθη ποῖοί τινες, καὶ τὰ πάθη, καὶ τὰς ἕξεις, κατὰ τὰς ἡλικιας, καὶ τὰς τύχας, διέλθωμεν*—κ. τ. λ. Vide notam.

πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας· καὶ σφόδρα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταχὺ δὲ παύονται· ὀξεῖαι γὰρ αἱ βουλήσεις, καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι, ὥσπερ αἱ τῶν καμνόντων δίψαι καὶ πεῖναι. Καὶ θυμικοὶ, καὶ ὀξύθυμοι, καὶ οἷοι ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ ὁρμῇ· καὶ [1] ἥττους εἰσὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ φιλοτιμίαν οὐκ ἀνέχονται ὀλιγωρούμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀγανακτοῦσιν, ἂν οἴωνται ἀδικεῖσθαι. Καὶ φιλότιμοι μέν εἰσι, μᾶλλον δὲ φιλόνικοι· ὑπεροχῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ νεότης· ἡ δὲ νίκη ὑπεροχή τις· καὶ [2] ἄμφω ταῦτα μᾶλλον, ἢ φιλοχρήματοι· φιλοχρήματοι δὲ ἥκιστα, διὰ τὸ μήπω ἐνδείας πεπειρᾶσθαι· ὥσπερ τὸ [3] Πιττακοῦ ἔχει ἀπόφθεγμα εἰς Ἀμφιάραον. Καὶ οὐ κακοήθεις, ἀλλ' εὐήθεις, διὰ τὸ μήπω τεθεωρηκέναι πολλὰς πονηρίας. Καὶ εὔπιστοι, διὰ τὸ μήπω πολλὰ ἐξηπατῆσθαι. Καὶ εὐέλπιδες· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ οἰνωμένοι, οὕτω διάθερμοί εἰσιν οἱ νέοι ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως· ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μήπω πολλὰ ἀποτετυχηκέναι. Καὶ ζῶσι τὰ πλεῖστα ἐλπίδι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπὶς τοῦ μέλλοντός ἐστιν· ἡ δὲ μνήμη τοῦ παροιχομένου· τοῖς δὲ νέοις τὸ μὲν μέλλον πολύ· τὸ δὲ παρεληλυθὸς βραχύ· [4] τῇ γὰρ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μεμνῆσθαι μὲν οὐδὲν οἴονται, ἐλπίζειν δὲ πάντα. Καὶ εὐεξαπάτητοί εἰσι διὰ τὸ εἰρημένον· ἐλπίζουσι γὰρ ῥᾳδίως. Καὶ ἀνδρειότεροι· θυμώδεις γὰρ καὶ εὐέλπιδες· ὧν τὸ μὲν, μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ, θαῤῥεῖν ποιεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ ὀργιζόμενος οὐδεὶς φοβεῖται· τό τε ἐλπίζειν ἀγαθόν τι, θαῤῥαλέον ἐστί. Καὶ αἰσχυντηλοί· [5] οὐ γάρ πω καλὰ ἕτερα ὑπολαμβάνουσιν, ἀλλὰ πεπαίδευνται [6] ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου μόνον. Καὶ μεγαλόψυχοι· οὔτε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ βίου οὔπω τεταπείνωνται, ἀλλὰ τῶν [7] ἀναγκαίων ἄπειροί εἰσι· καὶ τὸ ἀξιοῦν αὑτὸν μεγάλων, μεγαλοψυχία· τοῦτο δ' εὐέλπιδος. Καὶ μᾶλλον αἱροῦνται πράττειν [8] τὰ καλὰ τῶν συμφερόντων· [9] τῷ γὰρ ἤθει ζῶσι μᾶλλον, ἢ τῷ λογισμῷ· ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν λογισμὸς τοῦ

συμφέροντος· ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ τοῦ καλοῦ. Καὶ φιλόφιλοι καὶ φιλέταιροι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἡλικιῶν, διὰ τὸ χαίρειν [1] τῷ συζῆν, καὶ μήπω πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον κρίνειν μηδέν· ὥστε μηδὲ τοὺς φίλους. Καὶ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ σφοδρότερον ἁμαρτάνουσι, [2] παρὰ τὸ Χιλώνειον· πάντα γὰρ ἄγαν πράττουσι· φιλοῦσί τε γὰρ ἄγαν, καὶ μισοῦσιν ἄγαν, καὶ ἄλλα πάντα ὁμοίως. Οἵ καὶ εἰδέναι πάντα οἴονται, καὶ [3] διϊσχυρίζονται· τοῦτο γὰρ αἴτιόν ἐστι καὶ τοῦ πάντα ἄγαν. Καὶ [4] τὰ ἀδικήματα ἀδικοῦσιν εἰς ὕβριν, καὶ οὐ κακουργίαν. Καὶ ἐλεητικοὶ, διὰ τὸ πάντας χρηστοὺς καὶ βελτίους ὑπολαμβάνειν· τῇ γὰρ αὑτῶν ἀκακίᾳ [5] τοὺς πέλας μετροῦσιν· ὥστ' ἀνάξια πάσχειν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτούς. Καὶ φιλογέλωτες· διὸ καὶ εὐτράπελοι· [6] ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπελία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις ἐστί. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν νέων τοιοῦτον ἦθός ἐστιν.

ΚΕΦ. ιγ'.

Περὶ παθῶν καὶ ἕξεων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων.

Οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ παρηκμακότες σχεδὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχουσιν ἤθη· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλὰ ἔτη βεβιωκέναι, καὶ πλείω ἐξηπατῆσθαι, καὶ ἡμαρτηκέναι, καὶ τὰ πλείω φαῦλα εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, [7] οὔτε διαβεβαιοῦνται οὐδέν· ἧττόν τε ἄγαν ἅπαντα, ἢ δεῖ. Καὶ οἴονται, ἴσασι δὲ οὐδέν· καὶ ἀμφισβητοῦντες προστιθέασιν ἀεὶ τὸ "ἴσως καὶ τάχα·" καὶ πάντα λέγουσιν οὕτω· παγίως δὲ οὐδέν. Καὶ κακοήθεις εἰσίν· ἔστι γὰρ κακοήθεια τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὑπολαμβάνειν ἅπαντα. Ετι δὲ [8] καχύποπτοί εἰσι διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν· ἄπιστοι δὲ

δι' ἐμπειρίαν. Καὶ οὔτε φιλοῦσι σφόδρα, οὔτε μισοῦσι, διὰ ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν [1] Βίαντος ὑποθήκην, καὶ φιλοῦσιν ὡς μισήσοντες, καὶ μισοῦσιν ὡς φιλήσοντες. Καὶ μικρόψυχοι, διὰ τὸ τεταπεινῶσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βίου· οὐδενὸς γὰρ μεγάλου, οὐδὲ περιττοῦ, ἀλλὰ [2] τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐπιθυμοῦσι. Καὶ ἀνελεύθεροι· ἕν γάρ τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡ οὐσία· ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἴσασιν, ὡς χαλεπὸν τὸ κτήσασθαι, καὶ ῥᾴδιον τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν. Καὶ δειλοί, καὶ πάντα προφοβητικοί· ἐναντίως γὰρ διάκεινται τοῖς νέοις· κατεψυγμένοι γάρ εἰσιν· οἱ δὲ θερμοί· ὥστε προωδοπεποίηκε τὸ γῆρας τῇ δειλίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ φόβος κατάψυξίς τίς ἐστι. Καὶ φιλόζωοι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ [3] τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀπόντος εἶναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν· καὶ οὗ [δὲ] ἐνδεεῖς, τούτου μάλιστα ἐπιθυμοῦσι. Καὶ φίλαυτοι μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ· μικροψυχία γάρ τις καὶ αὕτη. Καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ζῶσιν, (ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν,) μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ, διὰ τὸ φίλαυτοι εἶναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ συμφέρον αὐτῷ ἀγαθόν ἐστι· τὸ δὲ καλὸν [4] ἁπλῶς. Καὶ ἀναίσχυντοι μᾶλλον ἢ αἰσχυντηλοί· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ φροντίζειν ὁμοίως τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὀλιγωροῦσι τοῦ δοκεῖν. Καὶ δυσέλπιδες διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν—τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν πραγμάτων φαῦλά ἐστιν· ἀποβαίνει γοῦν τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον—καὶ ἔτι διὰ τὴν δειλίαν. Καὶ ζῶσι τῇ μνήμῃ μᾶλλον, ἢ τῇ ἐλπίδι· τοῦ γὰρ βίου το μὲν λοιπὸν ὀλίγον· τὸ δὲ παρεληλυθὸς πολύ· ἔστι δὲ ἡ μὲν ἐλπὶς τοῦ μέλλοντος· ἡ δὲ μνήμη τῶν παροιχομένων. Ὅπερ αἴτιον καὶ τῆς ἀδολεσχίας αὐτοῖς· [5] διατελοῦσι γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα λέγοντες· ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι γὰρ ἥδονται. Καὶ οἱ θυμοὶ ὀξεῖς μέν εἰσιν, ἀσθενεῖς δέ. Καὶ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι αἱ μὲν ἐκλελοίπασιν, αἱ δὲ ἀσθενεῖς· ὥστε οὔτε ἐπιθυμητικοί, οὔτε πρακτικοὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος.

διὸ καὶ σωφρονικοὶ φαίνονται οἱ τηλικοῦτοι· αἵ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαι ἀνείκασι, καὶ δουλεύουσι τῷ κέρδει. Καὶ μᾶλλον ζῶσι κατὰ λογισμὸν, ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἦθος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος· τὸ δὲ ἦθος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστι. Καὶ τὰ ἀδικήματα ἀδικοῦσιν εἰς κακουργίαν, οὐκ εἰς ὕβριν. Ἐλεητικοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ γέροντές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταὐτὸ τοῖς νέοις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν· οἱ δὲ δι' ἀσθένειαν· [1] πάντα γὰρ οἴονται ἐγγὺς εἶναι αὐτοῖς παθεῖν· τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐλεητικοῦ. ὅθεν ὀδυρτικοί εἰσι, καὶ οὐκ εὐτράπελοι, οὐδὲ φιλογέλοιοι· ἐναντίον γὰρ τὸ ὀδυρτικὸν τῷ φιλογέλωτι. Τῶν μὲν οὖν νέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τὰ ἤθη τοιαῦτα.

ΚΕΦ. ιδ'

Περὶ ἠθῶν τῆς ἀκμαζούσης ἡλικίας.

Οἱ δὲ ἀκμάζοντες, φανερὸν, ὅτι μεταξὺ τούτων τὸ ἦθος ἔσονται, ἑκατέρων ἀφαιροῦντες τὴν ὑπερβολήν. Καὶ οὔτε σφόδρα θαῤῥοῦντες· [2] θρασύτης γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον· οὔτε λίαν φοβούμενοι· καλῶς δὲ πρὸς ἄμφω ἔχοντες. οὔτε πᾶσι πιστεύοντες, οὔτε πᾶσιν ἀπιστοῦντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς κρίνοντες μᾶλλον. Καὶ οὔτε πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ζῶντες μόνον, οὔτε πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἄμφω. Καὶ οὔτε πρὸς φειδῶ, οὔτε πρὸς ἀσωτίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἁρμόττον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς θυμὸν, καὶ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν Καὶ σώφρονες μετὰ ἀνδρίας, καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι μετὰ σωφροσύνης· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς νέοις καὶ τοῖς γέρουσι διῄρηται ταῦτα· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν νέοι ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι· οἱ δὲ πρεσ-

βύτεροι σώφρονες καὶ δειλοί. Ὡς δὲ καθόλου εἰπεῖν, ὅσα μὲν διῄρηται ἡ νεότης καὶ τὸ γῆρας τῶν ὠφελίμων, ταῦτα ἄμφω ἔχουσιν· ὅσα δὲ ὑπερβάλλουσιν, ἢ ἐλλείπουσι, τούτων τὸ μέτριον καὶ τὸ ἁρμόττον. Ἀκμάζει δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα· ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ [1] περὶ τὰ ἑνὸς δεῖν πεντήκοντα. Περὶ μὲν οὖν νεότητος καὶ γήρως καὶ ἀκμῆς, ποίων ἠθῶν ἐστιν ἕκαστον, εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα.

ΚΕΦ. ιέ

Το τῶν εὐγενῶν ἦθος ποῖον

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπο τύχης γιγνομένων ἀγαθῶν, [2] δι᾽ ὅσα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἤθη ποῖα ἄττα συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, λέγωμεν ἐφεξῆς. Εὐγενειας μὲν οὖν ἦθός ἐστι τὸ φιλοτιμότερον εἶναι τὸν κεκτημένον αὐτήν· πάντες γὰρ, ὅταν ὑπάρχῃ τι, πρὸς τοῦτο σωρεύειν εἰώθασιν. [3] Ἡ δὲ εὐγένεια ἐντιμότης τις προγόνων ἐστί· καὶ καταφρονητικὸν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς αὐτῶν· [4] διὰ τὸ πόῤῥω ταῦτα μᾶλλον, ἢ ἐγγὺς γιγνόμενα, ἐντιμότερα εἶναι καὶ [5] εὐαλαζόνευτα. Εστι δὲ εὐγενὲς μὲν, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀρετήν· [6] γενναῖον δὲ, κατὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξίστασθαι ἐκ τῆς φύσεως· ὅπερ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οὐ συμβαίνει τοῖς εὐγενέσιν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοὶ εὐτελεῖς. Φορὰ γάρ τίς ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς γένεσιν ἀνδρῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὰς χώρας γιγνομένοις· καὶ ἐνίοτε, ἂν ᾖ ἀγαθὸν τὸ γένος, ἐγγίγνονται διά τινος χρόνου ἄνδρες περιττοί· κἄπειτα [7] πάλιν ἀναδίδωσιν. Ἐξίσταται δὲ τὰ μὲν εὐφυᾶ γένη εἰς μανικώτερα ἤθη· οἷον [8] οἱ ἀπ᾽ Ἀλκιβιάδου, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Διονυ-

σιου τοῦ προτέρου· τὰ δὲ [1] στάσιμα εἰς ἀβελτερίαν καὶ νωθρότητα· οἷον οἱ ἀπὸ Κίμωνος καὶ Περικλέους καὶ Σωκράτους.

ΚΕΦ. ιϛʹ.

Τῷ πλούτῳ ἃ ἕπεται ἤθη.

Τῷ δὲ πλούτῳ ἃ ἕπεται ἤθη, ἐπιπολῆς ἐστιν ἰδεῖν ἅπασιν· ὑβρισταὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑπερήφανοι, [2] πάσχοντές τι ὑπὸ τῆς κτήσεως τοῦ πλούτου· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἔχοντες ἅπαντα τἀγαθὰ, οὕτω διάκεινται· ὁ γὰρ πλοῦτος οἷον τιμή τίς ἐστι τῆς ἀξίας τῶν ἄλλων· διὸ φαίνεται πάντα ὤνια εἶναι αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τρυφεροὶ, [3] καὶ σαλάκωνες· τρυφεροὶ μὲν, διά τε τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν ἔνδειξιν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας σαλάκωνες δὲ καὶ [4] σόλοικοι, διὰ τὸ πάντας εἰωθέναι διατρίβειν περὶ τὸ ἐρώμενον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν· καὶ [5] τὸ οἴεσθαι ζηλοῦν τοὺς ἄλλους ἃ καὶ αὐτοί. ἅμα δὲ καὶ εἰκότως τοῦτο πάσχουσι· πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν [6] οἱ δεόμενοι τῶν ἐχόντων. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Σιμωνίδου εἴρηται περὶ τῶν σοφῶν καὶ πλουσίων πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Ἱέρωνος, ἐρομένην, "Πότερον γενέσθαι κρεῖττον, πλούσιον, ἢ σοφὸν," "Πλούσιον," εἰπεῖν· "τοὺς γὰρ σοφοὺς ὁρᾷν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων θύραις," ἔφη, "διατρίβοντας."—καὶ [7] τὸ οἴεσθαι ἀξίους εἶναι ἄρχειν· ἔχειν γὰρ οἴονται, ὧν ἕνεκεν ἄξιον ἄρχειν. Καὶ [8] ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, ἀνοήτου εὐδαίμονος ἤθους ὁ πλοῦτός ἐστι. Διαφέρει δὲ τοῖς νεωστὶ κεκτημένοις, καὶ τοῖς πάλαι, τὰ ἤθη, τῷ ἅπαντα μᾶλλον, καὶ φαυλότερα τὰ κακὰ ἔχειν τοὺς νεοπλούτους· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀπαιδευσία πλούτου ἐστὶ τὸ νεόπλουτον εἶναι. Καὶ

ἀδικήματα ἀδικοῦσιν οὐ κακουργικά, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὑβριστικά, τὰ δὲ ἀκρατευτικά· οἷον εἰς αἰκίαν καὶ μοιχείαν.

ΚΕΦ. ιζ'.

Τίνα τὰ τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ εὐτυχῶν ἤθη.

Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ δυνάμεως σχεδὸν τὰ πλεῖστα φανερά ἐστιν ἤθη· τὰ μὲν γάρ, τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχει ἡ δύναμις τῷ πλούτῳ· τὰ δέ, βελτίω· φιλοτιμότεροι γὰρ καὶ ἀνδρωδέστεροί εἰσι τὰ ἤθη οἱ δυνάμενοι τῶν πλουσίων, [1] διὰ τὸ ἐφίεσθαι ἔργων, ὅσα ἐξουσία αὐτοῖς πράττειν διὰ τὴν δύναμιν. Καὶ σπουδαστικώτεροι, διὰ τὸ ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ εἶναι, ἀναγκαζόμενοι σκοπεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν δύναμιν. [2] Καὶ σεμνότεροι ἢ βαρύτεροι· ποιεῖ γὰρ [3] ἐμφανεστέρους τὸ ἀξίωμα· διὸ μετριάζουσιν· ἔστι δὲ ἡ σεμνότης, [4] μαλακὴ καὶ εὐσχήμων βαρύτης. Καὶ ἐὰν ἀδικῶσιν, οὐ [5] μικραδικηταί εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ μεγαλάδικοι [6] Ἡ δ' εὐτυχία τὰ μόρια ἔχει τῶν εἰρημένων τὰ ἤθη· εἰς γὰρ ταῦτα συντείνουσιν αἱ [μέγισται] δοκοῦσαι εἶναι εὐτυχίαι. Καὶ ἔτι εἰς εὐτεκνίαν, καὶ τὰ [7] κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἀγαθά, παρασκευάζει ἡ εὐτυχία πλεονεκτεῖν. Ὑπερηφανώτεροι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀλογιστότεροι διὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν εἰσίν. [8] Ἓν δ' ἀκολουθεῖ βέλτιστον ἦθος τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ, ὅτι φιλόθεοί εἰσι, καὶ ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ θεῖόν πως, πιστεύοντες διὰ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν καθ' ἡλικίαν καὶ τύχην ἠθῶν εἴρηται· τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων φανερά ἐστιν· οἷον πένητος καὶ ἀτυχοῦς ἦθος, καὶ ἀδυνάτου.

ΚΕΦ. κ'.

Περὶ παραδειγμάτων, πόσα εἴδη, καὶ πῶς αὐτοῖς καὶ πότε χρηστέον.

* * *

Παραδειγμάτων δὲ εἴδη δύο ἐστίν· ἓν μὲν γάρ ἐστι παραδείγματος εἶδος, τὸ λέγειν πράγματα προγεγενημένα· ἓν δὲ, [1] τὸ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν· τούτου δὲ, ἓν μὲν, παραβολή· ἓν δὲ, λόγοι, οἷον οἱ Αἰσώπειοι, καὶ Λιβυκοί. Ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν παράδειγμα τοιόνδε τι, ὥσπερ εἴ τις λέγοι, Ὅτι δεῖ [2] πρὸς βασιλέα παρασκευάζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐᾷν Αἴγυπτον χειρώσασθαι· καὶ γὰρ πρότερον, Δαρεῖος οὐ πρότερον διέβη, πρὶν Αἴγυπτον λαβεῖν· λαβὼν δὲ, διέβη· καὶ πάλιν, Ξέρξης οὐ πρότερον [3] ἐπεχείρησε, πρὶν ἢ ἔλαβε· λαβὼν δὲ, διέβη· ὥστε καὶ οὗτος, ἂν λάβῃ, διαβήσεται· διὸ οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον. Παραβολὴ δὲ, τὰ Σωκρατικά· οἷον, εἴ τις λέγοι, Ὅτι [4] οὐ δεῖ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχειν· ὅμοιον γὰρ, ὥσπερ εἴ τις τοὺς ἀθλητὰς κληροίη μὴ οἳ ἂν δύνωνται ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἳ ἂν λάχωσιν [5] ἢ τῶν πλωτήρων ὅν τινα δεῖ κυβερνᾷν κληρώσειεν, ὡς δέον τὸν λαχόντα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸν ἐπιστάμενον. Λόγος δὲ, οἷος ὁ Στησιχόρου πρὸς Φάλαριν, καὶ Αἰσώπου ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ. Στησίχορος μὲν γὰρ, ἑλομένων στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῶν Ἱμεραίων Φάλαριν, καὶ μελλόντων φυλακὴν διδόναι τοῦ σώματος, τἆλλα διαλεχθεὶς, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς λόγον· [6] Ὡς "ἵππος κατεῖχε λειμῶνα μόνος· ἐλθόντος δ' ἐλάφου, καὶ διαφθείροντος τὴν νομὴν, βουλόμενος τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν ἔλαφον, ἠρώτα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰ δύναιτο μετ' αὐτοῦ κολάσαι τὸν ἔλαφον. ὁ δ' ἔφησεν, ἐὰν λάβῃ χαλινὸν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβῇ ἐπ' αὐτὸν, ἔχων ἀκόντια. συνομολογήσαντος δὲ, καὶ ἀναβάντος, ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι, αὐτὸς ἐδούλευσεν ἤδη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ

" Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς," ἔφη, " ὁρᾶτε, μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους " βουλόμενοι τιμωρήσασθαι, ταὐτὸ πάθητε τῷ ἵππῳ· τὸν " μὲν γὰρ χαλινὸν ἤδη ἔχετε, ἑλόμενοι στρατηγὸν αὐτοκρά- " τορα· ἐὰν δὲ φυλακὴν δῶτε, καὶ ἀναβῆναι ἐάσητε, δου- " λεύσετε ἤδη Φαλάριδι." Αἴσωπος δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ συνηγο- ρῶν δημαγωγῷ κρινομένῳ περὶ θανάτου, ἔφη, " Αλώ- " πεκα διαβαίνουσαν ποταμὸν ἀπωσθῆναι εἰς φάραγγα· οὐ " δυναμένην δὲ ἐκβῆναι, πολὺν χρόνον κακοπαθεῖν, καὶ " κυνοραϊστὰς πολλοὺς ἔχεσθαι αὐτῆς. Ἐχῖνον δὲ πλα- " νώμενον, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὴν, κατοικτείραντα ἐρωτᾷν, εἰ " ἀφέλοι αὐτῆς τοὺς κυνοραϊστάς· τὴν δὲ οὐκ ἐᾷν· ἐρομέ- " νου δὲ, διὰ τί; φᾶναι, ὅτι οὗτοι μὲν πλήρεις μου ἤδη " εἰσὶ, καὶ ὀλίγον ἕλκουσιν αἷμα· ἐὰν δὲ τούτους ἀφέλῃ, " ἕτεροι ἐλθόντες πεινῶντες, ἐκπιοῦνταί μου τὸ λοιπὸν " αἷμα. Ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς," ἔφη, " ὦ ἄνδρες Σάμιοι, " οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι βλάπτει· πλούσιος γάρ ἐστιν· ἐὰν δὲ " τοῦτον ἀποκτείνητε, ἕτεροι ἥξουσι πένητες, οἳ ὑμῖν ἀνα- " λώσουσι τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτοντες." Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ λόγοι δημη- γορικοὶ, καὶ ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὸν τοῦτο, ὅτι πράγματα μὲν εὑ- ρεῖν ὅμοια γεγενημένα, χαλεπόν· λόγους δὲ, ῥᾷον· ποιῆσαι γὰρ δεῖ, ὥσπερ καὶ παραβολὰς, ἄν τις δύνηται τὸ ὅμοιον ὁρᾷν, [1] ὅπερ ῥᾷόν ἐστιν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας. Ῥᾴω μὲν οὖν πορίσασθαι τὰ διὰ τῶν λόγων· χρησιμώτερα δὲ πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι τὰ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων· ὅμοια γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγονόσι.

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FINIS

EXCERPTORUM PHILOSOPHICORUM.

ANALECTA GRÆCA MAJORA.

PROSE SELECTIONS.

PART FOURTH.

CRITICAL EXTRACTS.

I.

Ex ARISTOTELE.

Quis omnium doctior? quis acutior? quis in rebus vel inveniendis, vel judicandis, acrior ARISTOTELE *fuit?*

CICERO DE ORATORE.

[1] *ΕΚ ΤΟΥ*

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ

ΠΕΡΙ

ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΣ.

[AD EDIT. THOMAE TYRWHITT. OXON. 1794. IN 8VO.]

[2] *ΠΕΡΙ ποιητικῆς αὐτῆς τε καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν αὐτῆς, ἥν τινα δύναμιν ἕκαστον ἔχει· καὶ πῶς δεῖ συνίστασθαι τοὺς μύθους, εἰ μέλλει καλῶς ἕξειν ἡ ποίησις· ἔτι δὲ ἐκ πόσων καὶ ποίων ἐστὶ μορίων· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι μεθόδου, λέγωμεν, ἀρξάμενοι κατὰ φύσιν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων.*

β΄. Εποποιΐα δὴ, καὶ ἡ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποίησις, ἔτι δὲ κωμῳδία, [3] *καὶ ἡ διθυραμβοποιητικὴ, καὶ τῆς αὐλητικῆς*

ἡ πλείστη καὶ κιθαριστικῆς, [1] πᾶσαι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον. Διαφέρουσι δὲ ἀλλήλων τρισίν· [2] ἢ γὰρ τῷ γένει ἑτέροις μιμεῖσθαι, ἢ τῷ ἕτερα, ἢ τῷ ἑτέρως, καὶ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.

γ'. [3] Ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ χρώμασι καὶ σχήμασι πολλὰ μιμοῦνταί τινες ἀπεικάζοντες, (οἱ μὲν διὰ τέχνης, οἱ δὲ διὰ συνηθείας,) ἕτεροι δὲ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς· οὕτω κἂν ταῖς εἰρημέναις τέχναις, ἅπασαι μὲν ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν [4] ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ· τούτοις δὲ ἢ χωρὶς, ἢ μεμιγμένοις. Οἷον, ἁρμονίᾳ μὲν καὶ ῥυθμῷ χρώμεναι μόνον, ἥ τε αὐλητικὴ καὶ ἡ κιθαριστικὴ, κἂν εἴ τινες ἕτεραι [5] τυγχάνωσιν οὖσαι τοιαῦται τὴν δύναμιν, οἷον, ἡ τῶν συρίγγων. Αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ῥυθμῷ μιμοῦνται, χωρὶς ἁρμονίας, οἱ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι [6] διὰ τῶν σχηματιζομένων ῥυθμῶν μιμοῦνται καὶ ἤθη καὶ πάθη καὶ πράξεις. Ἡ δὲ ἐποποιΐα μόνον τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς ἢ τοῖς μέτροις· καὶ τούτοις εἴτε μιγνῦσα μετ' ἀλλήλων, [7] εἴθ' ἑνί τινι γένει χρωμένη τῶν μέτρων τυγχάνουσα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. [8] Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμεν ὀνομάσαι κοινὸν [9] τοὺς Σώφρονος καὶ Ξενάρχου μίμους, καὶ τοὺς Σωκρατικοὺς λόγους· οὐδὲ εἴ τις διὰ τριμέτρων, ἢ ἐλεγείων, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τινῶν τοιούτων, ποιοῖτο τὴν μίμησιν. Πλὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποί γε, [10] συνάπτοντες τῷ μέτρῳ τὸ ποιεῖν, τοὺς μὲν ἐλεγειοποιοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἐποποιοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐχ ὡς κατὰ μίμησιν ποιητὰς, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον προσαγορεύοντες· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἰατρικὸν ἢ φυσικόν τι διὰ τῶν μέτρων ἐκφέρωσιν, οὕτω καλεῖν εἰώθασιν. Οὐδὲν δὲ κοινόν ἐστιν Ὁμήρῳ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ, πλὴν τὸ μέτρον· δι' ὃ τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν δίκαιον καλεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυσιολόγον μᾶλλον, ἢ ποιητήν. Ὁμοίως δὲ, κἂν εἴ τις ἅπαντα τὰ μέτρα μιγνύων ποιοῖτο τὴν μίμησιν, καθάπερ Χαιρήμων ἐποίησε

Κένταυρον, μικτὴν ῥαψῳδίαν, [1] ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν μέτρων οὐκ ἤδη καὶ ποιητὴν προσαγορευτέον. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων διωρίσθω τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. Εἰσὶ δέ τινες, αἳ πᾶσι χρῶνται τοῖς εἰρημένοις· λέγω δὲ, οἷον, ῥυθμῷ καὶ μέλει καὶ μέτρῳ· ὥσπερ ἥ τε τῶν διθυραμβῶν ποίησις, καὶ ἡ τῶν νόμων, καὶ ἥ τε τραγῳδία, καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία· διαφέρουσι δὲ, ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἅμα πᾶσιν, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μέρος Ταύτας μὲν οὖν λέγω τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν τεχνῶν, ἐν οἷς ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν.

2. δ'. [2] Ἐπεὶ δὲ μιμοῦνται οἱ μιμούμενοι πράττοντας, ἀνάγκη δὲ, τούτȣς ἢ σπουδαίȣς, ἢ φαύλους εἶναι· (τὰ γὰρ ἤθη σχεδὸν ἀεὶ τούτοις ἀκολουθεῖ μόνοις· κακίᾳ γὰρ καὶ ἀρετῇ τὰ ἤθη διαφέρουσι πάντες·) [3] ἤτοι βελτίονας ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἢ χείρονας, ἢ καὶ τοιούτȣς, ἀνάγκη μιμεῖσθαι· ὥσπερ οἱ γραφεῖς, Πολύγνωτος μὲν κρείττους, Παύσων δὲ χείρους, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁμοίους εἴκαζε· δῆλον δὲ, ὅτι καὶ τῶν λεχθεισῶν ἑκάστη μιμήσεων ἕξει ταύτας τὰς διαφορὰς, καὶ ἔσται ἑτέρα τῷ ἕτερα μιμεῖσθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὀρχήσει, καὶ αὐλήσει, καὶ κιθαρίσει ἐστὶ γενέσθαι ταύτας τὰς ἀνομοιότητας· καὶ [4] περὶ τοὺς λόγους δὲ καὶ τὴν ψιλομετρίαν· οἷον, Ὅμηρος μὲν βελτίους, Κλεοφῶν δὲ ὁμοίους, Ἡγήμων δὲ ὁ Θάσιος ὁ τὰς παρῳδίας ποιήσας πρῶτος, καὶ Νικοχάρης ὁ τὴν Δηλιάδα, χείρους. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοὺς διθυράμβους καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους, [5] ὡς Πέρσας καὶ Κύκλωπας Τιμόθεος καὶ Φιλόξενος, μιμήσαιτο ἄν τις. [6] Ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ διαφορᾷ καὶ ἡ τραγῳδία πρὸς τὴν κωμῳδίαν διέστηκεν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ χείρους, ἡ δὲ βελτίους μιμεῖσθαι βούλεται τῶν νῦν.

3. έ. [7] Ἔτι δὲ τούτων τρίτη διαφορὰ, τὸ, ὡς ἕκαστα τούτων μιμήσαιτο ἄν τις. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ

αὐτὰ μιμεῖσθαί ἐστιν, ὁτὲ μὲν ἀπαγγέλλοντα, (ἢ ἕτερόν τι γιγνόμενον, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος ποιεῖ, ἢ ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλοντα·) ἢ πάντας ὡς πράττοντας καὶ ἐνεργοῦντας τοὺς μιμȣμένȣς. Ἐν τρισὶ δὴ ταύταις διαφοραῖς ἡ μίμησίς ἐστιν, ὡς εἴπομεν κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς, ἐν οἷς τε, καὶ ἃ, καὶ ὥς. Ὥστε τῇ μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ἂν εἴη μιμητὴς Ὁμήρῳ Σοφοκλῆς· μιμοῦνται γὰρ ἄμφω σπουδαίους· τῇ δὲ Ἀριστοφάνει· πράττοντας γὰρ μιμοῦνται καὶ δρῶντας ἄμφω. Ὅθεν καὶ δράματα καλεῖσθαί τινες αὐτά φασιν, ὅτι μιμοῦνται δρῶντας. Διὸ καὶ ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς τε τραγῳδίας καὶ τῆς κωμῳδίας οἱ Δωριεῖς· τῆς μὲν κωμῳδίας [1] οἱ Μεγαρεῖς (οἵ τε ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης, καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητὴς, πολλῷ πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος·) καὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας [2] ἔνιοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, ποιούμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα σημεῖον· οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας καλεῖν φασιν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δήμους· ὡς κωμῳδοὺς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν λεχθέντας, ἀλλὰ τῇ κατὰ κώμας πλάνῃ, ἀτιμαζομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως· καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτοὶ μὲν δρᾷν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ πράττειν προσαγορεύειν. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν διαφορῶν, καὶ πόσαι, καὶ τίνες, τῆς μιμήσεως, εἰρήσθω ταῦτα.

4. ς'. [3] Ἐοίκασι δὲ γεννῆσαι μὲν ὅλως τὴν ποιητικὴν αἰτίαι δύο τινὲς, καὶ αὗται φυσικαί. Τό τε γὰρ μιμεῖσθαι σύμφυτον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ παίδων ἐστί· (καὶ τούτῳ διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, ὅτι μιμητικώτατόν ἐστι, καὶ τὰς μαθήσεις ποιεῖται διὰ μιμήσεως τὰς πρώτας·) [4] καὶ τὸ χαίρειν τοῖς μιμήμασι πάντας. Σημεῖον δὲ τούτου τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων· ἃ γὰρ αὐτὰ λυπηρῶς ὁρῶμεν, τούτων τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς μάλιστα ἠκριβωμένας χαίρομεν θεωροῦντες, οἷον, θηρίων τε μορφὰς τῶν

ἀγριωτάτων, καὶ νεκρῶν. Αἴτιον δὲ καὶ τούτου, ὅτι μανθάνειν οὐ μόνον τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἥδιστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως, [1] ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ βραχὺ κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτοῦ. Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο χαίρουσι τὰς εἰκόνας ὁρῶντες, ὅτι συμβαίνει θεωροῦντας μανθάνειν καὶ συλλογίζεσθαι, τί ἕκαστον· οἷον, ὅτι οὗτος ἐκεῖνος· ἐπεί, ἐὰν μὴ [2] τύχῃ προεωρακώς, οὐχὶ μίμημα ποιήσει τὴν ἡδονήν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀπεργασίαν, ἢ τὴν χροιάν, ἢ διὰ τοιαύτην τινὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν. Κατὰ φύσιν δὲ ὄντος ἡμῖν τοῦ μιμεῖσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας [3] καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ· (τὰ γὰρ μέτρα ὅτι μόρια τῶν ῥυθμῶν ἐστι, φανερόν·) [4] ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ πεφυκότες πρὸς αὐτὰ μάλιστα, κατὰ μικρὸν προάγοντες, ἐγέννησαν τὴν ποίησιν [5] ἐκ τῶν αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων.

ζ'. Διεσπάσθη δὲ [6] κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ἡ ποίησις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ σεμνότεροι τὰς καλὰς ἐμιμοῦντο πράξεις, καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων [τύχας·] οἱ δὲ εὐτελέστεροι τὰς τῶν φαύλων, πρῶτον ψόγους ποιοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι ὕμνους καὶ ἐγκώμια. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πρὸ Ὁμήρου οὐδενὸς ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτον ποίημα· εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι πολλούς· ἀπὸ δὲ Ὁμήρου ἀρξαμένοις ἐστίν· οἷον, ἐκείνου ὁ Μαργείτης, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ ἁρμόττον ἰαμβεῖον ἦλθε μέτρον. Διὸ καὶ ἰαμβεῖον καλεῖται νῦν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τούτῳ ἰάμβιζον ἀλλήλους.

ή. [7] Καὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ μὲν ἡρωϊκῶν, οἱ δὲ ἰάμβων ποιηταί. Ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα μάλιστα ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος ἦν· (μόνος γάρ, οὐχ ὅτι εὖ, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ μιμήσεις δραματικὰς ἐποίησεν·) οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῆς κωμῳδίας σχήματα πρῶτος ὑπέδειξεν, οὐ ψόγον, ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας· ὁ γὰρ Μαργείτης ἀνάλογον ἔχει, ὥσπερ Ἰλιὰς καὶ Ὀδύσσεια πρὸς τὰς τραγῳδίας, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος πρὸς τὰς κωμῳδίας.

θ'. [1] *Παραφανείσης δὲ τῆς τραγῳδίας καὶ κωμῳδίας, οἱ ἐφ' ἑκατέραν τὴν ποίησιν ὁρμῶντες κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν, οἱ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ἰάμβων, κωμῳδοποιοὶ ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπῶν, τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλοι, διὰ τὸ μείζω καὶ ἐντιμότερα τὰ σχήματα εἶναι ταῦτα ἐκείνων. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπισκοπεῖν, εἰ ἄρα ἔχει ἤδη ἡ τραγῳδία τοῖς εἴδεσιν ἱκανῶς, ἢ οὔ, αὐτό τε καθ' αὑτὸ κρινόμενον, καὶ πρὸς τὰ θέατρα, ἄλλος λόγος. Γενομένη οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικὴ, καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικὰ, ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα, κατὰ μικρὸν ηὐξήθη,* [2] *προαγόντων, ὅσον ἐγίγνετο φανερὸν αὐτῆς.*

ι'. [3] *Καὶ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα ἡ τραγῳδία ἐπαύσατο, ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἑαυτῆς φύσιν. Καὶ τό τε τῶν ὑποκριτῶν πλῆθος ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς δύο πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος ἤγαγε,* [4] *καὶ τὰ τȣ̃ χορȣ̃ ἠλάττωσε, καὶ τὸν λόγον πρωταγωνιστὴν παρεσκεύασε· τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς.* [5] *Ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας, διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν, ὀψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη· τό τε μέτρον ἐκ τετραμέτρου ἰαμβεῖον ἐγένετο. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο, διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν. Λέξεως δὲ γενομένης, αὐτὴ ἡ φύσις τὸ οἰκεῖον μέτρον εὗρε· μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἐστι. Σημεῖον δὲ τούτου· πλεῖστα γὰρ ἰαμβεῖα λέγομεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλȣς· ἑξάμετρα δὲ ὀλιγάκις, καὶ ἐκβαίνοντες τῆς λεκτικῆς ἁρμονίας. Ἔτι δὲ ἐπεισοδίων πλήθη, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς ἕκαστα κοσμηθῆναι λέγεται. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἔστω ἡμῖν εἰρημένα· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν ἴσως ἔργον εἴη διεξιέναι καθέκαστον.*

5. ιά. [1]Ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, μίμησις φαυλοτέρων μὲν, οὐ μέντοι κατὰ πᾶσαν κακίαν· [2]ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχρȣ̃ ἐστι τὸ γελοῖον μόριον· τὸ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστιν ἁμάρτημά τι καὶ αἶσχος ἀνώδυνον, καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν· οἷον εὐθὺς, τὸ γελοῖον πρόσωπον αἰσχρόν τι καὶ διεστραμμένον ἄνευ ὀδύνης. Αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγῳδίας μεταβάσεις, καὶ δι' ὧν ἐγένοντο, οὐ λελήθασιν· ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία, διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔλαθεν· [3]καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὀψέ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν· ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν. Ηδη δὲ σχήματά τινα αὐτῆς ἐχούσης, οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μνημονεύονται. Τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν, ἢ προλόγους, ἢ πλήθη ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἠγνόηται. Τοῦ δὲ μύθους [4]ποιεῖν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις ἦρξαν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε. Τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησι Κράτης [5]πρῶτος ἦρξεν, ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας, καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους ἢ μύθους.

ιβ'. [6]Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐποποιΐα τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ, μέχρι μόνου μέτρου μετὰ λόγου, μίμησις εἶναι σπουδαίων ἠκολούθησεν· τῷ δὲ τὸ μέτρον ἁπλοῦν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀπαγγελίαν εἶναι, ταύτῃ διαφέρουσιν· ἔτι δὲ τῷ μήκει· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶται ὑπὸ μίαν περίοδον ἡλίȣ εἶναι, ἢ μικρὸν ἐξαλλάττειν· ἡ δὲ ἐποποιΐα ἀόριστος τῷ χρόνῳ, καὶ τούτῳ διαφέρει. Καίτοι τὸ πρῶτον ὁμοίως ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις τοῦτο ἐποίουν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι. Μέρη δέ ἐστι τὰ μὲν ταὐτὰ, τὰ δὲ ἴδια τῆς τραγῳδίας. Διόπερ, ὅστις περὶ τραγῳδίας οἶδε σπουδαίας καὶ φαύλης, οἶδε καὶ περὶ ἐπῶν· ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἐποποιΐα ἔχει, ὑπάρχει τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ· ἃ δὲ αὐτῇ, οὐ πάντα ἐν τῇ ἐποποιΐᾳ.

6. ιγ'. [7]Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐν ἑξαμέτροις μιμητικῆς, καὶ περὶ κωμῳδίας, ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν· περὶ δὲ τραγῳδίας λέγωμεν, [8]ἀπολαβόντες αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τὸν γιγ-

νόμενον ὅρον τῆς οὐσίας. [1] Εστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας, μέγεθος ἐχούσης· ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ, χωρὶς ἑκάστου τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις δρώντων, καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας· δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. Λέγω δὲ ἡδυσμένον μὲν λόγον, τὸν ἔχοντα ῥυθμὸν καὶ ἁρμονίαν καὶ μέλος· τὸ δὲ χωρὶς τῶν εἰδῶν, τὸ διὰ μέτρων ἔνια μόνον περαίνεσθαι, [2] καὶ πάλιν ἕτερα διὰ μέλους.

ιδ'. [3] Επεὶ δὲ πράττοντες ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἂν εἴη τι μόριον τραγῳδίας ὁ τῆς ὄψεως κόσμος· εἶτα μελοποιΐα καὶ λέξις· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν. Λέγω δὲ λέξιν μὲν αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν μέτρων σύνθεσιν· μελοποιΐαν δὲ, ὃ τὴν δύναμιν φανερὰν ἔχει πᾶσαν. Επεὶ δὲ πράξεώς ἐστι μίμησις, πράττεται δὲ ὑπό τινων πραττόντων, οὓς ἀνάγκη ποιούς τινας εἶναι κατά τε τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν (διὰ γὰρ τούτων καὶ τὰς πράξεις εἶναι φαμὲν ποιάς τινας·) πέφυκεν αἴτια δύο τῶν πράξεων εἶναι, διάνοια καὶ ἦθος, καὶ κατὰ ταύτας καὶ τυγχάνουσι καὶ ἀποτυγχάνουσι πάντες. Εστι δὲ τῆς μὲν πράξεως ὁ μῦθος μίμησις. Λέγω γὰρ μῦθον τοῦτον, τὴν σύνθεσιν τῶν πραγμάτων· τὰ δὲ ἤθη, καθ' ἃ ποιούς τινας εἶναι φαμὲν τοὺς πράττοντας· διάνοιαν δὲ, ἐν ὅσοις λέγοντες ἀποδεικνύουσί τι, ἢ καὶ ἀποφαίνονται γνώμην. Ανάγκη οὖν πάσης τραγῳδίας μέρη εἶναι ἕξ, καθ' ἃ ποιά τις ἐστὶν ἡ τραγῳδία· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν, μῦθος, καὶ ἤθη, καὶ λέξις, καὶ διάνοια, καὶ ὄψις, καὶ μελοποιΐα. Οἷς μὲν γὰρ μιμοῦνται, δύο μέρη ἐστίν· ὡς δὲ μιμοῦνται, ἕν· ἃ δὲ μιμοῦνται, τρία· καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδέν.

ιέ. [4] Τούτοις μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, κέχρηνται τοῖς εἴδεσι· καὶ γὰρ ὄψιν ἔχει πᾶν, καὶ ἦθος, καὶ

μῦθον, καὶ λέξιν, καὶ μέλος, καὶ διάνοιαν ὡσαύτως. Μέγιστον δὲ τὅτων ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων σύστασις. Ἡ γὰρ τραγῳδία μίμησίς ἐστιν, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ πράξεων, καὶ βίου, καὶ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ κακοδαιμονίας· καὶ γὰρ ἡ εὐδαιμονία ἐν πράξει ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ τέλος πρᾶξις τίς ἐστιν, οὐ ποιότης. Εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἤθη ποιοί τινες· κατὰ δὲ τὰς πράξεις εὐδαίμονες, ἢ τοὐναντίον. Οὐκ οὖν ὅπως τὰ ἤθη μιμήσωνται, πράττουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἤθη συμπεριλαμβάνουσι διὰ τὰς πράξεις. Ὥστε τὰ πράγματα καὶ ὁ μῦθος τέλος τῆς τραγῳδίας· τὸ δὲ τέλος μέγιστον ἁπάντων ἐστίν. Ετι ἄνευ μὲν πράξεως, οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τραγῳδία· ἄνευ δὲ ἠθῶν, γένοιτ' ἄν· αἱ γὰρ τῶν νέων τῶν πλείστων ἀήθεις τραγῳδίαι εἰσὶ, καὶ ὅλως ποιηταὶ πυλλοὶ τοιοῦτοι· [1] οἷον καὶ τῶν γραφέων Ζεῦξις πρὸς Πολύγνωτον πέπονθεν. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πολύγνωτος ἀγαθὸς ἠθογράφος· ἡ δὲ Ζεύξιδος γραφὴ οὐδὲν ἔχει ἦθος. Ετι ἐάν τις ἐφεξῆς θῇ ῥήσεις ἠθικὰς, καὶ λέξεις καὶ διανοίας εὖ πεποιημένας, οὐ ποιήσει ὃ ἦν τῆς τραγῳδίας ἔργον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ καταδεεστέροις τούτοις κεχρημένη τραγῳδία, ἔχȣσα δὲ μῦθον καὶ σύστασιν πραγμάτων. (Παραπλήσιον γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γραφικῆς· εἰ γάρ τις ἐναλείψειε τοῖς καλλίστοις φαρμάκοις χύδην, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως εὐφράνειε, καὶ λευκογραφήσας εἰκόνα. Εστι τε μίμησις πράξεως, καὶ διὰ ταύτην μάλιστα τῶν πραττόντων.) Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, τὰ μέγιστα, οἷς ψυχαγωγεῖ ἡ τραγῳδία, τοῦ μύθου μέρη ἐστὶν, αἵτε περιπέτειαι καὶ ἀναγνωρίσεις. Ετι σημεῖον, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες ποιεῖν πρότερον δύνανται τῇ λέξει καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀκριβοῦν, ἢ τὰ πράγματα συνίστασθαι· οἷον καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ποιηταὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες. Ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ οἷον ψυχὴ ὁ μῦθος τῆς τραγῳδίας· δεύτερον δὲ τὰ ἤθη. Τρί-

τον δὲ ἡ διάνοια· τῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ λέγειν δύνασθαι τὰ ἐνόντα καὶ τὰ ἁρμόττοντα· [1] ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ ῥητορικῆς ἔργον ἐστίν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι πολιτικῶς ἐποίουν λέγοντας, οἱ δὲ νῦν ῥητορικῶς. [2] Ἔστι δὲ ἦθος μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ δηλοῖ τὴν προαίρεσιν, ὁποία τις ἐστίν. Διόπερ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἦθος ἔνιοι τῶν λόγων, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἔστι δῆλον, ὅ τι προαιρεῖται ἢ φεύγει ὁ λέγων. Διάνοια δὲ, ἐν οἷς ἀποδεικνύουσί τι, ὡς ἔστιν, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἢ καθόλυ τι ἀποφαίνονται. Τέταρτον δὲ, [3] τῶν μὲν λόγων ἡ λέξις· λέγω δὲ, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἴρηται, λέξιν εἶναι τὴν διὰ τῆς ὀνομασίας ἑρμηνείαν, ὃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμμέτρων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων ἔχει τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν. [4] Τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν, πέμπτον, ἡ μελοποιΐα μέγιστον τῶν ἡδυσμάτων. Ἡ δὲ ὄψις ψυχαγωγικὸν μὲν, ἀτεχνότατον δὲ, καὶ ἥκιστα οἰκεῖον τῆς ποιητικῆς· ἡ γὰρ τῆς τραγῳδίας δύναμις καὶ ἄνευ ἀγῶνος καὶ ὑποκριτῶν ἐστιν· ἔτι δὲ κυριωτέρα περὶ τὴν ἀπεργασίαν τῶν ὄψεων ἡ τοῦ σκευοποιοῦ τέχνη τῆς τῶν ποιητῶν ἐστι.

7. ιϛ'. [5] Διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων, λέγωμεν μετὰ ταῦτα, ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ τὴν σύστασιν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐπειδὴ τῦτο καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον τῆς τραγῳδίας ἐστί. Κεῖται δ' ἡμῖν, τὴν τραγῳδίαν τελείας καὶ ὅλης πράξεως εἶναι μίμησιν, ἐχούσης τι μέγεθος· ἔστι γὰρ ὅλον καὶ μηδὲν ἔχον μέγεθος. Ὅλον δέ ἐστι τὸ ἔχον ἀρχὴν, καὶ μέσον, καὶ τελευτήν. Ἀρχὴ δέ ἐστιν, ὃ αὐτὸ μὲν μὴ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μετ' ἄλλο ἐστί· μετ' ἐκεῖνο δ' ἕτερον πέφυκεν εἶναι ἢ γίνεσθαι. Τελευτὴ δὲ τοὐναντίον, ὃ αὐτὸ μετ' ἄλλο πέφυκεν εἶναι, ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης, [6] ἢ ὡς ἐπιτοπολύ· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλο οὐδέν. Μέσον δὲ, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ μετ' ἄλλο, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνο ἕτερον. Δεῖ ἄρα τοὺς συνεστῶτας εὖ μύθους, μήθ' ὁπόθεν ἔτυχεν ἄρχεσθαι,

μήθ' ὅπου ἔτυχε τελευτᾷν, ἀλλὰ κεχρῆσθαι ταῖς εἰρημέναις ἰδέαις. Ἔτι δ', ἐπεὶ τὸ καλὸν, καὶ ζῶον καὶ ἅπαν πρᾶγμα, ὃ συνέστηκεν ἔκ τινων, οὐ μόνον ταῦτα τεταγμένα δεῖ ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγεθος ὑπάρχειν μὴ τὸ τυχόν· τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐν μεγέθει καὶ τάξει ἐστί· διὸ οὔτε πάμμικρον ἄν τι γένοιτο καλὸν ζῶον· συγχεῖται γὰρ ἡ θεωρία ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἀναισθήτου χρόνου γινομένη· οὔτε παμμέγεθες· οὐ γὰρ ἅμα ἡ θεωρία γίνεται, ἀλλ' οἴχεται τοῖς θεωροῦσι τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἐκ τῆς θεωρίας· οἷον, εἰ μυρίων σταδίων εἴη ζῶον· ὥστε δεῖ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ζώων, ἔχειν μὲν μέγεθος, τοῦτο δὲ εὐσύνοπτον εἶναι· οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μύθων, ἔχειν μὲν μῆκος, τοῦτο δ' εὐμνημόνευτον εἶναι. Τοῦ δὲ μήκους ὅρος, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν, οὐ τῆς τέχνης ἐστίν. Εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἑκατὸν τραγῳδίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, πρὸς κλεψύδραν ἂν ἠγωνίζοντο, ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτέ φασιν. Ὁ δὲ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν φύσιν τοῦ πράγματος ὅρος, ἀεὶ μὲν ὁ μείζων, μέχρι τοῦ σύνδηλος εἶναι, καλλίων ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος. Ὡς δὲ ἁπλῶς διορίσαντας εἰπεῖν, ἐν ὅσῳ μεγέθει κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς, ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, ἐφεξῆς γιγνομένων, συμβαίνει εἰς εὐτυχίαν ἐκ δυστυχίας, ἢ ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν μεταβάλλειν, ἱκανὸς ὅρος ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγέθους.

8. ιζ'. [1] Μῦθος δ' ἐστὶν εἷς, οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς οἴονται, ἐὰν περὶ ἕνα ᾖ. Πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄπειρα [2] τῷ γ' ἑνὶ συμβαίνει, ἐξ ὧν ἐνίων οὐδέν ἐστιν ἕν. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἑνὸς πολλαί εἰσιν, ἐξ ὧν μία οὐδεμία γίνεται πρᾶξις. Διὸ πάντες ἐοίκασιν ἁμαρτάνειν, ὅσοι τῶν ποιητῶν Ἡρακληΐδα, καὶ Θησηΐδα, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήματα πεποιήκασιν. Οἴονται γὰρ, ἐπεὶ εἷς ἦν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ἕνα καὶ τὸν μῦθον εἶναι προσήκειν. Ὁ δ'

Ὅμηρος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διαφέρει, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔοικε καλῶς ἰδεῖν, ἤτοι διὰ τέχνην, ἢ διὰ φύσιν. Ὀδύσσειαν γὰρ ποιῶν, οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἅπαντα, ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη· οἷον, πληγῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ Παρνασῷ, μανῆναι δὲ προσποιήσασθαι ἐν τῷ ἀγερμῷ· ὧν οὐδὲν θατέρου γενομένου ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, ἢ εἰκὸς, θάτερον γενέσθαι· ἀλλὰ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν, οἵαν λέγομεν, τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν συνέστησεν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰλιάδα. Χρὴ οὖν, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις μιμητικαῖς ἡ μία μίμησις ἑνός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν μῦθον, ἐπεὶ πράξεως μίμησίς ἐστι, μιᾶς τε εἶναι, καὶ ταύτης ὅλης, καὶ τὰ μέρη συνεστάναι τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως, ὥστε μετατιθεμένου τινὸς μέρους, ἢ ἀφαιρουμένου, διαφέρεσθαι καὶ κινεῖσθαι τὸ ὅλον. Ὃ γὰρ προσὸν ἢ μὴ προσὸν μηδὲν ποιεῖ ἐπίδηλον, οὐδὲ μόριον τοῦτό ἐστι.

9. ιή. [1] Φανερὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ ὅτι οὐ τὸ τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τοῦτο ποιητοῦ ἔργον ἐστὶν, ἀλλ᾽ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο, καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς, ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον. Ὁ γὰρ ἱστορικὸς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς οὐ τῷ ἢ ἔμμετρα λέγειν ἢ ἄμετρα διαφέρουσιν· εἴη γὰρ ἂν τὰ Ἡροδότου εἰς μέτρα τιθέναι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον ἂν εἴη ἱστορία τις μετὰ μέτρου, ἢ ἄνευ μέτρων· ἀλλὰ τούτῳ διαφέρει, τῷ τὸν μὲν τὰ γενόμενα λέγειν, τὸν δὲ, οἷα ἂν γένοιτο. Διὸ καὶ φιλοσοφώτερον καὶ σπουδαιότερον ποίησις ἱστορίας ἐστίν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποίησις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἡ δ᾽ ἱστορία τὰ καθ ἕκαστον λέγει. Ἐστι δὲ καθόλου μὲν, τῷ ποίῳ τὰ ποῖ᾽ ἄττα συμβαίνει λέγειν, ἢ πράττειν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς, ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, οὗ στοχάζεται ἡ ποίησις, ὀνόματα ἐπιτιθεμένη· τὰ δὲ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον, τί Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔπραξεν, ἢ τί ἔπαθεν. Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἤδη τοῦτο δῆλον γέγονεν· συστήσαντες γὰρ τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκότων, οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα ἐπιτιθέασι,

καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἰαμβοποιοὶ περὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ποιοῦσιν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τραγῳδίας τῶν γενομένων ὀνομάτων ἀντέχονται. Αἴτιον δ', ὅτι πιθανόν ἐστι τὸ δυνατόν. Τὰ μὲν οὖν μὴ γενόμενα οὔπω πιστεύομεν εἶναι δυνατά· τὰ δὲ γενόμενα, φανερὸν, ὅτι δυνατά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐγένετο, εἰ ἦν ἀδύνατα. [1] Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις, ἐν ἐνίαις μὲν ἓν ἢ δύο τῶν γνωρίμων ἐστὶν ὀνομάτων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πεποιημένα· ἐν ἐνίαις δὲ οὐθέν· οἷον ἐν τῷ Ἀγάθωνος Ἄνθει. Ὁμοίως γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τά τε πράγματα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον εὐφραίνει. Ὥστ' οὐ πάντως εἶναι ζητητέον τῶν παραδεδομένων μύθων, περὶ οὓς αἱ τραγῳδίαι εἰσὶν, ἀντέχεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ γελοῖον τοῦτο ζητεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ γνώριμα ὀλίγοις γνώριμά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅμως εὐφραίνει πάντας. Δῆλον οὖν ἐκ τούτων, ὅτι τὸν ποιητὴν μᾶλλον τῶν μύθων εἶναι δεῖ ποιητὴν, ἢ τῶν μέτρων, ὅσῳ ποιητὴς κατὰ τὴν μίμησίν ἐστι· μιμεῖται δὲ τὰς πράξεις. Κἂν ἄρα συμβῇ γενόμενα ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἧττον ποιητής ἐστι· τῶν γὰρ γενομένων ἔνια οὐδὲν κωλύει τοιαῦτα εἶναι, οἷα ἂν εἰκὸς γενέσθαι καὶ δυνατὰ γενέσθαι, καθ' ὃ ἐκεῖνος αὐτῶν ποιητής ἐστι. Τῶν δὲ ἁπλῶν μύθων καὶ πράξεων αἱ ἐπεισοδιώδεις εἰσὶ χείρισται. Λέγω δ' ἐπεισοδιώδη μῦθον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἐπεισόδια μετ' ἄλληλα οὔτ' εἰκὸς, οὔτ' ἀνάγκη εἶναι. Τοιαῦται δὲ ποιοῦνται, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν φαύλων ποιητῶν δι' αὑτοὺς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τοὺς ὑποκριτάς. Ἀγωνίσματα γὰρ ποιοῦντες, καὶ παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν παρατείνοντες μῦθον, πολλάκις διαστρέφειν ἀναγκάζονται τὸ ἐφεξῆς.

ιθ'. [2] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον τελείας ἐστὶ πράξεως ἡ μίμησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβερῶν καὶ ἐλεεινῶν· ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται μάλιστα τοιαῦτα, ὅταν γένηται παρὰ τὴν δόξαν, καὶ μᾶλλον,

ὅταν δι' ἄλληλα· τὸ γὰρ θαυμαστὸν οὕτως ἕξει μᾶλλον, ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ τῆς τύχης· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τύχης ταῦτα θαυμασιώτατα δοκεῖ, ὅσα ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες φαίνεται γεγονέναι· οἷον, ὁ ἀνδριὰς ὁ τοῦ Μίτυος ἐν Ἄργει ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Μίτυϊ, θεωροῦντι ἐμπεσών· ἔοικε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ εἰκῇ γενέσθαι· ὥστε ἀνάγκη, τοὺς τοιούτους εἶναι καλλίους μύθους.

* * *

13. κέ. [1] Ὧν δὲ δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι, καὶ ἃ δεῖ εὐλαβεῖσθαι συνίσταντας τοὺς μύθους, καὶ πόθεν ἔσται τὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἔργον, ἐφεξῆς ἂν εἴη λεκτέον τοῖς νῦν εἰρημένοις. Επειδὴ οὖν δεῖ τὴν σύνθεσιν εἶναι τῆς καλλίστης τραγῳδίας [2] μὴ ἁπλῆν, ἀλλὰ πεπλεγμένην, καὶ ταύτην φοβερῶν καὶ ἐλεεινῶν εἶναι μιμητικήν (τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον τῆς τοιαύτης μιμήσεώς ἐστι·) πρῶτον μὲν δῆλον, ὅτι οὔτε τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς ἄνδρας δεῖ μεταβάλλοντας φαίνεσθαι ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν (οὐ γὰρ φοβερὸν, οὐδὲ ἐλεεινὸν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ μιαρόν ἐστιν·) οὔτε τοὺς μοχθηροὺς ἐξ ἀτυχίας εἰς εὐτυχίαν (ἀτραγῳδότατον γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστι· πάντων οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ὧν δεῖ· οὔτε γὰρ φιλάνθρωπον, οὔτε ἐλεεινὸν, ὅτε φοβερόν ἐστιν·) οὐδ' αὖ τὸν σφόδρα πονηρὸν ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν μεταπίπτειν· (τὸ μὲν γὰρ φιλάνθρωπον ἔχοι ἂν ἡ τοιαύτη σύστασις, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἔλεον, οὔτε φόβον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἀνάξιόν ἐστι δυστυχοῦντα, ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον· ἔλεος μὲν περὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον· φόβος δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον· ὥστε οὔτε ἐλεεινὸν, οὔτε φοβερὸν ἔσται τὸ συμβαῖνον.) Ὁ μεταξὺ ἄρα τούτων λοιπός. Εστι δὲ τοιοῦτος, ὁ μήτε ἀρετῇ διαφέρων καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, μήτε διὰ κακίαν καὶ μοχθηρίαν μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν τινὰ τῶν ἐν μεγάλῃ

δόξῃ ὄντων καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ· οἷον Οἰδίπους καὶ Θυέστης, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων γενῶν ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρες.

κϛʹ. [1] Ἀνάγκη ἄρα τὸν καλῶς ἔχοντα μῦθον ἁπλοῦν εἶναι μᾶλλον, ἢ διπλοῦν, ὥσπερ τινές φασι, καὶ μεταβάλλειν, οὐκ εἰς εὐτυχίαν ἐκ δυστυχίας, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν, μὴ διὰ μοχθηρίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν μεγάλην, ἢ οἵου εἴρηται, ἢ βελτίονος μᾶλλον, ἢ χείρονος. Σημεῖον δὲ καὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον· [2] πρὸ τοῦ μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς τυχόντας μύθους ἀπηρίθμουν· νῦν δὲ περὶ ὀλίγας οἰκίας αἱ κάλλισται τραγῳδίαι συντίθενται· οἷον περὶ Ἀλκμαίωνα, καὶ Οἰδίπουν, καὶ Ὀρέστην, καὶ Μελέαγρον, καὶ Θυέστην, καὶ Τήλεφον, καὶ ὅσοις ἄλλοις συμβέβηκεν ἢ παθεῖν δεινά, ἢ ποιῆσαι. Ἡ μὲν ὖν κατὰ τὴν τέχνην καλλίστη τραγῳδία ἐκ ταύτης τῆς συστάσεώς ἐστι. Διὸ καὶ οἱ Εὐριπίδῃ ἐγκαλοῦντες τὸ αὐτὸ ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ὅτι τοῦτο δρᾷ ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις, καὶ πολλαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς δυστυχίαν τελευτῶσι. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ὀρθόν. Σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν σκηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων τραγικώταται αἱ τοιαῦται φαίνονται, [3] ἂν κατορθωθῶσι· καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης, εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὴ εὖ οἰκονομεῖ, ἀλλὰ τραγικώτατός γε τῶν ποιητῶν φαίνεται. Δευτέρα δὲ, ἡ πρώτη λεγομένη ὑπό τινων, ἐστὶ [σύστασις,] ἡ διπλῆν τε τὴν σύστασιν ἔχουσα, καθάπερ ἡ Οδύσσεια, καὶ τελευτῶσα ἐξ ἐναντίας τοῖς βελτίοσι καὶ χείροσι· δοκεῖ δὲ εἶναι πρώτη [4] διὰ τὴν τῶν θεάτρων ἀσθένειαν. Ἀκολουθοῦσι γὰρ οἱ ποιηταὶ κατ' εὐχὴν ποιοῦντες τοῖς θεαταῖς. Εστι δὲ οὐχ αὕτη ἀπὸ τραγῳδίας ἡδονὴ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῆς κωμῳδίας οἰκεία· [5] ἐκεῖ γὰρ, ἂν οἱ ἔχθιστοι ὦσιν ἐν τῷ μύθῳ, οἷον Ορέστης καὶ Αἴγισθος, φίλοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐξέρχονται, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει οὐδεὶς ὑπ' οὐδενός.

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26. μζ' [1] Πότερον δὲ βελτίων ἡ ἐποποιητικὴ μίμησις, ἢ ἡ τραγῳδικὴ, διαπορήσειεν ἂν τις. Εἰ γὰρ [2] ἡ ἧττον φορτικὴ βελτίων· τοιαύτη δὲ ἡ πρὸς βελτίους θεατάς ἐστι· δῆλον, [3] ὅτι ἡ ἅπαντα μιμουμένη φορτική. Ὡς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσθανομένων, [4] ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς προσθῇ, πολλὴν κίνησιν κινοῦνται· [5] οἷον, οἱ φαῦλοι αὐληταὶ κυλιόμενοι ἂν δίσκον δέῃ μιμεῖσθαι, καὶ ἕλκοντες τὸν κορυφαῖον, ἂν Σκύλλαν αὐλῶσιν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τραγῳδία τοιαύτη ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ οἱ πρότερον τοὺς ὑστέρους αὐτῶν ᾤοντο ὑποκριτάς· ὡς λίαν γὰρ ὑπερβάλλοντα, πίθηκον ὁ Μυνίσκος τὸν Καλλιππίδην ἐκάλει· τοιαύτη δὲ δόξα καὶ περὶ [6] Πινδάρου ἦν· [7] ὡς δ' οὗτοι ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἡ ὅλη τέχνη πρὸς τὴν ἐποποιΐαν ἔχει. [8] Τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς θεατὰς ἐπιεικεῖς φασιν εἶναι, δι' ὃ οὐδὲν δέονται τῶν σχημάτων· τὴν δὲ τραγικὴν πρὸς φαύλους. Ἡ οὖν φορτικὴ χείρων δῆλον ὅτι ἂν εἴη. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, οὐ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἡ κατηγορία, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑποκριτικῆς· [9] ἐπεί ἐστι περιεργάζεσθαι τοῖς σημείοις καὶ ῥαψῳδοῦντα, ὅπερ ἐποίει Σωσίστρατος· καὶ διᾴδοντα, ὅπερ ἐποίει Μνασίθεος Ὀπούντιος. Εἶτα οὐδὲ κίνησις ἅπασα ἀποδοκιμαστέα, εἴπερ μηδ' ὄρχησις, ἀλλ' ἡ φαύλων, ὅπερ καὶ Καλλιππίδῃ ἐπετιμᾶτο καὶ νῦν ἄλλοις, ὡς οὐκ ἐλευθέρας γυναῖκας μιμουμένων. Ἔτι ἡ τραγῳδία καὶ ἄνευ κινήσεως ποιεῖ τὸ αὑτῆς, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐποποιΐα· διὰ γὰρ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν φανερὰ ὁποία τις ἐστίν· εἰ οὖν ἐστι τἄλλα κρείττων, τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῇ ὑπάρχειν. Ἔπειτα διότι πάντ' ἔχει, ὅσαπερ ἡ ἐποποιΐα· [10] καὶ γὰρ τῷ μέτρῳ ἔξεστι χρῆσθαι· καὶ ἔτι οὐ μικρὸν μέρος τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἔχει, [11] δι' ἧς αἱ ἡδοναὶ συνίσανται ἐναργέστατα. Εἶτα καὶ τὸ ἐναργ

γει [1] καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναγνώσει, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων. Ἔτι τῷ
ν ἐλάττονι μήκει τὸ τέλος τῆς μιμήσεως εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ
θροώτερον ἥδιον, ἢ πολλῷ κεκραμένον τῷ χρόνῳ· λέγω
', οἷον εἴ τις τὸν Οἰδίπυν θείη τὸν Σοφοκλέυς ἐν ἔπεσιν,
σοις ἡ Ἰλιάς. [2] Ἔτι ἧττον μία ὁποιαοῦν μίμησις ἡ τῶν
ποποιῶν. Σημεῖον δέ· ἐκ γὰρ ὁποιασοῦν μιμήσεως πλείυ
ραγῳδίαι γίνονται. [3] Ὥστε, ἐὰν μὲν ἕνα μῦθον ποιῶσιν
ἀνάγκη, ἢ βραχέως δεικνύμενον μύυρον φαίνεσθαι, ἢ ἀκο-
λουθοῦντα τῷ τοῦ μέτρου μήκει, ὑδαρῆ· [4] ἐὰν δὲ πλείους,
λέγω δέ, οἷον ἐὰν ἐκ πλειόνων πράξεων ᾖ συγκειμένη,
ὐ μία· ὥσπερ ἡ Ἰλιὰς ἔχει πολλὰ τοιαῦτα μέρη, καὶ ἡ
Ὀδύσσεια, ἃ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἔχει μέγεθος· καίτοι ταῦτα
ὰ ποιήματα συνέστηκεν ὡς ἐνδέχεται ἄριστα, καὶ ὅτι μά-
στα μιᾶς πράξεως μίμησίς ἐστιν. Εἰ οὖν τούτοις τε δια-
φέρει πᾶσι, καὶ ἔτι τῷ τῆς τέχνης ἔργῳ· [5] δεῖ γὰρ οὐ τὴν
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νερὸν, ὅτι κρείττων ἂν εἴη, μᾶλλον τοῦ τέλους τυγχάνυσα,
τῆς ἐποποιΐας. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τραγῳδίας, καὶ ἐποποιΐας,
καὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν, καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πόσα,
καὶ τί διαφέρει, καὶ τοῦ εὖ ἢ μὴ τίνες αἰτίαι, [6] καὶ περὶ
ἐπιτιμήσεων καὶ λύσεων, εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα.

Τέλος τῆς Ποιητικῆς.

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26. μζ' [1] Πότερον δὲ βελτίων ἡ ἐποποιητικὴ μίμησις, ἢ ἡ τραγῳδικὴ, διαπορήσειεν ἄν τις. Εἰ γὰρ [2] ἡ ἧττον φορτικὴ βελτίων· τοιαύτη δὲ ἡ πρὸς βελτίους θεατάς ἐστι· δῆλον, [3] ὅτι ἡ ἅπαντα μιμουμένη φορτική. Ὡς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσθανομένων, [4] ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς προσθῇ, πολλὴν κίνησιν κινοῦνται· [5] οἷον, οἱ φαῦλοι αὐληταὶ κυλιόμενοι, ἂν δίσκον δέῃ μιμεῖσθαι, καὶ ἕλκοντες τὸν κορυφαῖον, ἂν Σκύλλαν αὐλῶσιν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τραγῳδία τοιαύτη ἐστὶν, ὡς καὶ οἱ πρότερον τοὺς ὑστέρους αὐτῶν ᾤοντο ὑποκριτάς· ὡς λίαν γὰρ ὑπερβάλλοντα, πίθηκον ὁ Μυνίσκος τὸν Καλλιππίδην ἐκάλει· τοιαύτη δὲ δόξα καὶ περὶ [6] Πινδάρου ἦν· [7] ὡς δ' οὗτοι ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἡ ὅλη τέχνη πρὸς τὴν ἐποποιΐαν ἔχει. [8] Τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς θεατὰς ἐπιεικεῖς φασιν εἶναι, δι' ὃ οὐδὲν δέονται τῶν σχημάτων· τὴν δὲ τραγικὴν πρὸς φαύλους. Ἡ οὖν φορτικὴ χείρων δῆλον ὅτι ἂν εἴη. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, οὐ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἡ κατηγορία, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὑποκριτικῆς· [9] ἐπεί ἐστι περιεργάζεσθαι τοῖς σημείοις καὶ ῥαψῳδοῦντα, ὅπερ ἐποίει Σωσίστρατος· καὶ διᾴδοντα, ὅπερ ἐποίει Μνασίθεος Ὀπούντιος. Εἶτα οὐδὲ κίνησις ἅπασα ἀποδοκιμαστέα, εἴπερ μηδ' ὄρχησις, ἀλλ' ἡ φαύλων, ὅπερ καὶ Καλλιππίδῃ ἐπετιμᾶτο, καὶ νῦν ἄλλοις, ὡς οὐκ ἐλευθέρας γυναῖκας μιμουμένων. Ετι ἡ τραγῳδία καὶ ἄνευ κινήσεως ποιεῖ τὸ αὑτῆς, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐποποιΐα· διὰ γὰρ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν φανερὰ ὁποία τις ἐστίν· εἰ οὖν ἐστι τἄλλα κρείττων, τȣτό γε οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῇ ὑπάρχειν. Επειτα διότι πάντ' ἔχει, ὅσαπερ ἡ ἐποποιΐα· [10] καὶ γὰρ τῷ μέτρῳ ἔξεστι χρῆσθαι· καὶ ἔτι οὐ μικρὸν μέρος τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἔχει, [11] δι' ἧς αἱ ἡδοναὶ συνίϛανται ἐναργέϛατα. Εἶτα καὶ τὸ ἐναργὲς

ἔχει [1] καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναγνώσει, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων. Ἔτι τῷ ἐν ἐλάττονι μήκει τὸ τέλος τῆς μιμήσεως εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ἀθροώτερον ἥδιον, ἢ πολλῷ κεκραμένον τῷ χρόνῳ· λέγω δ', οἷον εἴ τις τὸν Οἰδίπουν θείη τὸν Σοφοκλέους ἐν ἔπεσιν, ὅσοις ἡ Ἰλιάς. [2] Ἔτι ἧττον μία ὁποιαοῦν μίμησις ἡ τῶν ἐποποιῶν. Σημεῖον δέ· ἐκ γὰρ ὁποιασοῦν μιμήσεως πλείους τραγῳδίαι γίνονται. [3] Ὥστε, ἐὰν μὲν ἕνα μῦθον ποιῶσιν ἀνάγκη, ἢ βραχέως δεικνύμενον μύουρον φαίνεσθαι, ἢ ἀκολουθοῦντα τῷ τοῦ μέτρου μήκει, ὑδαρῆ· [4] ἐὰν δὲ πλείους, λέγω δέ, οἷον ἐὰν ἐκ πλειόνων πράξεων ᾖ συγκειμένη, οὐ μία· ὥσπερ ἡ Ἰλιὰς ἔχει πολλὰ τοιαῦτα μέρη, καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσσεια, ἃ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ἔχει μέγεθος· καίτοι ταῦτα τὰ ποιήματα συνέστηκεν ὡς ἐνδέχεται ἄριστα, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα μιᾶς πράξεως μίμησίς ἐστιν. Εἰ οὖν τούτοις τε διαφέρει πᾶσι, καὶ ἔτι τῷ τῆς τέχνης ἔργῳ· [5] δεῖ γὰρ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰρημένην· φανερὸν, ὅτι κρείττων ἂν εἴη, μᾶλλον τοῦ τέλους τυγχάνουσα, τῆς ἐποποιΐας. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τραγῳδίας, καὶ ἐποποιΐας, καὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν, καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ πόσα, καὶ τί διαφέρει, καὶ τοῦ εὖ ἢ μὴ τίνες αἰτίαι, [6] καὶ περὶ ἐπιτιμήσεων καὶ λύσεων, εἰρήσθω τοσαῦτα.

Τέλος τῆς Ποιητικῆς.

II.

[1] E DIONYSIO HALICARNASSEO.

[AD EDIT. JO. JAC. REISKE. LIPS. 1774. VI TOM. IN 8VO.]

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS suavissimus simul et diligentissimus scriptor.

JOS. SCALIGER DE EMEND. TEMP. LIB. V.

[2] *ΠΕΡΙ*

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΚΑΙ

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ.

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ἉΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΩΣ

ΠΡΟΣ

ΓΝΑΙΟΝ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ.

* * *

—*ΠΕΡΙ μὲν Ἡροδότου καὶ Θουκυδίδου ταῦτα φρονῶ. Πρῶτον, ὅτι καὶ σχεδὸν ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον ἁπάντων ἐστὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν ἱστορίας, ὑπόθεσιν ἐκλέξασθαι καλὴν καὶ κεχαρισμένην τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις. Τοῦτο*

Ἡρόδοτος κρεῖττόν μοι δοκεῖ πεποιηκέναι Θουκυδίδου. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ κοινὴν Ἑλληνικῶν τε καὶ βαρβάρων πράξεων [1] ἐξενήνοχεν ἱστορίαν, "ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε τὰ ἔργα," [2] καὶ ἅπερ αὐτὸς εἴρηκε· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ προοίμιόν τε καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἐστὶ τῆς ἱστορίας. Ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης πόλεμον ἕνα γράφει, καὶ τοῦτον οὔτε καλὸν, οὔτ' εὐτυχῆ· ὃς μάλιστα μὲν ὤφειλε μὴ γενέσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, σιωπῇ καὶ λήθῃ παραδοθεὶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἠγνοῆσθαι. Ὅτι δὲ πονηρὰν εἴληφεν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ αὐτός γε τοῦτο ποιεῖ φανερὸν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ. "Πόλεις τε γὰρ δι' αὐτὸν ἐξερημωθῆναί φησιν Ἑλληνίδας πολλὰς, τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ φυγὰς, καὶ φόνους ἀνθρώπων, ὅσους οὔπω πρότερον γενέσθαι, σεισμούς τε καὶ αὐχμοὺς καὶ νόσους, καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς συμφοράς." [3] Ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγνόντας τὸ προοίμιον ἠλλοτριῶσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, Ἑλληνικῶν μέλλοντας ἀκούειν. Ὅσῳ δὲ κρείττων ἡ τὰ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα δηλοῦσα Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων γραφὴ, τῆς τὰ οἰκτρὰ καὶ δεινὰ πάθη τῶν Ἑλλήνων διαγγελλούσης· τοσούτῳ φρονιμώτερος Ἡρόδοτος Θουκυδίδου κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῆς ὑποθέσεως. Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δι' ἀνάγκην ἦλθεν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν, ἐπιστάμενος ἐκεῖνα καλλίω, [4] βουλόμενος δὲ μὴ ταὐτὰ ἑτέροις γράφειν. Πᾶν γὰρ τοὐναντίον, ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ διασύρων τὰ παλαιὰ ἔργα, κάλλιστα καὶ θαυμασιώτατα τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπιτελεσθέντα φησὶν εἶναι· καὶ φανερός ἐστι ταῦτα ἑκὼν ἑλόμενος. Οὐ μὴν Ἡρόδοτός γε τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων γενομένων Ἑλλανίκου τε καὶ Χαίρωνος, τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν προεκδεδωκότων,

οὐκ ἀπετράπετο, ἀλλ' ἐπίστευσεν αὐτῶν κρεῖσσόν τι ἐξοίσειν· ὅπερ καὶ πεποίηκε.

Δεύτερόν ἐστι τῆς ἱστορικῆς πραγματείας ἔργον, γνῶναι, πόθεν τ' ἄρξασθαι, [1]καὶ μέχρι τοῦ προελθεῖν δεῖ. Φαίνεται δὴ κἀν τούτῳ Θουκυδίδου πολὺ Ἡρόδοτος φρονιμώτερος, ὃς ἄρχεταί τε, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας ἤρξαντο πρῶτον κακῶς ποιεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ βάρβαροι· καὶ προελθὼν, εἰς τὴν βαρβάρων κόλασιν καὶ τιμωρίαν λήγει. Ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐποιήσατο, [2]ἀφ' ἧς ἤρξατο κακῶς πράττειν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν· ὅπερ Ἕλληνα ὄντα καὶ Ἀθηναῖον οὐκ ἔδει ποιεῖν· [3]καὶ ταῦτα, οὐ τῶν ἀπεῤῥιμμένων ὄντα, ἀλλ' ὧν ἐν πρώτοις ἦγον Ἀθηναῖοι, στρατηγιῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τιμῶν ἀξιοῦντες· [4]καὶ οὕτε γε φανερῶς, ὥστε καὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τὰς φανερὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου περιάπτειν, ἑτέραις ἔχοντα πολλαῖς ἀφορμαῖς περιάψαι τὰς αἰτίας. [5]καὶ ἄρξασθαί γε τῆς διηγήσεως, μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν Κερκυραϊκῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν κρατίστων τῆς πατρίδος ἔργων, ἃ μετὰ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἔπραξαν· ὧν ὕστερον καὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ μνήμην ἐποιήσατο φαύλως πως καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς. διελθόντα δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῆς εὐνοίας, ὡς ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν, ἔπειτ' ἐπενεγκεῖν, ὅτι τούτων φθόνῳ καὶ δέει προελθόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, προφάσεις ὑποθέντες ἑτέρας, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον· καὶ τότε λέγειν τὰ Κερκυραϊκὰ, καὶ τὸ κατὰ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτο λέγειν ἐβούλετο. Τὰ δὲ τέλη πλείονος ἁμαρτίας πλήρη· καίπερ γὰρ λέγων, ὅτι παντὶ τῷ πολέμῳ παρεγένετο, καὶ πάντα δηλώσειν ὑποσχόμενος, εἰς τὴν ναυμαχίαν τελευτᾷ, τὴν περὶ [6]Κυνὸς σῆμα γεγενημένην, Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων, ἣ συνέβη κατὰ ἔτος εἰκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον. Κρεῖττον δ' ἦν, διεξελθόντα τὰ πάντα,

τελευτὴν ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν θαυμασιωτάτην καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀκούουσι κεχαρισμένην, τὴν κάθοδον [1] τῶν φυγάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἡ πόλις ἀρξαμένη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐκομίσατο.

Τρίτον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς ἱστορικοῦ, τίνα τε δεῖ παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν πράγματα, καὶ τίνα παραλιπεῖν. Δοκεῖ δή μοι κἀν τούτῳ [2] λείπεσθαι Θουκυδίδης. Συνειδὼς γὰρ Ἡρόδοτος, ὅτι πᾶσα μῆκος ἔχουσα ἀπὸ λόγου διήγησις, ἂν μὲν ἀναπαύσεις τινὰς λαμβάνῃ, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἡδέως διατίθησιν· ἐὰν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μένῃ πραγμάτων, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτυγχάνηται, λυπεῖ τὴν ἀκοὴν τῷ κόρῳ· ποικίλην ἐβουλήθη ποιῆσαι τὴν γραφὴν, Ὁμήρου ζηλωτὴς γενόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ βιβλίον ἢν αὐτοῦ λάβωμεν, μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης συλλαβῆς ἀγάμεθα, καὶ ἀεὶ τὸ πλεῖον ἐπιζητοῦμεν. Θουκυδίδης δὲ πόλεμον ἕνα καί τινας ἀπνευστὶ διεξέρχεται μάχας ἐπὶ μάχαις, καὶ παρασκευὰς ἐπὶ παρασκευαῖς, καὶ λόγους ἐπὶ λόγοις συντιθείς· ὥστε μοχθεῖν μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἀκροωμένων. "Κόρον δ᾽ ἔχει, [3] φησὶν ὁ Πίνδαρος, καὶ μέλι, καὶ "τὰ τερπνὰ ἀφροδίσια." Ἤδη δ᾽ ἐγὼ κἀκεῖνο ἐνεθυμήθην, ὡς ἡδὺ χρῆμα ἐν ἱστορίαις γραφῆς μεταβολὴ καὶ ποικίλον· καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐν δύο ἢ τρισὶ τόποις ἐποίησεν, ἐπί τε τῆς Ὀδρυσῶν ἀρχῆς, δι᾽ ἃς αἰτίας ἐγένετο μεγάλη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεων.

Μετὰ τοῦτο, ἔργον ἐστὶν ἱστορικοῦ, διελέσθαι τε καὶ τάξαι τῶν δηλουμένων ἕκαστον, ἐν ᾧ δεῖ τόπῳ. Πῶς οὖν ἑκάτερος διαιρεῖ τε καὶ τάττει τὰ λεγόμενα; Θουκυδίδης μὲν, τοῖς χρόνοις ἀκολουθῶν, Ἡρόδοτος δὲ, ταῖς περιοχαῖς τῶν πραγμάτων. Καὶ γίνεται Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἀσαφὴς καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητος· πολλῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα γιγνομένων ἐν διαφόροις, ὡς

εἰκὸς, τόποις, ἡμιτελεῖς τὰς πρώτας πράξεις καταλιπὼν, ἑτέρων ἅπτεται τῶν κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θέρος ἢ χειμῶνα γιγνομένων· πλανώμεθα δὴ, καθάπερ εἰκὸς, καὶ δυσκόλως τοῖς δηλουμένοις παρακολουθοῦμεν, ταραττομένης τῆς διανοίας. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ, ἀπὸ τῆς Λυδῶν βασιλείας ἀρξάμενος, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Κροίσου καταβὰς, ἐπὶ Κῦρον εὐθέως, τὸν καταλύσαντα τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν, μεταβαίνει· Αἰγυπτίων τ' ἄρχεται διηγημάτων, καὶ Σκυθικῶν, καὶ Λιβυκῶν, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀκόλουθα δηλῶν, τὰ δὲ ὡς χαριεστέραν ποιήσοντα τὴν διήγησιν ἐπεισάγων· διεξελθών τε πράξεις Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἔτεσιν ὁμοῦ διακοσίοις καὶ εἴκοσι γενομένας ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν ἠπείροις, καὶ παραγράψας τῆς Ξέρξου φυγῆς τὴν ἱστορίαν, οὐ διέσπασε τὴν διήγησιν· ἀλλὰ συμβέβηκε [1] τῷ μὲν, μίαν ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντι, πολλὰ ποιῆσαι μέρη τὸ ἓν σῶμα· τῷ δὲ, τὰς πολλὰς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐοικυίας ὑποθέσεις προελομένῳ, σύμφωνον ἓν σῶμα πεποιηκέναι.

Μιᾶς δ' ἰδέας ἐπιμνησθήσομαι [2] πραγματικῆς, ἣν οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν εἰρημένων ἧττον ἐν ἁπάσαις ἱστορίαις ζητοῦμεν, τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ συγγραφέως διάθεσιν, ᾗ κέχρηται πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, περὶ ὧν γράφει. Ἡ μὲν Ἡροδότου διάθεσις ἐν ἅπασιν ἐπιεικὴς, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς συνηδομένη, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς συναλγοῦσα· ἡ δὲ Θουκυδίδου διάθεσις αὐθέκαστός τις καὶ πικρὰ, καὶ τῇ πατρίδι τῆς φυγῆς μνησικακοῦσα. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἁμαρτήματα ἐπεξέρχεται καὶ μάλα ἀκριβῶς· τῶν δὲ κατὰ νοῦν κεχωρηκότων καθάπαξ οὐ μέμνηται, ἢ ὥσπερ ἠναγκασμένως. Καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πραγματικὸν τύπον, ἥττων ἐστὶν Ἡροδότȣ διὰ ταῦτα Θουκυδίδης· κατὰ δὲ τὸν λεκτικὸν, τὰ μὲν ἥττων, τὰ δὲ κρείττων, τὰ δ' ἴσος. Ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων, ὡς ὑπείληφα.

Πρώτη τῶν ἀρετῶν γένοιτ᾽ ἂν, ἧς χωρὶς οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ὄφελος· τίς; ἡ καθαρὰ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτῆρα σώζουσα διάλεκτος. ταύτην ἀκριβοῦσιν ἀμφότεροι. Ἡρόδοτός τε γὰρ τῆς Ἰάδος ἄριστος κανών· Θουκυδίδης τε τῆς Ἀτθίδος. [1] Τρίτην ἔχει χώραν ἡ καλουμένη συντομία. ἐν ταύτῃ δοκεῖ προέχειν Ἡροδότου Θουκυδίδης. καίτοι λέγοι τις ἂν, ὡς μετὰ τοῦ σαφοῦς ἐξεταζόμενον ἡδὺ φαίνεται τὸ βραχύ· εἰ δ᾽ ἀπολείποιτο τούτε, πικρόν. [2] ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἔστω παρὰ τοῦτο. Ενάργεια μετὰ ταῦτα τέτακται πρώτη μετὰ τῶν ἐπιθέτων ἀρετῶν. ἱκανῶς ἐν ταύτῃ κατορθοῦσιν ἀμφότεροι. Μετὰ ταύτην συνίσταται τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἠθῶν τε καὶ παθῶν μίμησις. διῄρηνται τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην οἱ συγγραφεῖς. Θουκυδίδης μὲν γὰρ τὰ πάθη δηλῶσαι κρείττων· Ἡρόδοτος δὲ τά γ᾽ ἤθη παραστῆσαι δεινότερος. Μετὰ ταῦτα αἱ τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐκφαίνουσαι τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀρεταί. ἴσοι κἀν ταύταις οἱ συγγραφεῖς. Ἕπονται ταύταις αἱ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸν τόνον καὶ τὰς ὁμοιοτρόπους δυνάμεις τῆς φράσεως ἀρεταὶ περιέχουσαι. κρείττων ἐν ταύταις Ἡροδότου Θουκυδίδης. Ἡδονὴν δὲ καὶ πειθὼ καὶ τέρψιν καὶ τὰς ὁμοιογενεῖς ἀρετὰς εἰσφέρεται μακρῷ Θουκυδίδȣ κρείττονας Ἡρόδοτος. Τῆς δὲ φράσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐζήλωκε, τὸ δὲ δεινὸν Θουκυδίδης, ὁμοειδὴς πᾶς ὢν ἐν λόγοις. Ἀρετῶν ἡ κυριωτάτη τὸ πρέπον. ταύτην ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ἀκριβοῖ μᾶλλον, ἢ Θουκυδίδης. ὁμοειδὴς γὰρ οὗτος ἐν πᾶσι, κἀν ταῖς δημηγορίαις μᾶλλον, ἢ ταῖς διηγήσεσιν. Εμοὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ φιλτάτῳ [3] Καικιλίῳ δοκεῖ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα αὐτοῦ μάλιστά γε καὶ ζηλῶσαι Δημοσθένης. Ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἴπω, καλαὶ μὲν αἱ ποιήσεις ἀμφότεραι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αἰσχυνθείην ποιήσεις αὐτὰς λέγων· διαφέρουσι δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀλλήλων, ὅτι

τὸ μὲν Ἡροδότου κάλλος ἱλαρόν ἐστι, φοβερὸν δὲ τὸ Θουκυδίδου. Ἀπόχρη ταῦτ᾽ εἰρῆσθαι περὶ τούτων τῶν συγγραφέων, πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐνόντων λέγεσθαι, περὶ ὧν καὶ ἕτερος ἔσται καιρός.

δ΄. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Φίλιστος, οἱ τούτοις ἐπακμάσαντες, οὔτε φύσεις ὁμοίας εἶχον, οὔτε προαιρέσεις. Ξενοφῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἡροδότου ζηλωτὴς ἐγένετο κατ᾽ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, τόν τε πραγματικὸν, καὶ τὸν λεκτικόν. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐξελέξατο καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς, καὶ ἀνδρὶ φιλοσόφῳ προσηκούσας· τήν τε Κύρου Παιδείαν, εἰκόνα βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ εὐδαίμονος· καὶ τὴν Ἀνάβασιν τοῦ νεωτέρου Κύρου, ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς συνανέβη, μέγιστον ἐγκώμιον ἔχουσαν τῶν συστρατευσαμένων Ἑλλήνων· καὶ τρίτην ἔτι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν, καὶ ἣν κατέλιπεν ἀτελῆ Θουκυδίδης, ἐν ᾗ καταλύονταί τε [1] οἱ τριάκοντα, καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθεῖλον, αὖθις ἀνίστανται. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τῶν ὑποθέσεων χάριν ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ζηλωτὴς Ἡροδότου γενόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας. Ταῖς τε γὰρ ἀρχαῖς αὐτῶν ταῖς πρεπωδεστάταις κέχρηται, καὶ τελευτὰς ἑκάστῃ τὰς ἐπιτηδειοτάτας ἀποδέδωκε. Μεμέρικέ τε καλῶς καὶ τέταχε καὶ πεποίκιλκε τὴν γραφήν. Ἦθός τ᾽ ἐπιδείκνυται θεοσεβὲς, καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ καρτερικὸν, καὶ εὐπετὲς, ἁπάσαις τε συλλήβδην κεκοσμημένον ἀρεταῖς. Καὶ ὁ μὲν πραγματικὸς τύπος αὐτῷ τοιοῦτος.

Ὁ δὲ λεκτικὸς πῇ μὲν ὅμοιος Ἡροδότου, πῇ δ᾽ ἐνδεέστερος. Καθαρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἱκανῶς, καὶ σαφὴς, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος· ἐκλέγει δ᾽ ὀνόματα συνήθη τε καὶ προσφυῆ τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ συντίθησιν αὐτὰ ἡδέως πάνυ καὶ κεχαρισμένως, οὐχ ἧττον Ἡροδότου. Ὕψος δὲ καὶ κάλλος καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἰδίως πλάσμα ἱστορικὸν Ἡρόδοτος ἔχει. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον οὐκ

ἴσχυσε τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ποτε διεγεῖραι βουληθείη τὴν φράσιν, ὀλίγον ἐμπνεύσας, [1] ὥσπερ ἀπόγειος αὔρα, ταχέως σβέννυται. Μακρότερος γὰρ γίνεται τοῦ δέοντος ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος, καὶ οὐχ, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος, ἐφάπτεται τῶν προσώπων εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν πολλοῖς ὀλίγωρός ἐστιν, ἄν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ.

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III.

[1] E LONGINO.

[AD EDIT. JOANNIS TOUPII. OXON. 1778. IN 4to.]

[2] *ΕΚ ΤΟΥ*

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΓΙΝΟΥ

ΠΕΡΙ

ʽΥΨΟΥΣ.

ʽΗ—τῶν λόγων κρίσις πολλῆς ἐστι πείρας τελευταῖον ἐπιγέννημα.
ΠΕΡΙ ʽΥΨ. § VI.

§ I.

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—[3] *ΑΚΡΟΤΗΣ* καὶ ἐξοχή τις λόγων ἐστὶ τὰ ὕψη· καὶ ποιητῶν τε οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ συγγραφέων οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐνθένδε ποθὲν ἐπρώτευσαν, [4] καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν περιέλαβον εὐκλείαις τὸν αἰῶνα. Οὐ γὰρ εἰς πειθὼ τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ἔκστασιν ἄγει [5] τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ· [6] πάντῃ δέ γε σὺν ἐκπλήξει τοῦ πιθανοῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν ἀεὶ κρατεῖ τὸ θαυμάσιον· εἴγε τὸ μὲν πιθανὸν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν· ταῦτα δὲ, δυναστείαν καὶ βίαν ἄμαχον

προσφέροντα, παντὸς ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀκροωμένου καθίσταται. Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐμπειρίαν τῆς εὑρέσεως, καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων τάξιν καὶ οἰκονομίαν, οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς, οὐδ' ἐκ δυοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου τῶν λόγων ὕφους μόλις ἐκφαινομένην ὁρῶμεν· [1] ὕψος δέ που καιρίως ἐξενεχθὲν τά τε πράγματα δίκην σκηπτοῦ πάντα διεφόρησεν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος εὐθὺς ἀθρόαν ἐνεδείξατο δύναμιν. * * *

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§ VII.

Εἰδέναι χρὴ, φίλτατε, διότι, καθάπερ κἀν τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει μέγα, οὗ τὸ καταφρονεῖν ἐστι μέγα· οἷον πλοῦτοι, τιμαὶ, δόξαι, τυραννίδες, καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἄλλα ἔχει πολὺ τὸ ἔξωθεν προστραγῳδούμενον, οὐκ ἂν τῷ γε φρονίμῳ δόξειεν ἀγαθὰ ὑπερβάλλοντα, ὧν αὐτὸ τὸ περιφρονεῖν ἀγαθὸν οὐ μέτριον· [2] θαυμάζουσι γοῦν τῶν ἐχόντων αὐτὰ μᾶλλον τοὺς δυναμένους ἔχειν, καὶ διὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν ὑπερορῶντας·—[3] τῇδέ που καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διηρμένων ἐν ποιήμασι καὶ λόγοις ἐπισκεπτέον, μή τινα μεγέθους φαντασίαν [4] ἔχοι τοιαύτην, ᾗ πολὺ πρόσκειται τὸ εἰκῆ προσαναπλαττόμενον, ἀναπτυσσόμενα δὲ, ἄλλως εὑρίσκοιτο χαῦνα, ὧν τοῦ θαυμάζειν τὸ περιφρονεῖν εὐγενέστερον. Φύσει γάρ πως ὑπὸ τἀληθοῦς ὕψους ἐπαίρεταί τε ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ γαῦρόν τι ἀνάστημα λαμβάνουσα πληροῦται χαρᾶς καὶ μεγαλαυχίας, ὡς αὐτὴ γεννήσασα, ὅπερ ἤκουσεν. Ὅταν οὖν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἔμφρονος καὶ ἐμπείρου λόγων πολλάκις ἀκουόμενόν τι πρὸς μεγαλοφροσύνην τὴν ψυχὴν μὴ συνδιατιθῇ, μηδ' ἐγκαταλείπῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ πλεῖον τοῦ λεγομένου τὸ ἀναθεωρούμενον, πίπτῃ δ', ἂν τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπισκοπῇ, εἰς ἀπαύξησιν· οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ἀληθὲς ὕψος εἴη, μέχρι μόνης τῆς ἀκοῆς σωζό-

μενον. Τοῦτο γὰρ τῷ ὄντι μέγα, οὗ πολλὴ μὲν ἡ ἀναθεώρησις, δύσκολος δὲ, μᾶλλον δ' [1] ἀδύνατος ἡ κατεξανάστασις· ἰσχυρὰ δὲ ἡ μνήμη καὶ δυσεξάλειπτος. Ὅλως δὲ καλὰ νόμιζε ὕψη καὶ ἀληθινὰ τὰ διαπαντὸς ἀρέσκοντα καὶ πᾶσιν· [2] ὅταν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, βίων, ζήλων, ἡλικιῶν, λόγων, ἕν τι καὶ ταὐτὸν ἅμα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἅπασι δοκῇ, τόθ' ἡ ἐξ ἀσυμφώνων [3] ὡς κρίσις καὶ συγκατάθεσις τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θαυμαζομένῳ πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν λαμβάνει καὶ ἀναμφίλεκτον.

§ VIII.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πέντε, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, πηγαί τινές εἰσιν αἱ τῆς ὑψηγορίας γονιμώταται, (προϋποκειμένης, ὥσπερ ἐδάφους τινὸς κοινοῦ, ταῖς πέντε ταύταις ἰδέαις, τῆς ἐν τῷ λέγειν δυνάμεως, ἧς ὅλως χωρὶς οὐδὲν,) πρῶτον μὲν καὶ κράτιστον, [4] τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἁδρεπήβολον, ὡς κἀν τοῖς περὶ Ξενοφῶντος ὡρισάμεθα· δεύτερον δὲ, τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικὸν πάθος· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν δύο αὗται τοῦ ὕψους κατὰ τὸ πλέον αὐθιγενεῖς συστάσεις· αἱ λοιπαὶ δ' ἤδη καὶ διὰ τέχνης· [5] ἥ τε ποιὰ τῶν σχημάτων πλάσις· [6] δισσὰ δέ που ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν νοήσεως, θάτερα δὲ λέξεως· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις [7] ἡ γενναία φράσις, ἧς μέρη πάλιν ὀνομάτων τε ἐκλογὴ, καὶ ἡ τροπικὴ καὶ πεποιημένη λέξις· πέμπτη δὲ μεγέθους αἰτία, καὶ συγκλείουσα τὰ πρὸ ἑαυτῆς ἅπαντα, ἡ ἐν ἀξιώματι καὶ διάρσει σύνθεσις· φέρε δὴ, τὰ ἐμπεριεχόμενα καθ' ἑκάστην ἰδέαν τούτων ἐπισκεψώμεθα· τοσοῦτον προειπόντες, ὅτι τῶν πέντε μορίων ὁ Καικίλιος [8] ἔστιν ἃ παρέλιπεν, ὡς καὶ τὸ πάθος ἀμέλει. [9] Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὡς ἕν τι ταῦτ' ἄμφω, τό τε ὕψος καὶ τὸ παθητικὸν, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ πάντῃ συνυπάρχειν τε ἀλλή-

λοις καὶ συμπεφυκέναι, διαμαρτάνει· καὶ γὰρ πάθη τινὰ διεστῶτα ὕψους καὶ ταπεινὰ εὑρίσκεται, καθάπερ οἶκτοι, λύπαι, φόβοι· καὶ ἔμπαλιν πολλὰ ὕψη δίχα πάθους, ὡς πρὸς μυρίοις ἄλλοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς [1] Ἀλωάδας τῷ Ποιητῇ παρατετολμημένα·

" Ὄσσαν ἐπ' Οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ
" Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, ἵν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη·"

καὶ τὸ τούτοις ἔτι μεῖζον ἐπιφερόμενον,

" Καί νύ κεν ἐξετέλεσσαν,"———

Παρά γε μὴν τοῖς ῥήτορσι τὰ ἐγκώμια, καὶ τὰ πομπικὰ καὶ ἐπιδεικτικὰ, τὸν μὲν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἐξ ἅπαντος περιέχει, πάθους δὲ χηρεύει κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον· ὅθεν ἥκιστα τῶν ῥητόρων οἱ περιπαθεῖς ἐγκωμιαστικοὶ, ἢ ἔμπαλιν οἱ ἐπαινετικοὶ περιπαθεῖς. Εἰ δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐξ ὅλου μὴ ἐνόμισεν ὁ Καικίλιος τὸ ἐμπαθὲς εἰς τὰ ὕψη ποτὲ συντελεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐχ ἡγήσατο μνήμης ἄξιον, πάνυ διηπάτηται· θαῤῥῶν γὰρ ἀφορισαίμην ἂν, ὡς οὐδὲν οὕτως, ὡς τὸ γενναῖον πάθος, ἔνθα χρὴ, μεγαλήγορον, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μανίας τινὸς καὶ πνεύματος ἐνθουσιαστικοῦ ἐκπνέον, [2] καὶ οἱονεὶ φοιβάζον τοὺς λόγους.

§ IX.

[3] Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ τὴν κρατίστην μοῖραν ἐπέχει τῶν ἄλλων τὸ πρῶτον, λέγω δὲ τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς, χρὴ κἀνταῦθα, εἰ καὶ δωρητὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα μᾶλλον ἢ κτητὸν, ὅμως, καθ' ὅσον οἷόντε, τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνατρέφειν πρὸς τὰ μεγέθη, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐγκύμονας ἀεὶ ποιεῖν γενναίου παραστήματος. Τίνα, φήσεις, τρόπον; Γέγραφά που καὶ ἑτέ-

ρωθι, ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον ὕψος μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα. Ὅθεν καὶ φωνῆς δίχα θαυμάζεταί ποτε ψιλὴ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν ἡ ἔννοια δι᾽ αὐτὸ τὸ μεγαλόφρον· ὡς ἡ τοῦ Αἴαντος [1] ἐν Νεκυίᾳ σιωπὴ μέγα καὶ πάντος ὑψηλότερον λόγου. Πρῶτον οὖν τὸ, ἐξ οὗ γίνεται, προϋποτίθεσθαι πάντως ἀναγκαῖον· ὡς ἔχειν δεῖ τὸν ἀληθῆ ῥήτορα μὴ ταπεινὸν φρόνημα καὶ ἀγεννές· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷόντε, μικρὰ καὶ δουλοπρεπῆ φρονοῦντας καὶ ἐπιτηδεύοντας παρ᾽ ὅλον τὸν βίον θαυμαστόν τι καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος ἐξενεγκεῖν ἄξιον· μεγάλοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι τούτων, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς, ὧν ἂν ἐμβριθεῖς ὦσιν αἱ ἔννοιαι. Ταύτῃ καὶ εἰς τοὺς μάλιστα φρονηματίας ἐμπίπτει τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ. Ὁ γὰρ τῷ Παρμενίωνι φήσαντι, "[2] Εγὼ μὲν ἂν ἠρκέσθην, [3] εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος "ἤμην," "Κἀγὼ, νὴ Δία," εἰπὼν, "εἰ Παρμενίων ἤμην," τὸ αὐτοῦ μεγαλόφρον δείκνυσιν. Ὡς καὶ τὸ Ὁμήρου παρορίζει μεγαλοφυὲς, ἐν τῷ,

"Οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει,"

τὸ ἐπ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ γῆς διάστημα· καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἴποι τις οὐ μᾶλλον [4] τῆς Εριδος, ἢ Ὁμήρου μέτρον. [5] Ὡ ἀνόμοιόν γε τὸ Ἡσιόδειον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀχλύος, εἴγε Ἡσιόδου καὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα θετέον·

"Τῆς ἐκ μὲν ῥινῶν μύξαι ῥέον·"

οὐ γὰρ δεινὸν ἐποίησε τὸ εἴδωλον, ἀλλὰ μισητόν. [6] Ὁ δὲ πῶς μεγεθύνει τὰ δαιμόνια;

"Ὅσσον δ᾽ ἠεροειδὲς ἀνὴρ ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,
"Ἥμενος ἐν σκοπιῇ, λεύσσων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον,
"Τόσσον ἐπιθρώσκουσι θεῶν ὑψηχέες ἵπποι."

Τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν κοσμικῷ διαστήματι καταμετρεῖ. Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους ἐπιφθέγξαιτο, ὅτι, ἂν δὶς ἑξῆς ἐφορμήσωσιν οἱ τῶν θεῶν ἵπ-

κοι, οὐκέθ' εὑρήσουσιν ἐν κόσμῳ τόπον; Ὑπερφυᾶ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς θεομαχίας φαντάσματα·

"[1] Ἀμφὶ δ' ἐσάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανὸς, Οὔλυμπός τε.
"Εδδεισεν δ' ὑπένερθεν ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀϊδωνεὺς,
"Δείσας δ' ἐκ θρόνου ἆλτο, καὶ ἴαχε, μή οἱ ἔπειτα
"Γαῖαν ἀναῤῥήξειε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,
"Οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη,
"Σμερδαλέ', εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ."

Ἐπιβλέπεις, ἑταῖρε, ὡς, ἀναῤῥηγνυμένης μὲν ἐκ βάθρων γῆς, αὐτοῦ δὲ γυμνουμένου ταρτάρου, ἀνατροπὴν δὲ ὅλου καὶ διάστασιν τοῦ κόσμου λαμβάνοντος, πάνθ' ἅμα, οὐρανὸς, ᾅδης, τὰ θνητὰ, τὰ ἀθάνατα, ἅμα τῇ τότε συμπολεμεῖ καὶ συγκινδυνεύει μάχῃ; [2] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα φοβερὰ μὲν, πλὴν ἄλλως εἰ μὴ κατ' ἀλληγορίαν λαμβάνοιτο, παντάπασιν ἄθεα, καὶ οὐ σώζοντα τὸ πρέπον. Ὅμηρος γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, παραδιδοὺς τραύματα θεῶν, στάσεις, τιμωρίας, δάκρυα, δεσμὰ, πάθη πάμφυρτα, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἀνθρώπους, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει, θεοὺς πεποιηκέναι, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους. Ἀλλ' ἡμῖν μὲν δυσδαιμονοῦσιν ἀπόκειται λιμὴν κακῶν ὁ θάνατος· τῶν θεῶν δ' οὐ τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν ἐποίησεν αἰώνιον. Πολὺ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν θεομαχίαν ἀμείνω τὰ, ὅσα ἄχραντόν τι καὶ μέγα τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἄκρατον παρίστησιν, οἷα (πολλοῖς δὲ πρὸ ἡμῶν ὁ τόπος ἐξείργασται) τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος·

——"Τρέμε δ' οὔρεα μακρὰ, καὶ ὕλη,
"Καὶ κορυφαὶ, Τρώων τε πόλις, καὶ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν,
'Ποσσὶν ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος.
"Βῆ δ' ἐλάαν ἐπὶ κύματ'· [3] ἄταλλε δὲ κήτε' ὑπ' αὐτῷ
"Πάντοθεν ἐκ κευθμῶν, οὐδ' ἠγνοίησεν ἄνακτα·
"Γηθοσύνῃ δὲ θάλασσα διΐστατο· τοὶ δὲ πέτοντο"——

Ταύτῃ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων θεσμοθέτης, οὐχ ὁ τυχὼν ἀνὴρ, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν [1] ἐχώρησε, κἀξέφηνεν, εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ γράψας τῶν νόμων, "Εἶπεν ὁ Θεὸς," φησί· τί; "[2] Γενέσθω φῶς, καὶ ἐγένετο· "γενέσθω γῆ, καὶ ἐγένετο." Οὐκ ὀχληρὸς ἂν ἴσως, ἑταῖρε, δόξαιμι, [3] ἓν ἔτι τοῦ Ποιητοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων παραθέμενος, τοῦ μαθεῖν χάριν, ὡς εἰς τὰ ἡρωϊκὰ μεγέθη συνεμβαίνειν ἐθίζει. Ἀχλὺς ἄφνω καὶ νὺξ ἄπορος αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπέχει μάχην· ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Αἴας ἀμηχανῶν,

"[4] Ζεῦ πάτερ, (φησὶν,) ἀλλὰ σὺ ῥῦσαι ὑπ' ἠέρος υἷας Ἀχαιῶν,
"Ποίησον δ' αἴθρην, δὸς δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι·
"Ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον."

Ἔστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸ πάθος Αἴαντος· οὐ γὰρ ζῆν εὔχεται, (ἦν γὰρ τὸ αἴτημα τοῦ ἥρωος ταπεινότερον,) ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἀπράκτῳ σκότει τὴν ἀνδρίαν εἰς οὐδὲν γενναῖον εἶχε διαθέσθαι, διὰ ταῦτ' ἀγανακτῶν, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἀργεῖ, φῶς ὅτι τάχιστα αἰτεῖται, ὡς πάντως τῆς ἀρετῆς εὑρήσων ἐντάφιον ἄξιον, κἂν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς ἀντιτάττηται. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ὅμηρος μὲν ἐνθάδε οὔριος συνεμπνεῖ τοῖς ἀγῶσι, [5] καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο τι αὐτὸς πέπονθεν, ἢ

"Μαίνεται, ὡς ὅτ' Ἄρης ἐγχέσπαλος, ἢ ὀλοὸν πῦρ
"Οὔρεσι μαίνηται βαθέης ἐνὶ τάρφεσιν ὕλης·
"Ἀφλοισμὸς δὲ περὶ στόμα γίνεται."

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§ XII.

—[1] Ὁ Κικέρων τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐν τοῖς μεγέθεσι παραλλάττει. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ὕψει τὸ πλέον ἀποτόμῳ, ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἐν χύσει· καὶ [2] ὁ μὲν ἡμέτερος διὰ τὸ μετὰ βίας ἕκαστα, ἔτι δὲ τάχους, ῥώμης, δεινότητος, οἷον καίειν τε ἅμα καὶ διαρπάζειν, σκηπτῷ τινι παρεικάζοιτ' ἂν ἢ κεραυνῷ· ὁ δὲ Κικέρων, ὡς ἀμφιλαφής τις ἐμπρησμὸς, (οἶμαι,) πάντη νέμεται καὶ ἀνειλεῖται, πολὺ ἔχων καὶ ἐπίμονον ἀεὶ τὸ καῖον, καὶ διακληρονομούμενον ἄλλοτ' ἀλλοίως ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὰς ἀνατρεφόμενον. [3] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμεῖς ἂν ἄμεινον ἐπικρίνοιτε. Καιρὸς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθενικοῦ μὲν ὕψους καὶ [4] ὑπερτεταμένου, ἔν τε ταῖς δεινώσεσι καὶ τοῖς σφοδροῖς πάθεσι, καὶ ἔνθα δεῖ τὸν ἀκροατὴν τὸ σύνολον ἐκπλῆξαι· τῆς δὲ χύσεως, ὅπου χρὴ καταντλῆσαι· τοπηγορίαις τε γὰρ, καὶ ἐπιλόγοις κατὰ τὸ πλέον, καὶ παραβάσεσι, καὶ τοῖς φραστικοῖς ἅπασι καὶ ἐπιδεικτικοῖς, ἱστορίαις τε, καὶ φυσιολογίαις, καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἄλλοις μέρεσιν ἁρμόδιος.

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§ XIV.

[5] Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς, ἡνίκ' ἂν διαπονῶμεν ὑψηγορίας τι καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης δεόμενον, καλὸν ἀναπλάττεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, πῶς ἂν, εἰ τύχοι, ταὐτὸ τοῦθ' Ὅμηρος εἶπεν, πῶς δ' ἂν Πλάτων, ἢ Δημοσθένης ὕψωσεν, ἢ ἐν ἱστορίᾳ

Θουκυδίδης. Προσπίπτοντα γὰρ ἡμῖν κατὰ ζῆλον ἐκεῖνα τὰ πρόσωπα, καὶ οἷον διαπρέποντα, τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνοίσει πως [1] πρὸς τὰ ἀνειδωλοποιούμενα μέτρα. Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον, εἰ κἀκεῖνο τῇ διανοίᾳ προσυπογράφοιμεν, πῶς ἂν [2] τόδε τι ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ λεγόμενον παρὼν Ὅμηρος ἤκουσεν, ἢ Δημοσθένης, ἢ πῶς ἂν ἐπὶ τούτῳ διετέθησαν. Τῷ γὰρ ὄντι μέγα τὸ ἀγώνισμα, τοιοῦτον ὑποτίθεσθαι τῶν ἰδίων λόγων δικαστήριον καὶ θέατρον, καὶ ἐν τηλικούτοις ἥρωσι, κριταῖς τε καὶ μάρτυσιν, [3] ὑπέχειν τῶν γραφομένων εὐθύνας πεπαῖχθαι. Πλέον δὲ τούτων παρορμητικὸν, εἰ προστιθείης, πῶς ἂν ἐμοῦ ταῦτα γράψαντος ὁ μετ᾽ ἐμὲ πᾶς ἀκούσειεν αἰών; Εἰ δέ τις αὐτόθεν φοβοῖτο, μὴ τοῦ ἰδίου βίου καὶ χρόνου οὐ φθέγξαιτό τι ὑπερήμερον, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ συλλαμβανόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς τούτου ψυχῆς [4] ἀτελῆ καὶ τυφλὰ ὥσπερ ἀμβλοῦσθαι, πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὑστεροφημίας ὅλως μὴ τελεσφορούμενα χρόνον.

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§ XVI.

[5] Αὐτόθι μέντοι καὶ ὁ περὶ σχημάτων ἐφεξῆς τέτακται τόπος· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτ᾽, ἂν ὃν δεῖ σκευάζηται τρόπον, ὡς ἔφην, οὐκ ἂν ἡ τυχοῦσα μεγέθους εἴη μερίς. [6] Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽, ἐπεὶ τὸ πάντα διακριβοῦν πολὺ ἔργον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἀπεριόριστον, ὀλίγα τῶν, ὅσα μεγαληγορίας ἀποτελεστικὰ, τοῦ πιστώσασθαι τὸ προκείμενον ἕνεκα, καὶ δὴ διέξιμεν. Ἀπόδειξιν ὁ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων εἰσφέρει· τίς δ᾽ ἦν ἡ κατὰ φύσιν χρῆσις αὐτῆς; "Οὐχ ἡμάρτετε, ὦ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων

“ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνα ἀράμενοι· ἔχετε δὲ οἰκεῖα τούτου “παραδείγματα· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἥμαρτον, οὐδ᾽ “οἱ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, οὐδ᾽ οἱ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς.” Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπειδὴ, καθάπερ ἐμπνευσθεὶς ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ θεοῦ, καὶ οἱονεὶ φοιβόληπτος γενόμενος, τὸν κατὰ τῶν ἀριστέων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅρκον ἐξεφώνησεν, “[1] Οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, οὐ “μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας,” φαίνεται δι᾽ ἑνὸς τοῦ ὀμοτικοῦ σχήματος, ὅπερ ἐνθάδε ἀποστροφὴν ἐγὼ καλῶ, τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ἀποθεώσας, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς οὕτως ἀποθανόντας ὡς θεοὺς ὀμνύναι παριστάνων, τοῖς δὲ κρίνουσι τὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ προκινδυνευσάντων ἐντιθεὶς φρόνημα, τὴν δὲ τῆς ἀποδείξεως φύσιν μεθεστακὼς εἰς ὑπερβάλλον ὕψος καὶ πάθος [2] καὶ ξένων καὶ ὑπερφυῶν ὅρκων ἀξιοπιστίαν, καὶ ἅμα παιώνιόν τινα καὶ ἀλεξιφάρμακον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων καθιεὶς λόγον· ὡς κουφιζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγκωμίων μηδὲν ἔλαττον τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Φίλιππον, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ Μαραθῶνα καὶ Σαλαμῖνα νικητηρίοις, παρίστασθαι φρονεῖν· οἷς πᾶσι τοὺς ἀκροατὰς διὰ τοῦ σχηματισμοῦ συναρπάσας ᾤχετο. * * *

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§ XVIII.

Τί δ᾽ ἐκεῖνα φῶμεν, τὰς πεύσεις τε καὶ ἐρωτήσεις; ἆρα οὐκ αὐταῖς ταῖς τῶν σχημάτων εἰδοποιΐαις παραπολὺ ἐμπρακτότερα καὶ σοβαρώτερα συντείνει τὰ λεγόμενα; “[3] Ἢ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περιϊόντες ἀλλήλων πυνθάνεσθαι, “Λέγεταί τι καινόν; Τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο τούτου καινότε-“ρον, ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ καταπολεμῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα; “Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; Οὐ μὰ Δί᾽, ἀλλ᾽ ἀσθενεῖ. Τί δ᾽

"ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ, ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως "ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε." Καὶ πάλιν, "Πλέ-"ωμεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν," φησί. "Ποῖ δὴ προσορμιούμεθα; "ἤρετό τις. Εὑρήσει τὰ σαθρὰ τῶν Φιλίππου πραγμάτων "αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος." Ἦν δὲ, ἁπλῶς ῥηθὲν, τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ παντὶ καταδεέστερον· νυνὶ δὲ τὸ ἔνθουν καὶ ὀξύῤῥοπον τῆς πεύσεως καὶ ἀποκρίσεως, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀνθυπαντᾷν, οὐ μόνον ὑψηλότερον ἐποίησε τῷ σχηματισμῷ τὸ ῥηθὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πιστότερον. * * *

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§ XXV.

[1]Ὅταν γε μὴν τὰ παρεληλυθότα τοῖς χρόνοις εἰσάγῃς ὡς γινόμενα καὶ παρόντα, οὐ διήγησιν ἔτι τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐναγώνιον πρᾶγμα ποιήσεις. "Πεπτωκὼς δέ "τις," φησὶν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, "ὑπὸ τῷ Κύρου ἵππῳ, καὶ πα-"τούμενος, παίει τῇ μαχαίρᾳ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τὸν ἵπ-"πον· ὁ δὲ σφαδάζων ἀποσείεται τὸν Κῦρον, ὁ δὲ πίπτει" Τοιοῦτος ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ὁ Θουκυδίδης.

§ XXXV.

—[2] Ἡ φύσις οὐ ταπεινὸν ἡμᾶς ζῶον οὐδ' ἀγεννὲς ἔκρινε, τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ', ὡς εἰς μεγάλην τινὰ πανήγυριν, εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ εἰς τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον ἐπάγουσα, θεατάς τινας τῶν ὅλων αὐτῆς ἐσομένους, καὶ φιλοτιμωτάτους ἀγωνιστὰς, εὐθὺς ἄμαχον ἔρωτα ἐνέφυσεν ἡμῶν

ταῖς ψυχαῖς παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς δαιμονιωτέρου. Διόπερ τῇ θεωρίᾳ καὶ διανοίας τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐπιβολῇ οὐδ᾽ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος ἀρκεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ περιέχοντος πολλάκις ὅρους ἐκβαίνουσιν αἱ ἐπίνοιαι· καὶ εἴ τις περιβλέψαιτο ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν βίον, ὅσῳ πλέον ἔχει τὸ περιττὸν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ μέγα καὶ καλὸν, ταχέως εἴσεται, πρὸς ἃ γεγόναμεν. Ἔνθεν φυσικῶς πως ἀγόμενοι, μὰ Δί᾽, οὐ τὰ μικρὰ ῥεῖθρα θαυμάζομεν, εἰ καὶ διαυγῆ καὶ χρήσιμα, ἀλλὰ τὸν Νεῖλον, καὶ Ἴστρον, ἢ Ῥῆνον, πολὺ δ᾽ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν Ὠκεανόν· οὐδέ γε τὸ ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν τουτὶ φλογίον ἀνακαιόμενον, ἐπεὶ καθαρὸν σώζει τὸ φέγγος, ἐκπληττόμεθα τῶν οὐρανίων μᾶλλον, καίτοι πολλάκις ἐπισκοτουμένων· οὐδὲ τῶν τῆς Αἴτνης κρατήρων ἀξιοθαυμαστότερον νομίζομεν, ἧς αἱ ἀναχοαὶ πέτρους τε ἐκ βυθοῦ καὶ ὅλους ὄχθους ἀναφέρουσι, καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐνίοτε τοῦ γηγενοῦς ἐκείνου καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου προχέουσι πυρός. Ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἁπάντων ἐκεῖν᾽ ἂν εἴποιμεν, ὡς εὐπόριστον μὲν ἀνθρώποις τὸ χρειῶδες ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, θαυμαστὸν δ᾽ ὅμως ἀεὶ τὸ παράδοξον.

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§ XLIV.

[1] Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι λοιπὸν, ἕνεκα τῆς σῆς χρηστομαθείας, οὐκ ὀκνήσομεν ἐπιπροσθεῖναι, καὶ διασαφῆσαι, Τερεντιανὲ φίλτατε, ὅπερ ἐζήτησέ τις τῶν φιλοσόφων προσέναγχος, Θαῦμά μ᾽ ἔχει, λέγων, [2] ὡς ἀμέλει καὶ ἑτέρους πολλοὺς, πῶς ποτε κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον αἰῶνα πιθαναὶ μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἄκρον καὶ πολιτικαὶ, δριμεῖαί τε καὶ ἐντρεχεῖς, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς ἡδονὰς λόγων εὔφοροι, ὑψηλαὶ

δε λίαν καὶ ὑπερμεγέθεις, πλὴν εἰ μή τι σπάνιον, οὐκέτι γίνονται φύσεις· τοσαύτη λόγων [1] κοσμική τις ἐπέχει τὸν βίον ἀφορία. Η, νὴ Δί', ἔφη, πιστευτέον ἐκείνῳ τῷ θρυλλουμένῳ, ὡς ἡ δημοκρατία τῶν μεγάλων ἀγαθὴ τιθηνὸς, ᾗ μόνῃ σχεδὸν καὶ συνήκμασαν οἱ περὶ λόγȣς δεινοὶ καὶ συναπέθανον; [2] Θρέψαι τε γὰρ, φησὶν, ἱκανὴ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν μεγαλοφρόνων ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ἐφελκύσαι καὶ ἅμα διωθεῖν τὸ πρόθυμον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδος καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα φιλοτιμίας. Ετι γε μὴν διὰ τὰ προκείμενα ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις ἔπαθλα ἑκάστοτε τὰ ψυχικὰ προτερήματα τῶν ῥητόρων μελετώμενα ἀκονᾶται, καὶ οἷον ἐκτρίβεται, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐλεύθερα συνεκλάμπει. Οἱ δὲ νῦν ἐοίκαμεν, ἔφη, [3] παιδομαθεῖς εἶναι δουλείας δικαίας, τοῖς αὐτῆς ἔθεσι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ἔτι φρονημάτων μονονοὺκ ἐνεσπαργανωμένοι, καὶ ἄγευστοι καλλίστȣ καὶ γονιμωτάτου λόγων νάματος, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἔφη, λέγω· [4] διόπερ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ κόλακες ἐκβαίνομεν μεγαλοφυεῖς. Διὰ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἕξεις καὶ εἰς οἰκέτας πίπτειν ἔφασκεν, δοῦλον δὲ μηδένα γίνεσθαι ῥήτορα· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀναζεῖ τὸ ἀπαῤῥησίαϛον, [5] καὶ οἷον ἔμφρουρον, ὑπὸ συνηθείας ἀεὶ [6] κεκονδυλισμένον. [7] "Ἥμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς," κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον, "ἀποαίνυται——δούλιον ἦμαρ." Ὥσπερ οὖν (εἴ γε, φησὶ, τȣ̃το πιστόν ἐστι) ἀκȣ́ω τὰ γλωττόκομα, ἐν οἷς οἱ [8] Πυγμαῖοι καλούμενοι τρέφονται, οὐ μόνον κωλύειν τῶν ἐγκεκλεισμένων τὰς αὐξήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνάγειν διὰ τὸν περικείμενον τοῖς σώμασι δεσμόν· οὕτως ἅπασαν δουλείαν, κἂν ᾖ δικαιοτάτη, ψυχῆς γλωττόκομον καὶ κοινὸν δή τις ἀποφήναιτο δεσμωτήριον.

Εγὼ μέντοι γε ὑπολαμβάνων, Ῥᾴδιον, ἔφην, ὦ βέλτιστε, καὶ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου, τὸ καταμέμφεσθαι ἀεὶ τὰ παρόντα. Ὅρα δὲ, μήποτε καὶ ἡ τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰρήνη

διαφθείρει τὰς μεγάλας φύσεις· πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ κατέχων ἡμῶν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπεριόριστος οὑτοσὶ πόλεμος, καὶ, νὴ Δία, πρὸς τέτοις, τὰ φρουροῦντα τὸν νῦν βίον, καὶ κατ' ἄκρας [1] ἄγοντα καὶ φέροντα, ταυτὶ πάθη. Ἡ γὰρ φιλοχρηματία, πρὸς ἣν ἅπαντες ἀπλήστως ἤδη νοσοῦμεν, καὶ ἡ φιληδονία δουλαγωγοῦσι, μᾶλλον δὲ (ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις) [2] καταβυθίζουσιν αὐτάνδρους ἤδη τοὺς βίους· φιλαργυρία μὲν νόσημα μικροποιὸν, φιληδονία δ' ἀγεννέστατον. Οὐ δὴ ἔχω λογιζόμενος εὑρεῖν, ὡς οἷόν τε, πλοῦτον ἀόριστον ἐκτιμήσαντας, τὸ δ' ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν, ἐκθειάσαντας, τὰ συμφυῆ τούτῳ κακὰ εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐπεισιόντα μὴ παραδέχεσθαι. Ἀκολουθεῖ γὰρ τῷ ἀμέτρῳ πλούτῳ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ συνημμένη καὶ ἴσα (φασὶ) βαίνουσα πολυτέλεια, ἀνοίγοντος ἐκείνου τῶν πόλεων καὶ οἴκων τὰς εἰσόδους, εἰς ἃς ἐμβαίνει, καὶ συνοικίζεται. Χρονίσαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βίοις, νεοττοποιεῖται, (κατὰ τὲς σοφοὺς,) καὶ ταχέως γενόμενα περὶ τεκνοποιΐαν, ἀλαζόνειάν τε γεννῶσι καὶ τῦφον καὶ τρυφὴν, οὐ νόθα ἑαυτῶν γεννήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ γνήσια. Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τούτους τις τοῦ πλούτου τοὺς ἐκγόνους εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐάσῃ, ταχέως δεσπότας ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντίκτουσιν ἀπαραιτήτους, ὕβριν καὶ παρανομίαν καὶ ἀναισχυντίαν. Ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι, καὶ μηκέτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀναβλέπειν, μηδὲ πέρα φήμης εἶναί τινα λόγον· ἀλλὰ τοιούτων ἐν κύκλῳ τελεσιουργεῖσθαι κατ' ὀλίγον τῶν βίων τὴν διαφθορὰν, φθίνειν δὲ καὶ καταμαραίνεσθαι τὰ ψυχικὰ μεγέθη, καὶ ἄζηλα γίνεσθαι, ἡνίκα τὰ θνητὰ ἑαυτῶν μέρη καὶ ἀνόητα ἐκθαυμάζοιεν, παρέντες αὔξειν τ' ἀθάνατα. [3] Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ κρίσει μέν τις δεκασθεὶς οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τῶν δικαίων καὶ καλῶν ἐλεύθερος καὶ ὑγιὴς ἂν κριτὴς γένοιτο· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τῷ δωροδόκῳ [4] τὰ οἰκεῖα μὲν φαίνεσθαι καλὰ καὶ δίκαια. Ὅπου δὲ ἡμῶν ἑκάστε τοὺς ὅλους ἤδη

βίους δεκασμοὶ βραβεύουσι, καὶ ἀλλοτρίων θῆραι θανάτων, καὶ ἐνέδραι διαθηκῶν, τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς κερδαίνειν ὠνούμεθα τῆς ψυχῆς, [1] ἕκαστος πρὸς τῆς [ἑαυτοῦ ἡδονῆς] ἠνδραποδισμένοι, ἆρα δὴ ἐν τῇ τοσαύτῃ λοιμικῇ τοῦ βίου διαφθορᾷ δοκοῦμεν ἔτι ἐλεύθερόν τινα κριτὴν τῶν μεγάλων, ἢ διηκόντων πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα, [2] κἀδέκαστον ἀπολελεῖφθαι, καὶ μὴ καταρχαιρεσιάζεσθαι πρὸς τῆς τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιθυμίας; Ἀλλὰ μήποτε τοῖς τοιούτοις, οἷοί περ ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς, ἄμεινον ἄρχεσθαι, ἢ ἐλευθέροις εἶναι· ἐπείτοι γε ἀφεθεῖσαι τὸ σύνολον, ὡς ἐξ εἱρκτῆς ἄφετοι, κατὰ τῶν πλησίον αἱ πλεονεξίαι κἂν επικλύσειαν τοῖς κακοῖς τὴν οἰκουμένην. Ὅλως δὲ δαπανὸν ἔφην εἶναι τῶν νῦν γεννωμένων φύσεων τὴν ῥᾳθυμίαν, ᾗ, πλὴν ὀλίγων, πάντες ἐγκαταβιοῦμεν, οὐκ ἄλλως πονοῦντες ἢ ἀναλαμβάνοντες, εἰ μη ἐπαίνου καὶ ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα, [3] ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς ζήλου καὶ τιμῆς ἀξίας ποτὲ ὠφελείας. * * *

FINIS

EXCERPTORUM CRITICORUM.

ANALECTA GRÆCA MAJORA.

PROSE SELECTIONS.

PART FIFTH.

MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS.

I.

[1]Ex THEOPHRASTO.

Quis Aristotele nervosior? Theophrasto dulcior?
Cicero in Bruto.

[2]ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ

ΗΘΙΚΟΙ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ.

[Ad Edit. Joh. Frid. Fischeri. Coburg. 1763. in 8vo.]

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ.

ΗΔΗ μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις [3]ἐπιστήσας τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐθαύμασα, ἴσως δὲ οὐδὲ παύσομαι θαυμάζων, [4]τί [γὰρ] δήποτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀέρα κειμένης, καὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως παιδευομένων, συμβέβηκεν ἡμῖν οὐ [5]τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν τῶν τρόπων ἔχειν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ, ὦ Πολύκλεις, συνθεωρήσας ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, καὶ βεβιωκὼς ἔτη ἐννενήκοντα ἐννέα, ἔτι δὲ ὡμιληκὼς πολλαῖς τε καὶ παντοδαπαῖς φύσεσι, καὶ παρατεθεαμένος ἐξ ἀκριβείας πολλῆς τούς τε ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς φαύλους ὑπέ-

λαβον δεῖν συγγράψαι, ἃ ἑκάτεροι αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ. [1] Ἐκθήσω δέ σοι κατὰ γένος, ὅσα τε τυγχάνει γένη τρόπων τούτοις προσκείμενα, καὶ ὃν τρόπον τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ χρῶνται. Ὑπολαμβάνω γάρ, ὦ Πολύκλεις, τοὺς υἱεῖς ἡμῶν βελτίους ἔσεσθαι, καταλειφθέντων αὐτοῖς ὑπομνημάτων τοιούτων· οἷς παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι, αἱρήσονται τοῖς εὐσχημονεστάτοις συνεῖναί τε καὶ ὁμιλεῖν, ὅπως μὴ καταδεέστεροι ὦσιν αὐτῶν. Τρέψομαι δὲ ἤδη ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον· σὸν δὲ παρακολουθῆσαί τε, καὶ εἰδῆσαι, εἰ ὀρθῶς λέγω. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν [2] ποιήσομαι τὸν λόγον [3] ἀπὸ τῶν τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἐζηλωκότων, ἀφεὶς τὸ προοιμιάζεσθαι, και πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν. Καὶ ἄρξομαι πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρωνείας, καὶ ὁριοῦμαι αὐτήν· εἶθ' οὕτως τὸν εἴρωνα διέξειμι, ποῖός τις ἐστί, [4] καὶ εἰς τίνα τρόπον κατενήνεκται· καὶ [5] τὰ ἄλλα δὴ τῶν παθημάτων, ὥσπερ ὑπεθέμην, πειράσομαι κατὰ γένος φανερὰ καταστῆσαι.

ά. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΩΝΕΙΑΣ.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρωνεία δόξειεν ἂν εἶναι, [6] ὡς τύπῳ λαβεῖν, [7] προσποίησις ἐπὶ χεῖρον πράξεων καὶ λόγων· ὁ δὲ εἴρων [8] τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος προσελθὼν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐθέλειν λαλεῖν, οὐ μισεῖν· καὶ ἐπαινεῖν παρόντας, οἷς ἐπέθετο λάθρᾳ, καὶ τούτοις συλλυπεῖσθαι ἡττωμένοις· καὶ συγγνώμην δὲ ἔχειν τοῖς κακῶς αὐτὸν λέγουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ λεγομένοις· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας πρᾴως διαλέγεσθαι· [9] καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν κατὰ σπουδὴν βουλομένοις προστάξαι ἐπανελθεῖν· [10] καὶ προσποιήσασθαι ἄρτι παραγεγονέναι, καὶ ὀψὲ γενέσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ μαλακισθῆναι· καὶ μηδὲν

ἃν πράττει ὁμολογῆσαι, ἀλλὰ φῆσαι βουλεύεσθαι· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δανειζομένους καὶ ἐρανίζοντας,—ὡς οὐ πωλεῖ, καὶ μὴ πωλῶν, φήσει πωλεῖν· καὶ ἀκούσας τι, [1] δόξει μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι· καὶ ἰδὼν, φήσει μὴ ἑωρακέναι· καὶ ὁμολογήσας, μὴ μεμνῆσθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν σκέψεσθαι φάσκειν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι, τὰ δὲ θαυμάζειν, τὰ δὲ ἤδη ποτὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω διαλογίσασθαι. Καὶ τὸ ὅλον δεινὸς τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ λόγου χρῆσθαι, Οὐ πιστεύω, Οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω, Εκπλήττομαι· καὶ λέγει ἑαυτὸν ἕτερον γεγονέναι· καὶ μὴν, [2] Οὐ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξῄει· παράδοξόν μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἄλλῳ τινὶ λέγε· ὅπως δέ σοι ἀπιστήσω, ἢ ἐκείνου καταγνῶ, ἀποροῦμαι. Ἀλλ' ὅρα μὴ σὺ θᾶττον πιστεύῃς τοιαύτας φωνὰς καὶ πλοκὰς καὶ παλιλλογίας· οὗ χεῖρόν ἐστιν εὑρεῖν οὐδέν· τὰ δὴ τῶν ἠθῶν μὴ ἁπλᾶ, ἀλλ' ἐπίβουλα, φυλάττεσθαι μᾶλλον δεῖ, ἢ τοὺς ἔχεις.

β'. ΠΕΡΙ ΚΟΛΑΚΕΙΑΣ.

Τὴν δὲ κολακείαν ὑπολάβοι ἄν τις ὁμιλίαν αἰσχρὰν εἶναι, συμφέρουσαν δὲ τῷ κολακεύοντι· τὸν δὲ κόλακα τοιοῦτόν τινα, ὥστε πορευόμενον ἅμα εἰπεῖν, Ενθυμῇ ὡς ἀποβλέπουσι πρὸς σὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι; τοῦτο οὐθενὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει γίνεται, πλὴν σοί· ηὐδοκίμεις χθὲς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ· πλειόνων γὰρ ἢ τριάκοντα ἀνθρώπων καθημένων, καὶ ἐμπεσόντος λόγου, τίς εἴη βέλτιστος, [3] ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένους πάντας, ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κατενεχθῆναι· καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα λέγειν. Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱματίου [4] ἀφελεῖν κροκίδα· καὶ ἐάν τι πρὸς τὸ τρίχωμα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπο πνεύματος προσενεχθῇ ἄχυρον, καρφολογῆσαι· καὶ ἐπι-

γελάσας δὲ εἰπεῖν, Ὁρᾷς; ὅτι δυεῖν σοι ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἐντετύχηκα, [1] πολιῶν ἔσχηκας τὸν πώγωνα μεστόν· καίπερ, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος, ἔχεις πρὸς τὰ ἔτη μέλαιναν τὴν τρίχα. Καὶ λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τι, τοὺς ἄλλους σιωπᾷν κελεῦσαι, καὶ ἐπαινέσαι δὲ ἀκούοντος· καὶ ἐπισημήνασθαι δὲ, εἰ παύσεται, Ὀρθῶς. [2] Καὶ σκώψαντι πικρῶς ἐπιγελάσαι, τό τε ἱμάτιον ὦσαι εἰς τὸ στόμα, ὡς δὴ οὐ δυνάμενος κατασχεῖν τὸν γέλωτα· καὶ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἐπιστῆναι κελεῦσαι, ἕως ἂν Αὐτὸς παρέλθῃ. Καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις μῆλα καὶ ἄπια πριάμενος, εἰσενέγκας δοῦναι, ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ· καὶ φιλήσας δὲ εἰπεῖν, Χρηστοῦ πατρὸς νεόττια! Καὶ συνωνούμενος δὲ κρηπῖδας, τὸν πόδα φῆσαι εἶναι εὐρυθμότερον τοῦ ὑποδήματος· καὶ πορευομένου πρός τινα τῶν φίλων, προδραμὼν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Πρός σε ἔρχεται· καὶ ἀναστρέψας, ὅτι Προσήγγελκα. [3] Ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ γυναικείας ἀγορᾶς διακονῆσαι δυνατὸς ἀπνευστί. Καὶ τῶν ἑστιωμένων πρῶτος ἐπαινέσαι τὸν οἶνον· [4] καὶ παραμένων εἰπεῖν, Ὡς μαλακῶς ἐσθίεις! καὶ ἄρας τι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, φῆσαι, Τουτὶ ἄρα ὡς χρηστόν ἐστι! καὶ ἐρωτῆσαι, μὴ ῥιγοῖ, καὶ εἰ ἐπιβαλέσθαι βούλεται, καὶ ἔτι ταῦτα λέγων περιστεῖλαι αὐτόν· καὶ μὴν πρὸς τὸ οὖς προσπίπτων ψιθυρίζειν· καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀποβλέπων, τοῖς ἄλλοις λαλεῖν. [5] Καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀφελόμενος τὰ προσκεφάλαια, αὐτὸς ὑποστρῶσαι. Καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν φῆσαι εὖ ἠρχιτεκτονῆσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν εὖ πεφυτεῦσθαι, καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ὁμοίαν εἶναι. Καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον, τὸν κόλακά ἐστι θεάσασθαι πάντα καὶ λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα, οἷς χαριεῖσθαι ὑπολαμβάνει.

γʹ. [1] ΠΕΡΙ ΑΔΟΛΕΣΧΙΑΣ.

Ἡ δὲ ἀδολεσχία ἐστὶ μὲν διήγησις λόγων μακρῶν καὶ ἀπροβουλεύτων· ὁ δὲ ἀδολέσχης τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, οἷος, ὃν μὴ γινώσκει, τούτῳ παρακαθεζόμενος πλησίον, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς εἰπεῖν ἐγκώμιον· εἶτα, ὃ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶδεν ἐνύπνιον, τοῦτο διηγήσασθαι· εἶθ᾽ ὧν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τὰ καθέκαστα διεξελθεῖν. Εἶτα δὴ, προχωροῦντος τοῦ πράγματος, λέγειν ὡς πολὺ πονηρότεροί εἰσιν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἀρχαίων· καὶ ὡς ἄξιοι γεγόνασιν οἱ πυροὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ· καὶ ὡς πολλοὶ ἐπιδημοῦσι ξένοι· καὶ τὴν θάλατταν [2] ἐκ Διονυσίων πλώϊμον εἶναι· καὶ, εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ, τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ βελτίω ἔσεσθαι· καὶ ὅτι ἀγρὸν εἰς [3] νέωτα γεωργήσει· καὶ ὡς χαλεπόν ἐστι τὸ ζῆν· καὶ ὡς Δάμιππος Μυστηρίοις [4] μεγίστην δᾷδα ἔστησε· καὶ πόσοι εἰσὶ κίονες τοῦ [5] Ὠδείου· καὶ, Χθὲς ἤμεσα· καὶ, Τίς ἐστιν ἡμέρα σήμερον; καὶ, ὡς Βοηδρομιῶνος μέν ἐστι τὰ [6] Μυστήρια, Πυανεψιῶνος δὲ Ἀπατούρια, Ποσειδεῶνος δὲ τὰ κατ᾽ ἀγροὺς Διονύσια. Κἂν ὑπομένῃ τις αὐτὸν, μὴ ἀφίστασθαι· [7] παρασείσαντα δὲ χρὴ τὺς τοιούτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων (φεύγειν) καὶ [8] διαράμενον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ὅστις ἀπύρετος βούλεται εἶναι· [9] ἔργον γὰρ συναρκεῖσθαι τοῖς μήτε σχολὴν, μήτε σπουδὴν, διαγινώσκουσιν.

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ιβʹ. [10] ΠΕΡΙ ΑΚΑΙΡΙΑΣ.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκαιρία ἐστὶν ἐπίτευξις λυποῦσα τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας· ὁ δὲ ἄκαιρος τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος ἀσχολουμένῳ προσελθὼν ἀνακοινοῦσθαι· καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐρωμένην

κωμάζειν πυρέττουσαν· καὶ [1] δίκην ὠφληκότα ἐγγύης προσελθὼν, κελεῦσαι αὐτὸν ἀναδέξασθαι· καὶ μαρτυρήσων παρεῖναι, τοῦ πράγματος ἤδη κεκριμένου· καὶ κεκλημένος εἰς γάμους, τοῦ γυναικείου γένους κατηγορεῖν· καὶ ἐκ μακρᾶς ὁδοῦ ἥκοντας ἄρτι παρακαλεῖν εἰς περίπατον. [2] Δεινὸς δὲ καὶ προσάγειν ὠνητὴν πλείω διδόντα ἤδη πεπρακότι. Καὶ ἀκηκοότας καὶ μεμαθηκότας ἀνίστασθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς διδάσκων· καὶ πρόθυμος δὲ ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἃ μὴ βούλεταί τις γενέσθαι, αἰσχύνεται δὲ ἀπείπασθαι· καὶ θύοντας καὶ ἀναλίσκοντας ἥκειν τόμον ἀπαιτήσων· καὶ μαστιγουμένου οἰκέτου, παρεστὼς διηγεῖσθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῦ ποτε παῖς οὕτω πληγὰς λαβὼν ἀπήγξατο· [3] καὶ παρὼν διαίτῃ, συγκρούειν, ἀμφοτέρων βουλομένων διαλύεσθαι· καὶ ὀρχησόμενος ἅψασθαι ἑταίρου μηδέπω μεθύοντος.

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ιϛʹ. [4] ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ.

[5] Ἀμέλει ἡ δεισιδαιμονία δόξειεν εἶναι δειλία πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον· ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος ἀπονιψάμενος τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ [6] περιῤῥανάμενος ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ, δάφνης εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβὼν, οὕτω τὴν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖν· καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐὰν παραδράμῃ γαλῆ, μὴ πρότερον πορευθῆναι, ἕως διεξέλθῃ τις, ἢ λίθους τρεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαβάλῃ· καὶ ἐὰν ἴδῃ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσασθαι· καὶ τῶν [7] λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις παριὼν ἐκ τῆς ληκύθου ἔλαιον καταχεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ γόνατα πεσὼν καὶ προσκυνήσας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· καὶ ἐὰν μῦς θύλακον ἀλφίτων διαφάγῃ, πρὸς τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἐλθὼν ἐρωτᾷν, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; καὶ ἐὰν ἀποκρίνηται αὐτῷ ἐκδοῦναι τῷ σκυτοδέψῃ ἐπιῤῥάψαι, μὴ προσέχων τούτοις, ἀλλ' ἀποτραπεὶς, [8] ἐκδύσασθαι· καὶ πυκνὰ δὲ τὴν

οἰκίαν καθᾶραι·—καὶ οὔτε μνήματι ἐπιβῆναι, οὔτε ἐπὶ νεκρὸν ἐλθεῖν, οὔτε ἐπὶ [1] λεχώ· καὶ ὅταν ἐνύπνιον ἴδῃ, πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ὀνειροκρίτας, πρὸς τοὺς μάντεις, πρὸς τοὺς ὀρνιθοσκόπους, ἐρωτήσων τίνι θεῷ ἢ θεᾷ προσεύχεσθαι δεῖ· καὶ [2] τελεσθησόμενος, πρὸς τοὺς Ὀρφεοτελεστὰς κατὰ μῆνα πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικός· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ σχολάζῃ γυνή, μετὰ τῆς τίτθης καὶ τῶν παιδίων· καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς τριόδοις ἀπελθὼν κατὰ κεφαλῆς λούσασθαι· [3] καὶ ἱερείας καλέσας, σκίλλῃ ἢ σκύλακι κελεῦσαι αὐτὸν περικαθᾶραι. Μαινόμενόν τε ἰδὼν ἢ ἐπίληπτον, φρίξας [4] εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι.

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κά. [5] ΠΕΡΙ ΜΙΚΡΟΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΣ.

Ἡ δὲ μικροφιλοτιμία δόξειεν εἶναι ὄρεξις τιμῆς ἀνελεύθερος· ὁ δὲ μικροφιλότιμος τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος σπουδάσαι, ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθείς, παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καλέσαντα κατακείμενος δειπνῆσαι· [6] καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκεῖραι ἀπαγαγὼν εἰς Δελφούς· καὶ ἐπιμεληθῆναι δὲ ὅπως αὐτῷ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Αἰθίοψ ἔσται· [7] καὶ ἀποδοὺς μνᾶν ἀργυρίου, καινὸν ποιῆσαι ἀποδοῦναι· καὶ βοῦν θύσας, [8] τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλεῦσαι, στέμμασι μεγάλοις περιδήσας, ὅπως οἱ εἰσιόντες ἴδωσιν, ὅτι βοῦν ἔθυσε· καὶ πομπεύσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἀποδοῦναι τῷ παιδὶ ἀπενεγκεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀναβαλόμενος δὲ [9] θοἰμάτιον ἐν ταῖς μύωψι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιπατεῖν· καὶ κυναρίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος, αὐτῷ μνῆμα καὶ στηλίδιον ποιήσας, ἐπιγράψαι, [10] ΚΛΑΔΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΟΣ· καὶ [11] ἀναθεὶς δακτύλιον χαλκοῦν ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείω, τοῦτον ἐκτρίβειν στεφανῶν, καὶ ἀλείφειν ὁσημέραι. Ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ [12] συνδιοικήσασθαι παρὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων,

ὅπως ἀπαγγείλῃ τῷ δήμῳ τὰ ἱερά· καὶ παρεσκευασμένος λαμπρὸν ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἐστεφανωμένος, παρελθὼν εἰπεῖν· Ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐθύομεν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ ἱερὰ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἄξια καὶ καλά, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐκδέχεσθε τὰ ἀγαθά· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγείλας, ἀπιὼν διηγήσασθαι οἴκαδε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικί, [1] ὡς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εὐημερεῖ.

II.

[1] Ex POLYAENO.

[Ad Edit. Pancrat. Maasvicii. Lugd. Bat. 1690. 8vo.]

POLYAENUS, scriptor antiquus, elegans, acutus, eruditus.
Is. Casaubonus ad Phil. Morn.

[2] *ΕΚ ΤΩΝ*

ΠΟΛΥΑΙΝΟΥ

ΠΕΡΙ

ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΗΜΑΤΩΝ

ΚΕΦ. α.

ΠΑΝ.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ στρατηγὸς ἦν ὁ *Πάν*. Οὗτος πρῶτος τάξιν εὗρεν, ὠνόμασε φάλαγγα, κέρας ἔταξε δεξιὸν καὶ λαιόν· [3] ταύτῃ τοι ἄρα κερασφόρον τὸν *Πᾶνα* δημιουργοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος πολεμίοις φόβον ἐνέβαλε σοφίᾳ καὶ τέχνῃ. [4] Ἦν γὰρ *Διονύσῳ*, ἐν κοίλῃ νάπῃ, ἤγγειλαν οἱ σκοποὶ μυρίαν χεῖρα πολεμίων ἐπὶ κεῖνα στρατοπεδεύειν· ἔδεισεν ὁ *Διόνυσος*· οὐ μὴν ὅ γε

Πάν· ἀλλὰ ἐσήμαινε νύκτωρ τῇ Διονυσιακῇ στρατιᾷ ἀλαλάξαι μέγιστον. Οἱ μὲν ἠλάλαξαν· ἀντήχησαν δὲ αἱ πέτραι, καὶ τὸ κοῖλον τῆς νάπης ἦχον πολλῷ μείζονος δυνάμεως τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνεποίησεν· οἱ μὲν δὴ φόβῳ πληγέντες ἔφευγον. Τοῦ δὲ Πανὸς τὸ στρατήγημα τιμῶντες, τὴν Ηχὼ τῷ Πανὶ φίλην ᾄδομεν· καὶ τοὺς κενοὺς καὶ νυκτερινοὺς τῶν στρατευμάτων φόβους [1] Πανὶ κληΐζομεν.

ΚΕΦ. β΄.

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ.

Οἱ Ἕλληνες, νικήσαντες ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, βουλεύονται πλεῖν ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ τὸ ζεῦγμα λύειν, ἵνα [2] βασιλεὺς μὴ φύγῃ. Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀντιβουλεύεται, λέγων " Βασιλεὺς ἀποληφθεὶς ἀναμαχεῖται τάχα. Πολλάκις " δὲ ἀπόνοια δίδωσιν, ὅσα μὴ ἔδωκεν ἀνδρεία." Πέμπει δὲ πάλιν ὡς βασιλέα εὐνοῦχον [3] ἄλλον Ἀρσάκην, οὑτωσὶ προσαγορεύοντα· Εἰ μὴ φύγοι διὰ τάχους, ἡ γέφυρα τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου διαλύεται. Βασιλεὺς ἔδεισε, καὶ φθάσας τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν, διέβη τὸ ζεῦγμα, καὶ φυγὼν ᾤχετο. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐφύλαξε τὴν νίκην ἀκίνδυνον.

ΚΕΦ. γ.

Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ τείχη τοῦ Ἄστεος ἤγειρον· Λάκωνες ἐφθόνουν· ἠπάτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς· ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ἀπάτης ἦν οὗτος. Ἀφίκετο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρεσβευτης, καὶ [4] ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Λάκωνας ἔξαρνος, ἢ μὴν οὐκ ἐγερεῖσθαι τὸ τεῖχος. " Εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖτε, ἔφη, τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐκπέμψατε κατασκόπους, ἐμὲ κατασχόντες." Οἱ μὲν ἔπεμψαν. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ κρύφα πέμψας ἐνετείλατο Ἀθη-

ναίοις κατέχειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, ἔστ᾽ ἂν ἐγείρωσι τὸ τεῖχος· ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ ἐγείρωσι, μὴ πρότερον αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμπειν, εἰ μὴ πρόσθεν αὐτὸν ἀπολάβοιεν. Καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐγένετο. Ἠγέρθη τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ ἐπανῆλθε Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἀπεδόθησαν οἱ κατάσκοποι, ἐτειχίσθησαν Ἀθῆναι, Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκόντων.

ΚΕΦ. δ΄.

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ.

Ἀριστείδης καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἐχθρότατοι πάντων ὄντες, [1] διεπολιτεύοντο. Τοῦ δὲ Πέρσου διαβάντος, ἀλλήλων λαβόμενοι, τῆς πόλεως ἔξω προελθόντες, ἐς ταὐτὸν ἑκάτερος τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα καθιέντες, συνηγμένων τῶν δακτύλων, ἐπεφώνουν· "Τὴν ἔχθραν ἐνταῦθα κατατιθέμεθα, "ἕως ἂν πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην διαπολεμήσωμεν." Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντες, αἴροντες τὰς χεῖρας, διαλελυμένων τῶν δακτύλων, ὡς δή τι κατατεθεικότες, ἔπειτα συγχώσαντες τὸν βόθρον, ἐπανῆλθον, καὶ διετέλεσαν παρὰ πάντα τὸν πόλεμον ὁμονοοῦντες. Ἡ δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁμόνοια μάλιστα δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησεν.

ΚΕΦ. ἑ.

ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ.

Ἀγησίλαος εἰς Ἀσίαν ὅτε διέβη, [2] καὶ τὴν Βασιλέως ἐλυμαίνετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἀνοχὰς συνέθετο. Αἱ δὲ ἀνοχαὶ, τρεῖς μῆνες, [3] ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τε βασιλέα πεῖσαι, ὅσαι πόλεις Ἑλληνίδες ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ δὴ αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι. Οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἀνέμενον τὴν προθεσμίαν· ὁ δὲ Πέρσης πολλὴν

χεῖρα συλλέξας ἐπέθετο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. Ὀῤῥωδία καὶ φόβος. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ φαιδρὸς τὴν ὄψιν, μάλα δὴ γαννύμενος ἐστρατήγησε, λέγων· "Χάριν οἶδα Τισσαφέρνῃ τῆς ἐπιορκίας· ἑαυτῷ μὲν γὰρ πολεμίους τοὺς Θεοὺς ἐποίησεν, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους. Ἴωμεν δὴ θαῤῥοῦντες, ὡς μαχούμενοι μετὰ τηλικούτων συμμάχων." Ἀνεθάῤῥησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ συμβαλόντες τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν.

ΚΕΦ. ϛʹ.

ΕΠΑΜΙΝΩΝΔΑΣ.

Επαμινώνδας ἐν Λεύκτροις προσῆγεν ἤδη τὴν φάλαγγα· Θεσπιεῖς ἐθελοκακοῦντες εἵποντο· οὐκ ἠγνόησεν Επαμινώνδας· ἀλλὰ ὅπως μὴ ταράττοιτο ἡ τάξις ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης, ἐκήρυξε· "Βοιωτῶν ἀπιέναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξέστω." Θεσπιεῖς μὲν αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις ἀπηλλάσσοντο· Επαμινώνδας δὲ, τοῖς μείνασιν ὁπλίταις συντεταγμένοις καὶ προθύμοις χρησάμενος, εὐκλεῶς ἐνίκησεν.

ΚΕΦ. ζʹ.

Επαμινώνδας προτρέπων Θηβαίους προθύμως ὁρμῆσαι ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, μέγιστον ἔχιν συλλαβὼν, ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πάντων ἐναντίον τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ θηρίου συντρίψας· "Ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅτι τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα ἄχρηστον, τῆς κεφαλῆς οἰχομένης· οὕτω δὴ αἱ τῶν πολεμίων κεφαλαί· ἤν τε τὸ Λακωνικὸν τοῦτο συντρίψωμεν, τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα τῶν συμμάχων ἄχρηστον." Τούτῳ τῷ παραδείγματι Θηβαῖοι πεισθέντες, ὁρμήσαντες προθύμως ἐπὶ

τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συμμάχων ἔφυγεν.

ΚΕΦ. ή.

ΙΦΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ.

Ἰφικράτης ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους προῆγε τὴν φάλαγγα. Τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινὲς ὀκνηροὶ, καὶ δειλοὶ, καὶ ὠχριῶντες εἵποντο. Τούτους ἰδὼν Ἰφικράτης, κατὰ βραχὺ προελθὼν, ἐκήρυξε· " Τῆς στρατείας ἄφνω γενομένης, εἴ τις " ἀπολέλοιπέ τι, ἀναστρεφέτω, καὶ παρασκευασάμενος " καλῶς, ἐπανηκέτω." Ἥσθησαν οἱ δειλοὶ, καὶ αὐτίκα ἀνέστρεψαν. Ὁ δὲ Ἰφικράτης οὐκ ἀναμείνας, " Νῦν, " ἔφη, ἄνδρες, τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἡμεῖς " τοῖς πολεμίοις συνάπτωμεν, ἵνα καὶ μόνοι τοὺς καρποὺς " τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας λάβωμεν." Πολλῷ μᾶλλον οἱ στρατιῶται ἐθάῤῥησαν· καὶ συμβαλόντες ἄνευ τῶν δειλῶν ἐνίκησαν.

ΚΕΦ. θ'.

ΤΙΜΟΛΕΩΝ.

Τιμολέων ἐν Σικελίᾳ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξήγαγε παραταξομένην Καρχηδονίοις, ἐς τὴν νῆσον διαπεπλευκόσιν. Ἡμίονος ἀπηντᾶτο αὐτοῖς κομίζων σέλινα. Οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ σημεῖον ἐφοβήθησαν, ὅτι ἄρα παρ' αὐτοῖς τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν ἀποθανόντων στεφανοῦται σελίνοις. Τιμολέων, " Καὶ μὴν " μᾶλλον, ἔφη, φανερὰν νίκην οἱ θεοὶ δηλοῦσιν ἡμῖν· τοὺς " γὰρ τὰ Ἴσθμια νικῶντας οἱ Κορίνθιοι στεφάνοις σελίνων

" στεφανοῦσι." Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, αὐτός τε ἐκ τῶν σελίνων ἀνεστέψατο, καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνας ἀνέστεψεν· ὥστε καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον τῶν σελίνων λαβόντες, εὐτολμότεροι πρὸς τὴν μάχην ἐγένοντο.

ΚΕΦ. ι.

ΖΩΠΥΡΟΣ.

Δαρεῖος, πολιορκῶν Βαβυλῶνα χρόνῳ μακρῷ, τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν. Ζώπυρος Δαρείου σατράπης, ἀκρωτηριάσας τὸ πρόσωπον, ἧκεν αὐτόμολος, ὡς ταῦτα δὴ ὑπὸ Δαρείου παθών. Βαβυλώνιοι πιστεύουσι τῇ ὄψει τῆς συμφορᾶς, καὶ τῷ Ζωπύρῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτρέπουσιν· ὁ δὲ νύκτωρ ἀνοίγει τὰς πύλας. Καὶ Δαρεῖος κρατήσας Βαβυλῶνος, ἐκεῖνο δὴ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐφθέγξατο· " Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ " [1] εἴκοσι Βαβυλῶνας ἔχειν ἐβουλόμην ἂν, ἐφ' ᾧτε ὁρᾶν " τοιαῦτα παθόντα Ζώπυρον."

ΚΕΦ. ια.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ.

Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἄνυδρον ὁδεύων, αὐτός τε ὑπὸ δίψους ἐπόνει, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες. Οἱ κατάσκοποι τῆς χώρας, ἐν κοίλῃ πέτρᾳ σμικρὸν ὑδάτιον εὑρόντες, τοῦτο βάλλοντες ἐπὶ κράνος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ κομίζουσιν. Ὁ δὲ τῇ στρατιᾷ δείξας, ὡς εὐθυμεῖν χρὴ, φανέντος ὕδατος, αὐτὸς μὴ πιὼν ἐξέχεε τὸ κράνος πάντων ὁρώντων. Οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀλαλάζοντες ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ, πρὸς τὸ δίψος εὐρώστως ἀντέχοντες διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐγκράτειαν.

ΚΕΦ. ιβ'.

Ἀλέξανδρος ὥρᾳ θέρους ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν παρὰ ποταμὸν, προσκειμένων πολεμίων. Ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας διψῶντας, καὶ ἀφορῶντας εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἵνα μὴ πίνοντες διαλύσειαν τὰς τάξεις, μηδὲ τὸ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας τάχος διακόψειαν, τὸν κήρυκα ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν· "Ἀπεχώμεθα τοῦ ποταμοῦ· θανατῶδες ἔχει τὸ ὕδωρ." Οἱ μὲν φοβηθέντες ἀπέσχοντο, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐτάχυνον. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ διανύσας, καὶ στρατοπεδεύσας, αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φανερῶς ἔπιεν. Γελάσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀπάτης νοήσαντες, ἀδεῶς ὑδρεύσαντο ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πάντες.

ΚΕΦ. ιγ'

ΚΑΜΒΥΣΗΣ.

Καμβύσης Πηλούσιον ἐπολιόρκει. Αἰγύπτιοι κρατερῶς ἀνθίσταντο, ἀποκλείοντες τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ πολλὰ προσάγοντες μηχανήματα, ἐφίεσαν καταπέλτας [1] ὀξυβελεῖς, πέτρους, καὶ πῦρ. Καμβύσης, ὅσα σέβουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι ζῶα, κύνας, πρόβατα, αἰλούρους, ἴβεις, πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιᾶς ἔταξεν. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ βάλλοντες ἐπαύσαντο, φόβῳ τοῦ πλῆξαί τι τῶν ἱερῶν ζώων. Οὕτω Καμβύσης Πηλούσιον ἑλὼν εἴσω τῆς Αἰγύπτου παρῆλθεν.

ΚΕΦ. ιδ'.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ.

Ξέρξης ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, διὰ τὴν στενότητα τῶν ὀρῶν πολλοὺς Περσῶν ἀποβαλὼν, Τραχινίου ἀνδρὸς, Ἐφιάλτου, δείξαντος ἀτραπὸν περὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι στενὴν, ἔπεμψεν ἄνδρας δισμυρίους· οἳ περιελθόντες, κατὰ νώτου γενόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀπέκτειναν [1] ἅπαντας, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Λεωνίδας.

ΚΕΦ. ιε.

ΝΟΥΜΑΣ.

Νουμᾶς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ πολέμου καὶ φόνου βουλόμενος μεταβαλεῖν ἐς εἰρήνην καὶ νόμους, ἀναχωρῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰς τέμενος ἱερὸν Νυμφῶν, ἐν τούτῳ μόνος διαιτώμενος ἐπι συχνὰς ἡμέρας, ἐπανήει, παρὰ τῶν Νυμφῶν θεοπρόπια κομίζων, ἃ συνεβούλευεν ἡγεῖσθαι νόμους. Τούτοις ἐπείθοντο Ῥωμαῖοι. Ὅσαι μέχρι νῦν ἑορταὶ, θυσίαι, τελεταὶ, ἱερουργίαι, ταῦτα πάντα Νουμᾶς, οἷα δὴ νόμους Νυμφῶν, κατεστήσατο.

Δοκεῖν δὲ ἐμοὶ, ζηλωτὴς ἐγένετο [2] Μίνω καὶ Λυκούργου. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς νόμους, ὁ μὲν παρὰ Διὸς, ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ἀπόλλωνος μαθόντες, ἢ μαθεῖν φάσκοντες, ἔπειθον αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι, ὁ μὲν Κρῆτας, ὁ δὲ Λάκωνας.

ΚΕΦ. ιϛ'.

ΜΟΥΚΙΟΣ.

Τυῤῥηνοὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπολέμουν. Τυῤῥηνῶν βασιλεὺς ἦν Πορσίνας. Ῥωμαίων ἦρχε Ποπλικόλας, τρίτον ὑπα-

τινῶν. Μούκιος Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἄριστος τὰ πολέμια, Πορσίναν βουλόμενος ἀνελεῖν, ἐς τὸ Τυῤῥηνικὸν στρατόπεδον ἦλθεν, ἐσθῆτα ἔχων Τυῤῥηνίδα, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ Τυῤῥηνίζων· καὶ δὴ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Πορσίναν οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅστις ἦν, ὃν ᾠήθη μάλιστα τῶν καθεζομένων ἐοικέναι βασιλεῖ, καὶ δὴ τοῦτον ἔκτεινε, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος. Συλληφθεὶς ὡμολόγησεν ὅστις ἦν. Πορσίνας μὲν δὴ ἔθυεν ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῖς Θεοῖς. Μούκιος δὲ τῆς ἐσχάρας πῦρ ἐχούσης ὑπερέσχε τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν, καὶ τῆς χειρὸς καιομένης, εἱστήκει τῷ Πορσίνᾳ διαλεγόμενος φαιδρῷ καὶ ἀτρέπτῳ τῷ προσώπῳ. Ὡς δε Πορσίνας τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπερεθαύμαζε· Μούκιος, "Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη, θαυμάσῃς. Τριακόσιοι Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ καρτερίαν ἔχοντες, ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ σοῦ πλανωνται, παραφυλάσσοντες καιρὸν τῆς σῆς ἀναιρέσεως." Πορσίνας πιστεύσας τοῖς λεγομένοις, καὶ φοβηθεὶς, τον πόλεμον πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διελύσατο.

ΚΕΦ. ιζ'

ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

Καῖσαρ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ [1] ποταμὸν μέγαν ἐπεχείρει περαιοῦσθαι. Βασιλεὺς Βρεττανῶν Κασόλαυνος ἀνεῖργε μετα πολλῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἁρμάτων. Καίσαρι μέγιστος ἐλέφας εἵπετο, ζῶον Βρεττανοῖς οὐχ ἑωραμένον. Τοῦτον σιδηραῖς φολίσιν ὀχυρώσας, καὶ πύργον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μέγαν ὑψώσας, καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ἐπιστήσας, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐμβαίνειν. Βρεττανοὶ δὲ ἐξεπλάγησαν, ἀόρατον καὶ ὑπερφυὲς θηρίον ἰδόντες. Περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἵππων τί χρὴ καὶ γράφειν; ὅπου καὶ παρ' Ἕλλησιν, ἣν καὶ γυμνὸν ἐλέφαντα ἴδωσιν, ἵπποι φεύγουσι. Πυργοφόρον

δὲ καὶ ὡπλισμένον, βέλη καὶ σφενδόνας ἐξαφιέντα, οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν τὴν ὄψιν [1] ὑπέμειναν. Βρεττανοὶ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ἅρμασιν ἔφευγον· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀκινδύνως τὸν ποταμὸν διέβησαν, ἑνὶ ζώῳ τοὺς πολεμίους φοβήσαντες.

III.

[1] Ex AELIANO.

[AD EDIT. ABR. GRONOVII. L. B. 1731. 2 VOLL. 4to.]

——*Hominémne Romanum tam Graecè loqui!* PLIN. L. IV. EP. 3.

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ
ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ
ΠΟΙΚΙΛΗΣ ἹΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ.

ΚΕΦ. α.

Περὶ Σωκράτους, ὅτε τὸ κώνειον ἔπιεν

ὍΤΕ ἧκεν [2] ἡ ναῦς ἡ ἐκ Δήλου, καὶ ἔδει Σωκράτην ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀφίκετο εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον Ἀπολλόδωρος, ὁ τοῦ Σωκράτους ἑταῖρος, χιτῶνά τε αὐτῷ φέρων ἐρίων πολυτελῆ καὶ εὐήτριον, καὶ ἱμάτιον τοιοῦτο· καὶ ἠξίου, ἐνδύντα αὐτὸν τὸν χιτῶνα, καὶ θοιμάτιον περιβαλλόμενον, εἶτα οὕτω πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον. ἔλεγε γὰρ αὐτῷ, καλῶν ἐνταφίων μὴ ἀμοιρήσειν, εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀποθάνοι· καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ προκείσεσθαι σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ τὸν νεκρὸν οὐ πάνυ τι ἀδόξως. Ταῦτα [3] τὸν Σωκράτην ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος. Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' ἔφη [4] πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κρίτωνα, καὶ Σιμμίαν, καὶ Φαίδωνα· "Καὶ πῶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καλῶς

“ Ἀπολλόδωρος οὕτω δοξάζει, εἴγε αὐτὸς πεπίστευκεν, ὅτι
“ μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων φιλοτησίαν, καὶ τὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου
“ πόμα, ἔτι οὕτως ὄψεται Σωκράτην! Εἰ γὰρ οἴεται [1] τὸν
“ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἐῤῥιμμένον ἐν ποσὶ καὶ κεισόμενόν γ' Ἐμὲ
“ εἶναι, δῆλός ἐστί με οὐκ εἰδώς.”

ΚΕΦ. β'.

Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Αἰνείου εὐσεβείας, καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλέους πρὸς τοὺς Τρῶας.

[2] Ὅτε ἑάλω τὸ Ἴλιον, οἰκτείραντες οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὰς τῶν ἁλισκομένων τύχας, [3] καὶ πάνυ Ἑλληνικῶς τοῦτο ἐκήρυξαν· Ἕκαστον τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἕν, ὅ τι καὶ βούλεται, τῶν οἰκείων ἀποφέρειν ἀράμενον. Ὁ οὖν Αἰνείας τοὺς πατρῴους Θεοὺς βαστάσας ἔφερεν, ὑπεριδὼν τῶν ἄλλων. [3] Ἡσθέντες οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβείᾳ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ δεύτερον αὐτῷ κτῆμα συνεχώρησαν λαβεῖν. Ὁ δὲ τὸν πατέρα πάνυ σφόδρα γεγηρακότα ἀναθέμενος ὤμοις ἔφερεν. Ὑπερεκπλαγέντες οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐχ ἥκιστα, πάντων αὐτῷ τῶν οἰκείων κτημάτων [4] ἀπέστησαν· ὁμολογοῦντες, “ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ
“ τοὺς Θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους δι' αἰδοῦς ἄγοντας, καὶ
“ οἱ φύσει πολέμιοι ἥμεροι γίνονται.”

ΚΕΦ. γ'.

Περὶ Φιλίππου ἐν νίκῃ ἐγκρατείας, καὶ τίνος ἐβούλετο ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι.

Ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους νίκῃ ἐνίκησε Φίλιππος· ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ τῇ εὐπραγίᾳ, [5] ὅμως λογισμοῦ ἐκράτησε, καὶ οὐχ ὕβρισε. Καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ᾤετο δεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι ὑπό τινος τῶν παίδων ἕωθεν, ὅτι ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, καὶ προσέταξε τῷ παιδὶ τοῦτο ἔχειν ἔργον. Καὶ οὐ πρότερόν, φασιν, οὔτε αὐτὸς προῄει, οὔτε τις τῶν δεομένων αὐ-

τοῦ παρ' αὐτὸν εἰσῄει, πρὶν τοῦτο αὐτῷ τὸν παῖδα ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ἐκβοῆσαι τρίς· ἔλεγε δὲ αὐτῷ, "Φίλιππε, ἄνθρω" "πος εἶ."

ΚΕΦ. δ'.

Περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων γυναικῶν

Αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων μητέρες, ὅσαι ἐπυνθάνοντο τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐταί γε ἀφικόμεναι τὰ τραύματα αὐτῶν ἐπεσκόπουν, τά τε ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τὰ ὄπισθεν. Καὶ, εἰ ἦν πλείω τὰ ἐναντία, αἵδε γαυρούμεναι, καὶ σεμνὸν ἄρα καὶ βλοσυρὸν ὁρῶσαι, τοὺς παῖδας εἰς τὰς πατρῴας ἔφερον ταφάς. Εἰ δὲ [1] ἑτέρως εἶχον τῶν τραυμάτων, ἐνταῦθα αἰδούμεναι, καὶ θρηνοῦσαι, καὶ, [2] ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, λαθεῖν σπεύδουσαι, ἀπηλλάττοντο, καταλιποῦσαι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν τῷ [3] πολυανδρίῳ θάψαι, ἢ λάθρα εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἠρία ἐκόμιζον αὐτούς.

ΚΕΦ. ε'.

Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεὸν ἑαυτὸν καλεῖσθαι βουλομένου.

Ἀλέξανδρος, ὅτε ἐνίκησε Δαρεῖον, καὶ τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν κατεκτήσατο, μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φρονῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας τῆς περιλαβούσης αὐτὸν τότε ἐκθεούμενος, ἐπέστειλε τοῖς Ἕλλησι· "Θεὸν αὐτὸν [4] ψηφίσασθαι." Γελοίως γε· οὐ γάρ, ἀπεροῦν ἐκ τῆς φύσεως οὐκ εἶχε, ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰτῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐκέρδαινεν. Ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἐψηφίσαντο· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐκεῖνα· "Ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος βούλεται Θεὸς εἶναι, ἔστω Θεός." Λακωνικῶς τε ἅμα καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον σφίσι τρόπον ἐλέγξαντες τὴν ἔμπληξιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου.

ΚΕΦ. ϛ'.

Ὅτι ἀμνησίκακος ὁ Φωκίων.

Φωκίων ὁ τοῦ Φώκου, πολλάκις στρατηγήσας, κατεγνώσθη θανάτῳ, καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, καὶ ἔμελλε πιεῖσθαι τὸ κώνειον. Επεὶ δὲ ὤρεξεν [1] ὁ δήμιος τὴν κύλικα, οἱ προσήκοντες ἤροντο, εἴ τι λέγοι πρὸς τὸν υἱόν. Ο δὲ, "Επισκήπτω αὐτῷ μηδὲν Ἀθηναίοις μνησικακήσειν "ὑπὲρ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶν φιλοτησίας, ἧς νῦν πίνω." Ὅστις δὲ οὐκ ἐπαινεῖ καὶ ὑπερθαυμάζει τὸν ἄνδρα, δοκεῖ μοι μέγα ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐννοεῖν οὐδέν.

ΚΕΦ. ζ'.

Περὶ τῶν τοὺς τῶν Ἐφόρων θρόνους ἀσβόλῳ χρισαμένων.

Κλαζομενίων τινὲς εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἀφικόμενοι, καὶ ὕβρει καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ χρώμενοι, τοὺς τῶν Εφόρων θρόνους, ἔνθα εἰώθασι καθήμενοι χρηματίζειν, καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἕκαστα διατάττειν, [2] ἀλλὰ τούτους γε τοὺς θρόνους ἀσβόλῳ κατέχρισαν. Μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Εφοροι, οὐκ ἠγανάκτησαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν δημόσιον κήρυκα καλέσαντες, προσέταξαν αὐτὸν δημοσίᾳ κηρύξαι τοῦτο δὴ τὸ θαυμαζόμενον· "Εξέστω "Κλαζομενίοις ἀσχημονεῖν."

ΚΕΦ. η'.

Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πάριδος λύρας.

Ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν Ιλιον ἦλθεν· ἀνασκοποῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ φιλοπόνως, τῶν τις Τρώων προσελθὼν τὴν λύραν ἐδείκνυεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. Ὁ δὲ ἔφη, "Προτιμησαίμην ἂν μᾶλ-

" λον ἰδεῖν την Ἀχιλλέως." [1]Ὑπέρευγε τοῦτο Ἀλέξανδρος. Ἐπόθει γὰρ κτῆμα ἀγαθοῦ στρατιώτου, ᾧ συνῆδεν ἐκεῖνος τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν [2]ἀνδρῶν κλέα. Τοῦ δὲ Πάριδος τί ἄρα ᾖσεν ἡ λύρα, εἰ μὴ μέλη μοιχικὰ, καὶ οἷα αἱρεῖν γυναῖκας καὶ θέλγειν;

ΚΕΦ. θ'.

Περὶ φιλοκαλίας Ξενοφῶντος.

Ξενοφῶντι ἔμελε τῶν ἄλλων σπουδαίων, καὶ οὖν καὶ ὅπλα καλὰ ἔχειν. Νικῶντι γὰρ, ἔλεγε, τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν καλλίστην στολὴν ἁρμόττειν· καὶ ἀποθνήσκοντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κεῖσθαι καλῶς ἐν καλῇ τῇ πανοπλίᾳ. Τῷ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τῷ γενναίῳ ταῦτ' εἶναι τὰ ἐντάφια, τὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς κοσμοῦντα αὐτόν. Λέγεται οὖν ὁ τοῦ Γρύλλου τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα [3]Ἀργολικὴν ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ θώρακα Ἀττικὸν, τὸ δὲ κράνος Βοιωτιουργὲς, τὸν δὲ ἵππον Ἐπιδαύριον. Φιλοκάλου δὲ ἔγωγε ἂν εἶναι φαίην τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνδρὸς, καὶ ἀξιοῦντος ἑαυτὸν τῶν καλῶν.

ΚΕΦ. ι'.

Περὶ Κλεινίου, καὶ Ἀχιλλέως, μουσικῇ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀναστέλλειν φιλούντων

Κλεινίας ἀνὴρ ἦν σπουδαῖος τὸν τρόπον, Πυθαγόρειος δὲ τὴν σοφίαν. Οὗτος εἴ ποτε εἰς ὀργὴν προήχθη, καὶ [4]εἶχεν αἰσθητικῶς ἑαυτοῦ εἰς θυμὸν ἐξαγομένου, παραχρῆμα πρὶν ἢ [5]ἀνάπλεως αὐτῷ ἡ ὀργὴ, καὶ ἐπίδηλος γένηται, ὅπως διάκειται, τὴν λύραν ἁρμοσάμενος, ἐκιθάριζε. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πυνθανομένους τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπεκρίνετο ἐμμελῶς, Ὅτι πραΰνομαι. Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἰλιάδι Ἀχιλλεὺς, ὁ τῇ κιθάρᾳ προσᾴδων, καὶ τὰ κλέα τῶν

προτέρων διὰ τοῦ μέλους εἰς μνήμην ἑαυτῷ ἄγων, τὴν μῆνιν κατευνάζειν. Μουσικὸς γὰρ ὤν, τὴν κιθάραν πρώτην ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἔλαβε.

ΚΕΦ. ιά.

Περὶ Πλάτωνος.

Πλάτων ὁ Αρίστωνος τὰ πρῶτα ἐπὶ ποιητικὴν ὥρμησεν, καὶ ἡρωϊκὰ ἔγραφε μέτρα. εἶτα αὐτὰ κατέπρησεν, ὑπεριδὼν αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς Ὁμήρου αὐτὰ [1] ἀντικρίνων ἑώρα κατὰ πολὺ ἡττώμενα. Επέθετο οὖν τραγῳδίᾳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ [2] Τετραλογίαν εἰργάσατο, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀγωνιεῖσθαι, δοὺς ἤδη τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς τὰ ποιήματα. Πρὸ [3] τῶν Διονυσίων δὲ παρελθὼν ἤκουσε Σωκράτους, καὶ ἅπαξ αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου Σειρῆνος, τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος οὐ μόνον ἀπέστη τότε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελέως τὸ γράφειν τραγῳδίαν ἀπέῤῥιψε, καὶ ἀπεδύσατο ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν.

ΚΕΦ. ιβ′.

Περὶ γέροντος Κείου τὴν τρίχα βαψαμένου.

Ανηρ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἀφίκετο Κεῖος, γέρων ἤδη ὤν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀλαζὼν, ᾐδεῖτο δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ γήρᾳ, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὴν τρίχα πολιὰν οὖσαν ἐπειρᾶτο βαφῇ ἀφανίζειν. Παρελθὼν οὖν ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τοιαύτην ὑποφαίνων τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἐκεῖνα εἶπεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ ἀφίκετο. Αναστὰς οὖν Αρχίδαμος ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς, "Τί δ' ἂν, ἔφη, οὗτος ὑγιὲς εἴποι, ὃς οὐ μόνον "ἐπὶ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ ψεῦδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιφέ-"ρει;" Καὶ ἐξέωσε τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λεχθέντα, διαβάλλων τοῦ Κείου τὸν τρόπον, ἐξ ὧν ἑωρᾶτο.

ΚΕΦ. ιγ΄.

Πῶς ὁ Μακαρεὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀπηνείας ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐτιμωρήθη

Μιτυληναῖος ἀνὴρ, Μακαρεὺς ὄνομα, ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου, [1]ὅσα μὲν οὗτος ἰδεῖν, πρᾷος ἦν καὶ ἐπιεικὴς, ἀνοσιώτατος δὲ ἀνθρώπων τὰ μάλιστα. Ξένου δὲ ἥκοντος παρ᾽ αὐτὸν, καὶ δόντος αὐτῷ παρακαταθήκην χρυσίου πλῆθος, ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ [2] ἀνακτόρου, τὴν γῆν διασκάψας, ὁ Μακαρεὺς κατώρυξε τὸ χρυσίον. Χρόνῳ δὲ ἀφικόμενος ὁ ξένος τὸ χρυσίον ἀπῄτει. ὁ δὲ εἰσαγαγὼν ἐνδὸν, ὡς ἀποδώσων, κατέσφαξε, καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἀνώρυξεν, ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸν ξένον κατέθηκε· καὶ ᾤετο, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λανθάνειν οὕτω καὶ τὸν Θεόν. [3]πλὴν οὐκ ἀπήντησε ταῦτα ταύτῃ ποθέν.

Χρόνου δὲ ὀλίγου διεληλυθότος, αἱ μὲν τοῦ Θεοῦ Τριετηρίδες ἀφίκοντο· ὁ δὲ ἔθυε μεγαλοπρεπῶς. [4]Καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ τὴν Βακχείαν εἶχεν· οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ, δύο ὄντες, ἔνδον ἀπελείφθησαν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, καὶ μιμούμενοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἱερουργίαν, τῷ βωμῷ τῷ πατρῴῳ προσῆλθον, ἔτι καιομένων τῶν ἐμπύρων· καὶ ὁ μὲν νεώτερος παρέσχε τὸν τράχηλον, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος, ἠμελημένην εὑρὼν σφαγίδα, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἱερεῖον. Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἰδόντες ἀνεβόησαν. Ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ μήτηρ τῆς βοῆς ἐξεπήδησε, καὶ θεασαμένη τὸν μὲν νεκρὸν, τὸν δὲ κατέχοντα ἔτι τὴν σφαγίδα ἡμαγμένην, σχίζαν ἁρπάσασα τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἡμίκαυτον, ταύτῃ τὸν παῖδα ἀπέκτεινεν.

Ἧκε δὲ ἀγγελία πρὸς τὸν Μακαρέα, καὶ ἀπολιπὼν τὴν τελετὴν, ὡς εἶχε, σὺν [5]ὁρμῇ καὶ θυμῷ εἰσεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ τῷ θύρσῳ, ᾧ κατεῖχε, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἔκτεινεν. Ἔκπυστα οὖν ἐγένοντο τὰ τολμηθέντα εἰς πάντας· καὶ συλληφθεὶς ὁ Μακαρεὺς, καὶ στρεβλούμενος, ὡμολόγη

σεν, ὅσα ἐν τῷ ἀνακτόρῳ ἔδρασεν· ἐν αὐταῖς δὲ ταῖς κολάσεσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέῤῥηξεν. Ὁ δὲ παρανόμως σφαγεὶς διὰ τιμῆς ἦλθε δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐτάφη, τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος. Ἔτισεν οὖν ὁ Μακαρεὺς οὐ μεμπτὴν τὴν δικὴν, τοῦτο δὴ [1] τὸ ποιητικὸν, σὺν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῇ, καὶ τῇ τῆς γυναικὸς, καὶ οὖν καὶ τῇ τῶν παίδων προσέτι.

ΚΕΦ. ιδ'.

Περιήγησις τῶν Θετταλικῶν Τεμπῶν.

Φέρε οὖν, καὶ τὰ καλούμενα Τέμπη τὰ Θετταλικὰ διαγράψωμεν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ διαπλάσωμεν. ὡμολόγηται γὰρ καὶ ὁ λόγος, [2] ἐὰν ἔχῃ δύναμιν φραστικὴν, μηδὲν ἀσθενέστερον, ὅσα βούλεται, δεικνύναι, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν κατὰ χειρουργίαν δεινῶν.

Ἔστι δὴ χῶρος μεταξὺ κείμενος τοῦ τε Ὀλύμπου καὶ τῆς Ὄσσης· ὄρη δὲ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπερύψηλα, καὶ οἷον ὑπό τινος θείας φροντίδος διεσχισμένα, καὶ μέσον δέχεται χωρίον, οὗ τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα διήκει σταδίους· τόγε μὴν πλάτος τῇ μέν ἐστι πλέθρου, τῇ δὲ καὶ πλεῖον ὀλίγῳ. Διαῤῥεῖ δὲ μέσου αὐτοῦ ὁ καλούμενος Πηνειός· εἰς τοῦτον δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ποταμοὶ συῤῥέουσι, καὶ ἀνακοινοῦνται τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐργάζονται τὸν Πηνειὸν ἐκεῖνοι μέγαν. Διατριβὰς δ' ἔχει ποικίλας καὶ παντοδαπὰς ὁ τόπος οὗτος, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης χειρὸς ἔργα, ἀλλὰ φύσεως αὐτόματα, [3] εἰς κάλλος τότε φιλοτιμησαμένης, ὅτε ἐλάμβανε γένεσιν ὁ χῶρος. Κιττὸς μὲν γὰρ πολὺς, καὶ εὖ μάλα λάσιος ἐνακμάζει, [4] καὶ τέθηλε, καὶ δίκην τῶν εὐγενῶν ἀμπέλων κατὰ τῶν ὑψηλῶν δένδρων ἀνέρπει, καὶ συμπέφυκεν αὐτοῖς. Πολλὴ δὲ [5] σμίλαξ, ἡ μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν πάγον ἀνατρέχει, καὶ ἐπισκιάζει τὴν πέτραν, καὶ ἐκείνη μὲν ὑπολανθάνει· ὁρᾶται δὲ τὸ χλοάζον πᾶν, καὶ ἔστιν ὀφθαλμῶν Πανήγυρις.

Ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς λείοις καὶ καθημένοις ἄλση τέ ἐστι ποικίλα, καὶ ὑποδρομαὶ συνεχεῖς, ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρους καταφυγεῖν ὁδοιπόροις ἥδιστα καταγώγια, ἃ καὶ δίδωσιν ἀσμένως ψυχᾶσθαι. Διαῤῥέουσι δὲ καὶ κρῆναι συχναὶ, καὶ ἐπιῤῥεῖ νάματα ὑδάτων ψυχρῶν καὶ πιεῖν ἡδίστων. Λέγεται δὲ τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς λουσαμένοις ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ εἰς ὑγίειαν αὐτοῖς συμβάλλεσθαι. Κατᾴδουσι δὲ καὶ ὄρνιθες ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διεσπαρμένοι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ μουσικοὶ, καὶ ἑστιῶσιν εὖ μάλα τὰς ἀκοὰς, καὶ παραπέμπουσιν ἀπόνως, καὶ σὺν ἡδονῇ, διὰ τοῦ μέλους τὸν κάματον τῶν παριόντων ἀφανίσαντες. Παρ᾽ ἑκάτερα δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἱ διατριβαί εἰσιν αἱ προειρημέναι καὶ αἱ ἀνάπαυλαι. Διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν Τεμπῶν ὁ Πηνειὸς ποταμὸς ἔρχεται, σχολῇ καὶ πρᾴως προϊὼν ἐλαίου δίκην. Πολλὴ δὲ κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἡ σκιὰ ἐκ τῶν παραπεφυκότων δένδρων καὶ τῶν ἐξηρτημένων κλάδων τίκτεται· ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας αὐτὴν προήκουσαν ἀποστέγειν τὴν ἀκτῖνα, καὶ παρέχειν τοῖς πλέουσι πλεῖν κατὰ ψύχος. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ περίοικος [1] λεὼς συνίασιν, ἄλλοι σὺν ἄλλοις, καὶ θύουσι, καὶ συνουσίας ποιοῦνται, καὶ συμπίνουσιν. Ἅτε οὖν πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν θυόντων, καὶ τῶν καθαγιζομένων συνεχῶς, εἰκότως καὶ τοῖς βαδίζουσι καὶ τοῖς πλέουσιν ὀσμαὶ συμπαρομαρτοῦσιν ἥδισται. Οὕτως ἄρα ἡ τιμὴ ἡ διαρκὴς, ἡ [2] περὶ τὸ Κρεῖττον, ἐκθεοῖ τὸν τόπον.

Ἐνταῦθά τοι, φασὶ παῖδες Θετταλῶν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Πύθιον [3] καθήρασθαι κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτε τὸν Πύθωνα τὸν δράκοντα κατετόξευσεν, ἔτι φυλάττοντα τοὺς Δελφοὺς, τῆς Γῆς ἐχούσης τὸ μαντεῖον. Στεφανωσάμενον οὖν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς δάφνης τῆς Τεμπικῆς, καὶ λαβόντα κλάδον εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα [4] [ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ δάφνης,] ἐλθεῖν εἰς Δελφοὺς, καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὸν μαντεῖον τὸν Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς παῖδα. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ βωμὸς ἐν

αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστεφανώσατο, καὶ τὸν κλάδον ἀφεῖλε.

Καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν [1] ἔτους ἐννάτου οἱ Δελφοὶ παῖδας εὐγενεῖς πέμπουσι, καὶ Ἀρχιθέωρον ἕνα σφῶν αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς θύσαντες ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεσιν, ἀπίασι πάλιν, στεφάνους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δάφνης διαπλέξαντες, ἀφ' ἧσπερ [2] ἐρῶν καὶ τότε ὁ Θεὸς ἐστεφανώσατο. Καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην ἔρχονται, ἣ καλεῖται μὲν Πυθιὰς, φέρει δὲ διὰ Θετταλίας, καὶ [3] Πελαγονίας, καὶ τῆς Οἴτης, καὶ τῆς Αἰνιάνων χώρας, καὶ τῆς Μηλιέων, καὶ Δωριέων, καὶ Λοκρῶν [4] τῶν Ἑσπερίων. Οὗτοι δὲ καὶ παραπέμπουσιν αὐτοὺς σὺν αἰδοῖ καὶ τιμῇ, οὐδὲν ἧττον, ἤπερ οὖν [5] ἐκεῖνοι, οἳ τοὺς ἐξ [6] Ὑπερβορέων τὰ ἱερὰ κομίζοντας τῷ αὐτῷ θεῷ τούτῳ τιμῶσι. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς Πυθίοις ἐκ ταύτης τῆς δάφνης τοῖς νικῶσι τοὺς στεφάνους διδόασιν. Ὑπὲρ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ Τεμπῶν, καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

ΚΕΦ. ιζ'.

Σκύθου τινὸς ἀπόκρισις περὶ ῥίγους.

Χιόνος ποτὲ πιπτούσης, ἤρετο ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Σκυθῶν τινα, εἰ ῥιγοῖ, γυμνὸν διακαρτεροῦντα. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀντήρετο, εἰ τὸ μέτωπον ῥιγοῖ; Τοῦ δὲ, οὐ, φήσαντος· Οὐκοῦν, εἶπεν, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ, πᾶς γὰρ μέτωπόν εἰμι.

FINIS

EXCERPTORUM MISCELLANEORUM.

APPENDIX

TO THE

PROSE SELECTIONS

OF THE

ANALECTA GRÆCA MAJORA.

EXTRACTS FROM POLYBIUS.

Ex POLYBIO.

ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΒΙΒΛΟΥ.

Α. Προοίμιον τῆς Ἱστορίας.

α. ᾿ΕΙ μὲν τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀναγραψασι τὰς πράξεις παραλελεῖφθαι συνέϐαινε τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἱστορίας ἔπαινον· ἴσως ἂν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸ προτρέπεσθαι πάντας πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ παραδοχὴν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπομνημάτων· διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἑτοιμοτέραν εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διόρθωσιν, τῆς τῶν προγεγενημένων πράξεων ἐπιστήμης. ᾿Επεὶ δὲ, οὐ τινὲς, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ ποσὸν, ἀλλ᾽ ἅπαντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀρχῇ καὶ τέλει κέχρηνται τούτῳ, φάσκοντες ἀληθινωτάτην μὲν εἶναι παιδείαν καὶ γυμνασίαν πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις, τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας μάθησιν, ἐναργεστάτην δὲ καὶ μόνην διδάσκαλον τοῦ δύνασθαι τὰς τῆς τύχης μεταϐολὰς γενναίως ὑποφέρειν, τὴν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων περιπετειῶν ὑπόμνησιν· δῆλον ὡς οὐδενὶ μὲν ἂν δόξαι καθήκειν, περὶ τῶν καλῶς καὶ πολλοῖς εἰρημένων ταυτολογεῖν, ἥκιστα δ᾽ ἡμῖν. Αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν πράξεων, ὑπὲρ ὧν προῃρήμεθα γρά-

φειν, ἱκανόν ἐστι προκαλέσασθαι καὶ παρορμῆσαι πάντα, καὶ νέον καὶ πρεσβύτερον, πρὸς τὴν ἔντευξιν τῆς πραγματείας. Τίς γὰρ οὕτως ὑπάρχει φαῦλος ἢ ῥάθυμος ἀνθρώπων, ὃς οὐκ ἂν βούλοιτο γνῶναι, πῶς, καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας, ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, οὐχ ὅλοις πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν, ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἔπεσε τὴν Ῥωμαίων· ὃ πρότερον οὐχ εὑρίσκεται γεγονός. Τίς δὲ πάλιν οὕτως ἐκπαθὴς πρός τι τῶν ἄλλων θεαμάτων ἢ μαθημάτων, ὃς προὐργιαίτερον ἄν τι ποιήσαιτο τῆσδε τῆς ἐμπειρίας;

β′. Ὡς δ᾽ ἔστι παράδοξον καὶ μέγα τὸ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπόθεσιν θεώρημα, γένοιτ᾽ ἂν οὕτω μάλιστα ἐμφανές, εἰ τὰς ἐλλογιμωτάτας τῶν προγεγενημένων δυναστειῶν, περὶ ἃς οἱ συγγραφεῖς τοὺς πλείστους διατέθεινται λόγους, παραβάλλοιμεν καὶ συγκρίναιμεν πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεροχήν. Εἰσὶ δ᾽ αἱ τῆς παραβολῆς ἄξιαι καὶ συγκρίσεως αὗται. Πέρσαι κατά τινας καιροὺς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν κατεκτήσαντο καὶ δυναστείαν· ἀλλ᾽ ὁσάκις ἐτόλμησαν ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ὅρους, οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἐκινδύνευσαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολλοὺς ἀμφισβητήσαντες χρόνους ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονείας, ἐπειδή ποτ᾽ ἐκράτησαν, μόλις ἔτη δώδεκα κατεῖχον αὐτὴν ἀδήριτον. Μακεδόνες τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης ἦρξαν ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν τόπων, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον ποταμόν· ὃ βραχὺ παντελῶς ἂν φανείη μέρος τῆς προειρημένης χώρας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσέλαβον τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχήν, καταλύσαντες τὴν τῶν Περσῶν δυναστείαν. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οὗτοι πλείστων δόξαντες καὶ τόπων καὶ πραγμάτων γενέσθαι κύριοι, τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἀκμὴν ἀπέλιπον τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀλλότριον. Σικελίας μὲν γάρ, καὶ Σαρδοῦς, καὶ Λιβύης, οὐδ᾽ ἐπεβάλοντο καθάπαξ ἀμφισβητεῖν· τῆς δὲ Εὐρώπης τὰ μαχιμώτατα γένη τῶν προσεσπερίων ἐθνῶν, ἰσχνῶς εἰπεῖν,

οὐδ' ἐγίνωσκον. Ῥωμαῖοί γε μὴν, οὐ τινὰ μέρη, σχεδὸν δὲ πᾶσαν πεποιημένοι τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπήκοον αὐτοῖς, ζηλωτὸν μὲν τοῖς νῦν οὖσιν, ἀνυπέρβλητον δὲ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ὑπεροχὴν κατεσκεύασαν δυναστείας. Τούτων μέντοι τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τῆσδε τῆς ξυγγραφῆς ἔσται σαφέστερον κατανοεῖν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ, πόσα καὶ πηλίκα συμβάλλεσθαι πέφυκε τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσιν ὁ τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας τρόπος.

γ'. Ἄρξει δὲ τῆς πραγματείας ἡμῖν, τῶν μὲν χρόνων Ὀλυμπιὰς ἑκατοϛὴ τε καὶ τετταρακοστή· τῶν δὲ πράξεων, παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς Συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος, ὃν πρῶτον ἐξήνεγκε μετ' Ἀχαιῶν πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς Φίλιππος, Δημητρίου μὲν υἱὸς, πατὴρ δὲ Περσέως· παρὰ δὲ τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦσιν, ὁ περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας, ὃν Ἀντίοχος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Λιβύην τόποις, ὁ συστὰς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις, ὃν οἱ πλεῖστοι προσαγορεύουσιν Ἀννιβιακόν. Ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ συνεχῆ τοῖς τελευταίοις τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Σικυωνίου συντάξεως. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων χρόνοις, ὡσανεὶ σποράδας εἶναι συνέβαινε τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις· διὰ τὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, ἔτι ἐ συντελείας αὐτῶν, καὶ κατὰ τόπους διαφέρειν ἕκαϛ ; τῶν πεπραγμένων· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν οἱονεὶ σωματοειδῆ συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν, συμπλέκεσθαί τε τὰς Ἰταλικὰς καὶ Λιβυκὰς πράξεις ταῖς τε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς, καὶ πρὸς ἓν γίνεσθαι τέλος τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἁπάντων. Διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτῶν πραγματείας ἀπο τȣ́των πεποιήμεθα τῶν καιρῶν. Τῷ γὰρ προειρημένῳ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες Ῥωμαῖοι Καρχηδονίων, καὶ νομίσαντες τὸ κυριώτατον καὶ μέγιστον μέρος αὐτοῖς ἠνύσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπιβολὴν, οὕτω καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐθάρσησαν ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνειν, καὶ περαιοῦσθαι μετὰ

δυνάμεως εἴς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἦν συνήθη καὶ γνώριμα τὰ πολιτεύματα, τὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς ἀμφισβητήσαντα, ἴσως οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμᾶς ἔδει περὶ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ γράφειν, ἀπὸ ποίας προθέσεως ἢ δυνάμεως ὁρμηθέντες, ἐνεχείρησαν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις ἔργοις. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὔτε τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οὔτε τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πολιτεύματος πρόχειρός ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡ προγεγενημένη δύναμις, οὐδ' αἱ πράξεις αὐτῶν· ἀναγκαῖον ὑπελάβομεν εἶναι, συντάξασθαι ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἑξῆς βίβλον πρὸ τῆς ἱστορίας, ἵνα μηδεὶς, ἐπιστὰς ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξήγησιν, τότε διαπορῇ, καὶ ζητῇ, ποίοις διαβουλίοις, ἢ ποίαις δυνάμεσι καὶ χορηγίαις χρησάμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι, πρὸς ταύτας ὥρμησαν τὰς ἐπιβολὰς, δι' ὧν καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς θαλάττης τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐγένοντο πάσης ἐγκρατεῖς· ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων τῶν βίβλων καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύταις προκατασκευῆς δῆλον ᾖ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὅτι καὶ λίαν εὐλόγοις ἀφορμαῖς χρησάμενοι, πρός τε τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ὥρμησαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν συντέλειαν ἐξίκοντο τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας.

δ'. Τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραγματείας ἴδιον, καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν, τοῦτό ἐστιν· ὅτι καθάπερ ἡ τύχη σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πράγματα πρὸς ἓν ἔκλινε μέρος, καὶ πάντα νεύειν ἠνάγκασε πρὸς ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπόν· οὕτω καὶ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας, ὑπὸ μίαν σύνοψιν ἄγειν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὸν χειρισμὸν τῆς τύχης, ᾧ κέχρηται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων συντέλειαν. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ προκαλεσάμενον ἡμᾶς καὶ παρορμῆσαν πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς ἱστορίας μάλιστα τοῦτο γέγονε· σὺν δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ τὸ μηδένα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιβεβλῆσθαι τῇ τῶν καθόλου πραγμάτων συντάξει· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν ἧττον ἔγωγε πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐφιλοτιμήθην. Νῦν δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς μὲν κατὰ μέρος

πολέμους, καί τινας τῶν ἅμα τούτοις πράξεων καὶ πλείους πραγματευομένους, τὴν δὲ καθόλου καὶ συλλήβδην οἰκονομίαν τῶν γεγονότων, πότε καὶ πόθεν ὡρμήθη, καὶ πῶς ἔσχε τὴν συντέλειαν, ταύτην οὐδ' ἐπιβαλλόμενον οὐδένα βασανίζειν, ὅσον γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι· παντελῶς ὑπέλαβον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ μὴ παραλιπεῖν, μηδ' ἐᾶσαι παρελθεῖν ἀνεπιστάτως τὸ κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς τύχης. Πολλὰ γὰρ αὕτη καινοποιοῦσα καὶ συνεχῶς ἐναγωνιζομένη τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίοις, οὐδέπω τοιόνδ' ἁπλῶς οὔτ' εἰργάσατο ἔργον, οὔτ' ἠγωνίσατο ἀγώνισμα, οἷον τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς. Ὅπερ ἐκ μὲν τῶν κατὰ μέρος γραφόντων τὰς ἱστορίας, οὐχ οἷόν τε συνιδεῖν· εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας πόλεις τὶς κατὰ μίαν ἑκάστην ἐπελθὼν, ἢ καὶ, νὴ Δία, γε γραμμένας χωρὶς ἀλλήλων θεασάμενος, εὐθέως ὑπολάβοι κατανενοηκέναι καὶ τὸ τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης σχῆμα, καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν αὐτῆς θέσιν καὶ τάξιν· ὅπερ ἐστὶν οὐδαμῶς εἰκός.

έ. Καθόλου μὲν γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν οἱ πεπεισμένοι διὰ τῆς κατὰ μέρος ἱστορίας μετρίως συνόψεσθαι τὰ ὅλα, παραπλήσιόν τι πάσχειν, ὡς ἂν εἴ τινες ἐμψύχου καὶ καλοῦ σώματος γεγονότος διεῤῥιμμένα τὰ μέρη θεώμενοι, νομίζοιεν ἱκανῶς αὐτόπται γίγνεσθαι τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζώου καὶ καλλονῆς. Εἰ γάρ τις αὐτίκα μάλα συνθεὶς, καὶ τέλειον αὖθις ἀπεργασάμενος τὸ ζῶον τῷ τε εἴδει καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐπρεπείᾳ, κἄπειτα πάλιν ἐπιδεικνύοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις· ταχέως ἂν οἶμαι πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσειν, διότι καὶ λίαν πολύ τι τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπελείποντο πρόσθεν, καὶ παραπλήσιοι τοῖς ὀνειρώττουσιν ἦσαν. Ἔννοιαν μὲν γὰρ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ μέρους τῶν ὅλων, δυνατόν· ἐπιστήμην δὲ καὶ γνώμην ἀτρεκῆ ἔχειν, ἀδύνατον. Διὸ παντελῶς βραχύ τι νομιστέον συμβάλλεσθαι τὴν κατὰ μέρος ἱστορίαν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων

ἐμπειρίαν καὶ πίστιν· ἐκ μέντοι γε τῆς ἁπάντων πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραθέσεως, ἔτι δ᾽ ὁμοιότητος καὶ διαφορᾶς, μόνως ἄν τις ἐφίκοιτο καὶ δυνηθείη κατοπτεύσας, ἅμα καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ τὸ τερπνὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας λαβεῖν.

ϛʹ. Ὑποθησόμεθα δὲ ταύτην ἀρχὴν τῆς βίβλου, τὴν πρώτην διάβασιν ἐξ Ἰταλίας Ῥωμαίων· αὕτη δ᾽ ἐστὶ συνεχὴς μὲν τοῖς ἀφ᾽ ὧν Τίμαιος ἀπέλιπε· πίπτει δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐννάτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν Ὀλυμπιάδα. Διὸ καὶ ῥητέον ἂν εἴη, πῶς καὶ πότε συστησάμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τίσιν ἀφορμαῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρησάμενοι, διαβαίνειν ὥρμησαν εἰς Σικελίαν· ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ γῇ πρῶτον ἐπέβησαν τῶν ἐκτὸς τόπων τῆς Ἰταλίας· καὶ ῥητέον αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς διαβάσεως αἰτίαν ψιλῶς, ἵνα μὴ τῆς αἰτίας αἰτίαν επιζητούσης, ἀνυπόστατος ἡ τῆς ὅλης ὑποθέσεως ἀρχὴ γένηται καὶ θεωρία. Ληπτέον δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς ὁμολογουμένην καὶ γνωριζομένην ἀρχὴν παρ᾽ ἅπασι, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δυναμένην αὐτὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς θεωρεῖσθαι· κἂν δέῃ τοῖς χρόνοις βραχὺ προσαναδραμόντας κεφαλαιώδη τῶν μεταξὺ πράξεων ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Τῆς γὰρ ἀρχῆς ἀγνοουμένης, ἢ καί, νὴ Δία, ἀμφισβητουμένης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἑξῆς οὐδὲν οἷόν τε παραδοχῆς ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ πίστεως· ὅταν δ᾽ ἡ περὶ ταύτης ὁμολογουμένη παρασκευασθῇ δόξα, τότ᾽ ἤδη καὶ πᾶς ὁ συνεχὴς λόγος ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνει παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν.

ζʹ. Ἔτος μὲν οὖν ἐνειστήκει μετὰ μὲν τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίαν ἐννεακαιδέκατον, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ἑκκαιδέκατον, ἐν ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀνταλκίδου γενομένην εἰρήνην πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν ἐκύρωσαν· καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Διονύσιος τῇ περὶ τὸν Ἐλλέπορον ποταμὸν μάχῃ νενικηκὼς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἕλληνας, ἐπολιόρκει Ῥηγίον· Γαλάται δὲ

κατὰ κράτος ἑλόντες αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην κατεῖχον, πλὴν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου. Πρὸς οὓς ποιησάμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι σπονδὰς καὶ διαλύσεις εὐδοκουμένας Γαλάταις, καὶ γινόμενοι πάλιν ἀνελπίστως τῆς πατρίδος ἐγκρατεῖς, καὶ λαβόντες οἷον ἀρχὴν τῆς συναυξήσεως, ἐπολέμουν ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς χρόνοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας. γενόμενοι δὲ ἐγκρατεῖς ἁπάντων τῶν Λατίνων, διά τε τὴν ἀνδρίαν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐπιτυχίαν, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπολέμουν Τυῤῥηνοῖς, ἔπειτα Κελτοῖς, ἑξῆς δὲ Σαυνίταις τοῖς πρός τε τὰς ἀνατολὰς καὶ τὰς ἄρκτους συντερμονοῦσι τῇ τῶν Λατίνων χώρᾳ. μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον, Ταραντίνων, διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀσέλγειαν καὶ τὸν διὰ ταῦτα φόβον, ἐπισπασαμένων Πύῤῥον, (τῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐφόδου, τῶν τε περὶ Δελφοὺς φθαρέντων, καὶ περαιωθέντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν,) Ῥωμαῖοι, Τυῤῥηνοὺς μὲν καὶ Σαυνίτας ὑφ᾽ αὑτοὺς πεποιημένοι, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Κελτοὺς πολλαῖς μάχαις ἤδη νενικηκότες, τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰταλίας ὥρμησαν, οὐχ ὡς ὑπὲρ ὀθνείων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πλεῖον ὡς ὑπὲρ ἰδίων ἤδη καὶ καθηκόντων σφίσι πολεμήσοντες· ἀθληταὶ γεγονότες ἀληθινοὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς Σαυνίτας καὶ Κελτοὺς ἀγώνων. ὑποστάντες δὲ γενναίως τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τάς τε δυνάμεις καὶ Πύῤῥον ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, αὖθις ἐπολέμουν καὶ κατεστρέφοντο τοὺς κοινωνήσαντας Πύῤῥῳ τῶν πραγμάτων. Γενόμενοι δὲ παραδόξως ἁπάντων ἐγκρατεῖς, καὶ ποιησάμενοι τοὺς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικοῦντας ὑφ᾽ αὑτοὺς, πλὴν Κελτῶν, μετὰ ταῦτα πολιορκεῖν ἐνεχείρησαν τοὺς τότε κατέχοντας τὸ Ῥηγίον Ῥωμαίους.

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ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ἙΚΤΗΣ ΒΙΒΛΟΥ.

Β΄. Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας.

ά ἮΝ μὲν δὴ τρία μέρη τὰ κρατοῦντα τῆς πολιτείας, ἅπερ εἶπα πρότερον ἅπαντα· οὕτω δὲ πάντα κατὰ μέρος ἴσως καὶ πρεπόντως συνετέτακτο, καὶ διῳκεῖτο διὰ τούτων, ὥστε μηδένα ποτ᾽ ἂν εἰπεῖν δύνασθαι βεβαίως, μηδὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, πότερ᾽ ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸ πολίτευμα σύμπαν, ἢ δημοκρατικὸν, ἢ μοναρχικόν. Καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εἰκότως ἦν πάσχειν. Ὅτε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Ὑπάτων ἀτενίσαιμεν ἐξουσίαν, τελείως μοναρχικὸν ἐφαίνετ᾽ εἶναι καὶ βασιλικόν· ὅτε δὲ εἰς τὴν τῆς Συγκλήτου, πάλιν ἀριστοκρατικόν· καὶ μὴν, εἰ τὴν τῶν Πολλῶν ἐξουσίαν θεωροίη τις, ἐδόκει σαφῶς εἶναι δημοκρατικόν. Ὧν δ᾽ ἕκαστον εἶδος μερῶν τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκράτει, καὶ τότε, καὶ νῦν ἔτι, πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν, ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν.

β΄. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ὕπατοι, πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἐξάγειν τὰ στρατόπεδα παρόντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πασῶν εἰσι κύριοι τῶν δημοσίων πράξεων· οἵ τε γὰρ ἄρχοντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ὑποτάττονται καὶ πειθαρχοῦσι τούτοις, πλὴν τῶν Δημάρχων· εἴς τε τὴν Σύγκλητον οὗτοι τὰς πρεσβείας ἄγουσι· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις, οὗτοι τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν διαβουλίων ἀναδιδόασιν, οὗτοι τὸν ὅλον χειρισμὸν τῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτελοῦσι. Καὶ μὴν, ὅσα δεῖ διὰ τοῦ Δήμου συντελεῖσθαι τῶν πρὸς τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἀνηκόντων, τούτοις καθήκει φροντίζειν, καὶ συνάγειν ἀεὶ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας, τούτοις εἰσφέρειν τὰ δόγματα, τούτοις βραβεύειν τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πλείοσι. Καὶ μὴν περὶ πολέμου κατασκευῆς, καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἐν ὑπαίθροις οἰκονομίας, σχεδὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι. καὶ

γὰρ ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς τὸ δοκοῦν, καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους καθιστάναι, καὶ διαγράφειν τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ διαλέγειν τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, τούτοις ἔξεστι. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ζημιῶσαι τῶν ὑποταττομένων ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις, ὃν ἂν βουληθῶσι, κύριοι καθεστᾶσιν. ἐξουσίαν δ' ἔχουσι καὶ δαπανᾷν τῶν δημοσίων, ὅσα προθεῖντο, παρεπομένου Ταμίου, καὶ πᾶν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἑτοίμως ποιοῦντος. Ὥστ' εἰκότως εἰπεῖν ἄν, ὅτε τις εἰς ταύτην ἀποβλέψειε τὴν μερίδα, διότι μοναρχικὸν ἁπλῶς καὶ βασιλικόν ἐστι τὸ πολίτευμα. Εἰ δέ τινα τούτων, ἢ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων, λήψεται μετάθεσιν, ἢ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν, ἢ μετά τινα χρόνον, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὴν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγομένην ἀπόφασιν.

γ'. Καὶ μὴν ἡ Σύγκλητος πρῶτον μὲν ἔχει τὴν τοῦ ταμιείου κυρίαν· καὶ γὰρ τῆς εἰσόδου πάσης αὕτη κρατεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου παραπλησίως. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὰς κατὰ μέρος χρείας οὐδεμίαν ποιεῖν ἔξοδον οἱ Ταμίαι δύνανται, χωρὶς τῶν τῆς Συγκλήτου δογμάτων, πλὴν τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ὑπάτους. τῆς δὲ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ὁλοσχερεστάτης καὶ μεγίστης δαπάνης, ἣν οἱ Τιμηταὶ ποιοῦσιν εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς τῶν δημοσίων κατὰ πενταετηρίαν, ταύτης ἡ Σύγκλητός ἐστι κυρία, καὶ διὰ ταύτης γίνεται τὸ συγχώρημα τοῖς Τιμηταῖς. Ὁμοίως καὶ, ὅσα τῶν ἀδικημάτων, τῶν κατ' Ἰταλίαν, προσδεῖται δημοσίας ἐπισκέψεως, λέγω δὲ, οἷον προδοσίας, συνωμοσίας, φαρμακείας, δολοφονίας, τῇ Συγκλήτῳ μέλει περὶ τούτων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἴ τις ἰδιώτης ἢ πόλις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαλύσεως, ἢ ἐπιτιμήσεως, ἢ βοηθείας, ἢ φυλακῆς προσδεῖται, τούτων πάντων ἐπιμελές ἐστι τῇ Συγκλήτῳ. καὶ μὴν, εἰ τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἰταλίας πρός τινας ἐξαποστέλλειν δέοι πρεσβείαν τινὰ, ἢ διαλύσουσάν τινας, ἢ παρακαλέσουσαν, ἢ καὶ, νὴ Δία, ἐπιτάξουσαν, ἢ παραληψομένην, ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐπαγγέλλουσαν, αὕτη

ποιεῖται τὴν πρόνοιαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ, τῶν παραγενομένων εἰς Ῥώμην πρεσβειῶν ὡς δέον ἐστὶν ἑκάστοις χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὡς δέον ἐστὶν ἀποκριθῆναι, πάντα ταῦτα χειρίζεται διὰ τῆς Συγκλήτου. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δῆμον καθάπαξ οὐδέν ἐστι τῶν προειρημένων. Ἐξ ὧν πάλιν, ὁπότε τις ἐπιδημήσαι, μὴ παρόντος Ὑπάτου, τελείως ἀριστοκρατικὴ φαίνεται ἡ πολιτεία· ὃ δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, πεπεισμένοι τυγχάνουσι, διὰ τὸ τὰ σφῶν πράγματα σχεδὸν πάντα πρὸς τὴν Σύγκλητον κυροῦν.

δ'. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιζητήσειε, ποία καὶ τίς ποτέ ἐστιν ἡ τῷ Δήμῳ καταλειπομένη μερὶς ἐν τῷ πολιτεύματι; τῆς μὲν Συγκλήτου τῶν κατὰ μέρος, ὧν εἰρήκαμεν, κυρίας ὑπαρχούσης, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου χειριζομένης ἁπάσης· τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Ὑπάτων πάλιν αὐτοκράτορα μὲν ἐχόντων δύναμιν περὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὰς, αὐτοκράτορα δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις ἐξουσίαν. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καταλείπεται μερὶς καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ, καὶ καταλείπεταί γε βαρυτάτη. Τιμῆς γάρ ἐστι καὶ τιμωρίας ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μόνος ὁ Δῆμος κύριος, οἷς συνέχονται μόνοις καὶ δυναστεῖαι, καὶ πολιτεῖαι, καὶ συλλήβδην πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος. Παρ' οἷς γὰρ ἢ μὴ γινώσκεσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν τοιαύτην διαφορὰν, ἢ γινωσκομένην χειρίζεσθαι κακῶς, παρὰ τούτοις οὐδὲν οἷόν τε κατὰ λόγον διοικεῖσθαι τῶν ὑφεστώτων. πῶς γὰρ εἰκὸς, ἐν ἴσῃ τιμῇ ὄντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς κακοῖς; Κρίνει μὲν οὖν ὁ Δῆμος καὶ διαφόρου πολλάκις, ὅταν ἀξιόχρεων ᾖ τὸ τίμημα τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐσχηκότας ἀρχάς· θανάτου δὲ κρίνει μόνος. Καὶ γίνεταί τι περὶ ταύτην τὴν χρείαν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄξιον ἐπαίνου καὶ μνήμης· τοῖς γὰρ θανάτου κρινομένοις, ἐπὰν καταδικάζωνται, δίδωσι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς

ἔθος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι φανερῶς, κἂν ἔτι μία λείπηται φυλὴ τῶν ἐπικυρουσῶν τὴν κρίσιν ἀψηφοφόρητος, ἑκούσιον ἑαυτοῦ καταγνόντα φυγαδείαν. ἔστι δ' ἀσφάλεια τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἔν τε τῇ Νεαπολιτῶν, καὶ Πραινεστινῶν, ἔτι δὴ Τιβουρηνῶν πόλει, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις, πρὸς ἃς ἔχουσιν ὅρκια. Καὶ μὴν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὁ Δῆμος δίδωσι τοῖς ἀξίοις· ὅπερ ἐστὶ κάλλιστον ἆθλον ἐν πολιτείᾳ καλοκαγαθίας. Ἔχει δὲ τὴν κυρίαν καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων δοκιμασίας· καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης οὗτος βουλεύεται καὶ πολέμου. Καὶ μὴν περὶ συμμαχίας, καὶ διαλύσεως, καὶ συνθηκῶν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βεβαιῶν ἕκαστα τούτων, καὶ κύρια ποιῶν, ἢ τοὐναντίον. Ὥστε πάλιν ἐκ τούτων εἰκότως ἄν τινα εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μεγίστην ὁ Δῆμος ἔχει μερίδα, καὶ δημοκρατικόν ἐστι τὸ πολίτευμα.

έ. Τίνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον διῄρηται τὰ τῆς πολιτείας εἰς ἕκαστον εἶδος, εἴρηται· τίνα δὲ τρόπον ἀντιπράττειν βουληθέντα, καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις πάλιν, ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν δύναται, νῦν ῥηθήσεται. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὕπατος, ἐπειδὰν τυχὼν τῆς προειρημένης ἐξουσίας ὁρμήσῃ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, δοκεῖ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων συντέλειαν· προσδεῖται δὲ τοῦ Δήμου, καὶ τῆς Συγκλήτου, καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγειν τὰς πράξεις οὐχ ἱκανός ἐστι. Δῆλον γὰρ, ὡς δεῖ μὲν ἐπιπέμπεσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἀεὶ τὰς χορηγίας, ἄνευ δὲ τοῦ τῆς Συγκλήτου βουλήματος οὔτε σῖτος, οὔτε ἱματισμὸς, οὔτε ὀψώνια δύναται χορηγεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις· ὥστ' ἀπράκτους γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐπιβολὰς τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἐθελοκακεῖν καὶ κωλυσιεργεῖν προθεμένης τῆς Συγκλήτου. Καὶ μὴν τό γ' ἐπιτελεῖς ἢ μὴ γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐπινοίας καὶ προθέσεις τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ Συγκλήτῳ κεῖται· τοῦ γὰρ ἐπαποστεῖλαι στρατηγὸν ἕτερον, ἐπειδὰν ἐνιαύσιος διέλθῃ χρόνος, ἢ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα ποιεῖν ἐπίμονον, ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν αὕτη. Καὶ μὴν τὰς ἐπιτυχίας

τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐκτραγῳδῆσαι καὶ συναυξῆσαι, καὶ πάλιν ἀμαυρῶσαι καὶ ταπεινῶσαι, τὸ Συνέδριον ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν· τοὺς γὰρ προσαγορευομένους παρ' αὐτοῖς θριάμβους, δι' ὧν ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἄγεται τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἡ τῶν κατειργασμένων πραγμάτων ἐνάργεια, τούτους οὐ δύνανται χειρίζειν, ὡς πρέπει, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ συντελεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ Συνέδριον συγκατάθηται, καὶ δῷ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπάνην. Τοῦ γε μὴν Δήμου τὸ διαλύεσθαι καὶ λίαν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι, κἂν ὅλως ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας τύχωσι πολὺν τόπον ἀφεστῶτες· ὁ γὰρ τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ συνθήκας ἀκύρους καὶ κυρίας ποιῶν, ὡς ἐπάνω προεῖπον, οὗτός ἐστιν. Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἀποτιθεμένους τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τούτῳ δεῖ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπέχειν τῶν πεπραγμένων. Ὥστε κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὀλιγωρεῖν μήτε τῆς Συγκλήτου μήτε τῆς τοῦ Πλήθους εὐνοίας.

ϛʹ. Ἡ γε μὴν Σύγκλητος πάλιν, ἡ τηλικαύτην ἔχουσα δύναμιν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναγκάζεται προσέχειν τοῖς Πολλοῖς, καὶ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ Δήμου· τὰς δ' ὁλοσχερεστάτας καὶ μεγίστας ζητήσεις καὶ διορθώσεις τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας, οἷς θάνατος ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ πρόστιμον, οὐ δύναται συντελεῖν, ἂν μὴ συνεπικυρώσῃ τὸ προβεβουλευμένον ὁ Δῆμος. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς ταύτην ἀνηκόντων. Ἐὰν γάρ τις εἰσφέρῃ νόμον, ἢ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρούμενός τι, τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῇ Συγκλήτῳ κατὰ τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς, ἢ τὰς προεδρίας καὶ τιμὰς καταλύων αὐτῶν, ἢ καὶ, νὴ Δία, ποιῶν ἐλαττώματα περὶ τοὺς βίους· πάντων ὁ Δῆμος γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων καὶ θεῖναι, καὶ μὴ, κύριος. Τὸ δὲ συνέχον, ἐὰν εἷς ἐνίστηται τῶν Δημάρχων, οὐχ οἷον ἐπὶ τέλος ἄγειν τι δύναται τῶν διαβουλίων ἡ Σύγκλητος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ συνεδρεύειν ἢ συμπορεύεσθαι τὸ παράπαν. Ὀφείλουσι δὲ ἀεὶ ποιεῖν οἱ Δήμαρχοι τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ Δήμῳ, καὶ μάλιστα

στοχάζεσθαι τῆς τούτου βουλήσεως. Διὸ πάντων των προειρημένων χάριν δέδιε τοὺς Πολλοὺς, καὶ προσέχει τὸν νοῦν τῷ Δήμῳ ἡ Σύγκλητος.

ζ΄. Ὁμοίως γε μὴν πάλιν ὁ Δῆμος ὑπόχρεώς ἐστι τῇ Συγκλήτῳ, καὶ στοχάζεσθαι ταύτης ὀφείλων, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ᾿ ἰδίαν. Πολλῶν γὰρ ἔργων ὄντων, τῶν ἐκδιδομένων ὑπὸ τῶν Τιμητῶν διὰ πάσης Ἰταλίας, εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς τῶν δημοσίων, ἅ τις οὐκ ἂν ἐξαριθμήσαιτο ῥᾳδίως, πολλῶν δὲ ποταμῶν, λιμένων, κηπίων, μετάλλων, χώρας· συλλήβδην ὅσα πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δυναστείαν· πάντα χειρίζεσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ προειρημένα διὰ τοῦ Πλήθους, καὶ σχεδὸν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, πάντας ἐνδεδέσθαι ταῖς ὠναῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγοράζουσι παρὰ τῶν Τιμητῶν αὐτοὶ τὰς ἐκδόσεις, οἱ δὲ κοινωνοῦσι τούτοις, οἱ δ᾿ ἐγγυῶνται τοὺς ἠγορακότας, οἱ δὲ τὰς οὐσίας διδόασιν περὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον· ἔχει δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων τὴν κυρίαν τὸ Συνέδριον· καὶ γὰρ χρόνον δοῦναι, καὶ συμπτώματος γενομένου κουφίσαι, καὶ τὸ παράπαν, ἀδυνάτου τινὸς συμβάντος, ἀπολῦσαι τῆς ἐργωνίας· καὶ πολλά δή τινά ἐστιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ βλάπτει μεγάλα, καὶ πάλιν ὠφελεῖ τοὺς τὰ δημόσια χειρίζοντας ἡ Σύγκλητος· ἡ γὰρ ἀναφορὰ τῶν προειρημένων γίνεται πρὸς ταύτην. Τὸ δε μέγιστον, ἐκ ταύτης ἀποδίδονται κριταὶ τῶν πλείστων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα μέγεθος ἔχει τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. Διὸ πάντες εἰς τὴν ταύτης πίστιν ἐνδεδεμένοι, καὶ δεδιότες τὸ τῆς χρείας ἄδηλον, εὐλαβῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰς ἐνστάσεις καὶ τὰς ἀντιπράξεις τῶν τῆς Συγκλήτου βουλημάτων. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ὑπάτων ἐπιβολὰς δυσχερῶς ἀντιπράττουσιν, διὰ τὸ κατ᾿ ἰδίαν καὶ κοινῇ πάντας ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις ὑπὸ τὴν ἐκείνων πίπτειν ἐξουσίαν.

ή. Τοιαύτης δ' οὔσης τῆς ἑκάστου τῶν μερῶν δυνάμεως, εἰς τὸ καὶ βλάπτειν καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις· πρὸς πάσας συμβαίνει τὰς περιστάσεις δεόντως ἔχειν τὴν ἁρμογὴν αὐτῶν, ὥστε μὴ οἷόν τ' εἶναι, ταύτης εὑρεῖν ἀμείνω πολιτείας σύστασιν. Ὅταν μὲν γάρ τις ἔξωθεν κοινὸς φόβος, ἐπιστὰς ἀναγκάσῃ σφᾶς συμφρονεῖν καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις· τηλικαύτην καὶ τοιαύτην συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ὥστε μηδὲ παραλείπεσθαι τῶν δεόντων μηδὲν, ἅτε περὶ τὸ προσπεσὸν ἀεὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ ταῖς ἐπινοίαις ἁμιλλωμένων· μήτε τὸ κριθὲν ὑστερεῖν τοῦ καιροῦ, κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἑκάστου συνεργοῦντος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προκειμένου συντέλειαν. διόπερ ἀνυπόστατον συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι, καὶ παντὸς ἐφικνεῖσθαι τοῦ κριθέντος, τὴν ἰδιότητα τοῦ πολιτεύματος. Ὅταν γε μὴν πάλιν, ἀπολυθέντες τῶν ἐκτὸς φόβων, ἐνδιατρίβωσι ταῖς εὐτυχίαις καὶ περιουσίαις, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν κατορθωμάτων, ἀπολαύοντες τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, καὶ ὑποκολακευόμενοι καὶ ῥαθυμοῦντες τρέπωνται πρὸς ὕβριν, καὶ πρὸς ὑπερηφανίαν, ὃ δὴ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι· τότε καὶ μάλιστα συνιδεῖν ἐστι αὐτὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ ποριζόμενον τὸ πολίτευμα τὴν βοήθειαν. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἐξοιδοῦν τι τῶν μερῶν φιλονεικῇ, καὶ πλέον τοῦ δέοντος ἐπικρατῆται· δῆλον, ὡς, οὐδενὸς ἀρτιτελοῦς ὄντος κατὰ τὸν ἄρτι λόγον, ἀντισπᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ παραποδίζεσθαι δυναμένης τῆς ἑκάστου προθέσεως ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, οὐδὲν ἐξοιδεῖ τῶν μερῶν, οὐδ' ὑπερφρονεῖ· πάντα γὰρ ἐμμένει τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, τὰ μὲν κωλυόμενα τῆς ὁρμῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεδιότα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πέλας ἐπίστασιν.

NOTES

ON THE

PROSE SELECTIONS

OF

DALZEL'S GRÆCA MAJORA:

FOR THE USE

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

NOTES

ON THE

HISTORICAL EXTRACTS.

I. HERODOTUS.

1. Ex Herodoto.] Herodotus was born 484 years before 3
Christ, at Halicarnassus in Caria, from which city he has the name of Halicarnassian. His father's name was Lyxes, and that of his mother, Dryo; his family was one of considerable distinction. Educated, as there is every reason to believe, in the best learning of his times, on arriving at the age of manhood, he left Halicarnassus for the island of Samos, being disgusted with the tyranny of Lygdamis, and desirous of leisure for composition. He travelled through various countries in order to qualify himself for writing his History; and, returning to Samos, began reducing to form the information which he had been diligently gathering from all quarters. He had made but slight progress in his task, however, when an opportunity of liberating his native country presented itself, and he betook himself thither. Lygdamis was expelled, and Halicarnassus set free, in great measure by his exertions.

The hatred and envy of certain factious individuals rendering his situation unpleasant, he again bade farewell to his native country, and went to Greece. He arrived, as good luck would have it, just at the time when the Greeks were assembled at Olympia to witness the customary games. Herodotus hastened thither; and, reading his History before a crowded assembly, was greeted with universal applause. Thucydides, then a boy of fifteen, is said to have been present, with his father Olorus. When he heard the recitation, a noble emulation was roused in his breast, and he even shed tears. Herodotus observing it spoke to Olorus, complimenting the boy who so early displayed a passion for literature. Visiting Athens, our historian repeated his recitations at the Panathenaic Festival, in the third year of the eighty-third Olympiad.

Soon after this he joined a colony of Athenians who were emigrating to Thurium, a place in the South of Italy; and this fact explains why he is sometimes called a Thurian. It was here that he corrected and completed his History. Whether this was also

the place of his death or not, is not agreed upon by the authors who have given accounts of him. Of his writings there have only come down to us the nine books of his History, inscribed with the names of the Muses; for the genuineness of the Life of Homer, which has been attributed to him, is now given up by scholars.

With reference to the credibility of this History, there have not been wanting those who have impeached the veracity of Herodotus, — a quality so essential to an historian. But, although it cannot be denied, that there are many fabulous and incredible things in his writings, there are besides many undoubted historical facts. It is proper to add, that Herodotus seems to have thought it his duty to inform his readers of all the reports he had picked up, not with any design of imposing upon them, but simply asking them to believe that he had heard such stories. Nor can such a course seem wonderful to any one who considers how pleasant even now are the fables of the ancient Greeks; and that Herodotus holds, as it were, a middle rank between the historian and the epic poet. It seems useless, also, to find fault, because we cannot give him the same credit, when writing about matters of a high antiquity, with only tradition to guide him, that is given to the historian of more recent times, aided by public records and written authorities.

*** The extracts in the text are from Wesseling's edition; the punctuation, however, being altered in many places.

2. *Ἐκ τῆς ΚΛΕΙΟΥΣ.*] That is, *from the First Book, which is inscribed* CLIO. At what time the Books of Herodotus obtained this name, does not appear; perhaps on their public recitation at Athens.

3. *Ἐτυράννευε — Κορίνθου·*] *was king of Corinth.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII., 11.

4. *τῷ*] *to whom.* Both Herodotus and Homer, as also the other Ionic writers, use the prepositive article ὁ, ἡ, τὸ, for the postpositive article, or relative pronoun, ὅς, ἥ, ὅ, *who, which, what.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. IX., Obs. 1.

5. *σφι*] *with them*; for *σφίσι*, dat. pl. of the genitive *οὗ*.

6. *ἐν τῷ βίῳ,*] *τῷ δὴ — ἐν τῷ βίῳ.* — *In whose time*, or *during whose life*; literally, *in the life to whom.*

7. *παραστῆναι·*] *ἵστημι* signifies *place*; the perfect, pluperfect, and second aorist, however, have the neuter meaning *stand*: *παραστῆναι* will then be literally translated by *stand by the side of*; secondarily, and here, *showed itself to*, or *happened.*

8. *ΑΡΙΟΝΑ — ἐξενειχθέντα —*] Read *λέγουσι Ἀρίονα ἐξενειχθέντα·* the same as *ἐξενειχθῆναι·* *say that Arion was brought* from the sea: *ἐπὶ δελφῖνος — ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, on a dolphin — to Tænarus*; *ἐπὶ* governing the genitive, signifying *rest* UPON; with the accusative, *motion* TOWARDS.

9. *οὐδενὸς δεύτερον·*] *second to none.*

10. *διθύραμβον,*] A kind of poem or hymn in honor of Bacchus, who is sometimes called *Διθύραμβος*. It was a bold and irregular species of composition, adapted to festive occasions. See further Erasmus Schmidt, upon Pindar, Olymp. XIII. 27.

11. *τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν,*] *whom we know of ;* *τῶν* for *ὧν*, as above. *ἴδμεν* Ionic for *ἴσμεν*. See Fisk's Syntax, R. VI. Exc. 1.

12. *τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου*] *much of his time.* The article is used for the possessive pronoun, when the idea of a necessary personal relation is understood. — BUTTMANN. *πολλὸς* is often regularly declined by the Ionic writers ; thus *πολλὸν* for *πολύν*.

13. *Ὁρμᾶσθαι μὲν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος,*] *That therefore he was setting out from Tarentum.* *νὺν* enclitic is equivalent to *δή*, or *οὖν*, *therefore ;* but *νῦν* signifies *now.* *Τάραντος* from *Τάρας*. We are to understand *λέγουσι* throughout this story.

14. *μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον*] *hired a vessel :* *μισθόω*, active, means *let ;* *μισθόομαι*, middle, *hire.*

15. *Τοὺς δὲ,*] *Τοὺς Κορινθίους* · — *ἐν τῷ πελάγει, at sea.*

16. *ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα.*] supply *ἐκεῖνον*, — *to get his money.* See n. 12.

17. *Τὸν δὲ,*] that is, *Ἀρίονα* · *συνέντα* — *παραιτεόμενον*, *and that he, having learned this, prayed, on the one hand giving up to them his money, and on the other hand earnestly begging his life.* *αἰτέω*, *seek :* *αἰτέομαι*, middle, *ask for something :* *παραιτέομαι*, *earnestly ask for something.*

1. *ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαί μιν,*] *either that he should kill himself.* 4
χράομαι, *use ;* *διαχράομαι*, *use up, finish, kill.*

2. *τὴν ταχίστην.*] for *κατὰ τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν*, *instantly.*

3. *Ἀπειληθέντα* — *ἐς ἀπορίην.*] *being driven by threats into an inextricable difficulty.* *ἀπορίη*, Ionic for *ἀπορία*, derived from *ἀ* privative, and *πόρος*, *a passage.*

4. *περιϊδέειν αὐτὸν,*] *to allow him.* *περιείδω*, originally signified *look around*, or *overlook ;* secondarily means *neglect*, or *allow.*

5. *ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ,*] *in full dress.*

6. *ἑδωλίοισι,*] *rowers' benches.* Theme *ἕζομαι*, *ἕω*, *sit.*

7. *ἀείσας δὲ, ὑπεδέκετο* —] The rules of Syntax demand — *ἀείσαντα δὲ, ὑποδέκεσθαι,* — *λέγουσι* being understood. Anacolutha of this kind are not infrequent in the best writers. See at p. 68. n. 5. *κατεργάζομαι*, *finish, kill one's self.*

8. *καὶ, τοῖσι, κ. τ. λ.*] The pronoun which is understood as the antecedent of *τοῖσι* is the accusative before *ἀναχωρῆσαι*.

9. *διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον.*] *Executed a piece of music of the kind called Orthian ;* this was an air performed either on a flute, or cithara, in an elevated key and quick time.

10. *ὡς εἶχε,*] *as he was.* See Buttmann's Syntax, p. 442. Compare Shakspeare's "Accouter'd as I was." Julius Cæsar, Act I., Scene 2.

11. *οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα,*] *allowing him to go nowhere*, or *keeping him in close custody.*

12. *ἀνακῶς*] equivalent to *ἐπιμελῶς* ; literally, *after the manner of an overseer ;* that is, *carefully.* Theme, *ἄναξ*, *a king.*

13. *Ὡς* — *ἱστορέεσθαι* —] *and at the time at which* it is said *they arrived, upon being called, they were asked, &c.*

14. *ὅσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε.*] *wearing the dress in which he leaped overboard.*

15. *οὐκ ἔχειν*] supply *δύναμιν*, — *to be unable.*

16. *ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ,*] *near or at Tænarus.*

17. *ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐπεὼν ἄνθρωπος.*] *a man mounted on a dolphin.*

5 1. *ΚΡΟΙΣΟΣ καὶ ΣΟΛΩΝ.*] CRŒSUS and SOLON.

2. *Θρήϊκες, οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί,*] Those Asiatic *Thracians* who were called *Thyni and Bithyni.*

3. *προσεπικτωμένου*] *adding to his possessions.*

4. *ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες.*] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII., Obs. 2.

5. *ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτέων ἀπικνέοιτο·*] *just as they severally chanced to come.*

6. *αὐτοὶ — Ἀθηναῖοι·*] A common ellipsis in Greek authors; the full expression being, *Αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι οἷοί τε εἶ ποιήσαντες αὐτό.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXIX., under Obs. 3.

7. *ἐπείρεσθαί, μὲ*] It may be well to notice here the position of the particles, as *μὲ* and *δὲ* seem to have changed places.

6 1. *τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος,*] *taking the fact as it really was.*

2. *ἐπιστρεφέως,*] *earnestly*; from *ἐπιστρέφω* [*τὸν νοῦν*].

3. *Κοίῃ*] Ionic for *ποίᾳ* · understand *ὁδῷ*, or *αἰτίᾳ*. *Wherefore?*

4. *τοῦτο μὲν, — τοῦτο δὲ,*] supply *κατὰ* before each pronoun. *In the first place, — in the next place.*

5. *τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσης,*] *whilst the state was in a flourishing condition.*

6. *τοῦ βίου εὖ ἥκοντι, —*] a Greek idiom equivalent to *having reached an advanced age.* *ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν,* literally, *as things are with us*; more freely, *if one considers the usual length of human life.*

7. *τροπὴν —*] *τροπὴν ποιεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, to rout one's enemies* Hence *τρόπαιον.*

8. *αὐτοῦ τῇπερ —*] *αὐτοῦ* is here an adverb, equivalent to *ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ* · *τῇπερ* agrees with *χώρᾳ* understood.

9. *ὡς εἰκάσαι,*] supply *ἔξεστι* · *as we may infer.*

10. *διέφθαρτο·*] *labored under a great natural defect.* See Schweighaeuser's Lexicon Herodoteum.

11. *ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε,*] *considered the matter*; literally, *gave to himself consideration of it.* See ÆMILIUS PORTUS, *Lex. Ion.*

12. *καταῤῥωδήσας*] *being very anxious about*; from *καταῤῥωδέω,* Ionic for *κατοῤῥωδέω,* which is composed of *κατὰ* intensive, *ὀῤῥος, the tail,* and *δέος, fear,* derived from *δίω* · said originally of animals that manifest fear by moving the tail.

13. *ἄγεται*] *caused to be married,* or *selected*; the middle voice having here a causative sense.

14. *ἐωθότα — Λυδῶν, —*] *him, who had been accustomed to lead the army of the Lydians.*

7 1. *συννήσαι,*] from *συννέω, heap together.*

2. *οἱ*] *to him,* for *of him,* or *his*; dative for the genitive.

3. *ἐν χερσὶ*] *on hand*; literally, *in hands.*

4. *οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας*] supply *κατὰ* before *χεῖρας, with polluted hands.*

5. *τυγχάνεις — ἐών,*] *you happen to be.* See at p. 5, n. 4.

6. *ἀμηχανήσεις — οὐδενὸς,*] *shall want nothing*; more literally, *be at a loss for nothing.*

7. *ἐν ἡμετέρου.*] supply *οἴκῳ* · *in my palace.*

8. *ἐν Κροίσου.*] supply *οἴκῳ.*

9. *συὸς χρῆμα — μέγα·*] *a huge monster of a boar.* See p. 60, l. 23, of this volume.

10. *ἀνεφάνη*] *has made its appearance,* implying further that it *keeps reappearing.* It may be well to notice here the use of the

passive for the middle, which also holds of *φαίνω*, *I show* : *φαίνομαι*, passive, *I am shown* ; middle, *I show myself*, or *appear*.

11. *λογάδας νεηνίας*] *chosen youths*, or *select troops*.

1. *καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει.*] *and he is now engaged in those matters*, 8
that is, *in matters connected with his recent marriage*.

2. *κυνηγέσιον*] *hunting apparatus*; that is, horses, dogs, weapons, nets, &c.

3. *Ἀποχρεωμένων*] Ionic for *ἀποχρωμένων*, *being contented with*.

4. *τῶν ἐδέοντο*] See above, at p. 3. n. 4.

5. *οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου*] *but Crœsus refusing*.

6. *τὰ κάλλιστα, πρότερόν — εὐδοκιμέειν·*] *heretofore it has been thought most honorable and noble amongst us, to acquire fame in wars, or in the destruction of wild beasts*.

7. *ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων —*] *from both of these you have excluded me*.

8. *μοι παριδὼν,*] for *ἰδὼν παρ' ἐμοὶ*, *having seen in me*.

9. *τέοισι,*] Ionic for *τοῖσι*, which is for *τίσι*.

10. *κοίῳ — ἀνδρὶ —*] *ἀνδρὶ* governed by *σύν* in composition.

11. *ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα*] *to those things which are undertaken*.

12. *ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς — ζωῆς,*] *during my life*.

13. *διακλέψαι.*] *to save you from your fate*.

14. *τυγχάνεις ἐὼν*] See above, p. 5. n. 4.

15. *διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν,*] supply *κατὰ*, — *deaf*.

1. *τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις*] for *ὃ*, *which*, the postpositive article. See 9
above, at p. 3. n. 4.

2. *ἄλλου τευ,*] Ionic for *τινός*.

3. *ὅ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε,*] *or any thing that is like it* ; *ὅ τι*, the neuter of *ὅστις*, thus written to distinguish it from the conjunction *ὅτι*, *that*.

4. *τὰ ποιέεις*] *what you are doing*. See p. 3. n. 4.

5. *ἔστι τῇ με νικᾷς,*] *that is where*, or *the argument by which, you convince me*. *τῇ* for *ᾗ*. See ÆMILII PORTI *Lex. Ion.*

6. *τήν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω*] *which I do not bring up as a reproach to you*. *τήν τοι* for *ἥν σοι*.

7. *σὲ χρεὼν ἐστι*] *you must*.

8. *ἀπολαμπρύνεαι*] Ionic for *ἀπολαμπρύνῃ*: *render yourself famous*.

9. *καὶ — ὑπάρχει.*] *and besides, thou art still in possession of vigor*.

10. *ἄλλως — ἤϊα —*] *I would not go upon any other terms*.

11. *οὔτε — ἐστι*] *for it is neither proper for one suffering under such affliction as mine*. *οἰκὸς*, Ionic for *ἐοικὸς*.

12. *πάρα·*] for *πάρεστι*,

1. *τοῦ — εἵνεκεν,*] *as far as lies in the power of a guardian*. 10

2. *περιημεκτέων —*] *feeling himself aggrieved at* ; more literally, *wounded by*.

3. *ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἑταιρήϊον, —*] for *ἐφέστιόν τε καὶ ἑταιρεῖον*. Jupiter Hospitalis and Familiaris is referred to ; the deity of Hospitality and Friendship.

4. *ἐλάνθανε βόσκων·*] *entertained unawares*. A use of language very common among the Greek authors. See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII., Obs. 2.

5. *στὰς δὲ αὐτὸς —*] *and he standing*. See p. 3. n. 7.

6. *ἐπειδὴ — θάνατον.*] *since thou pronouncest sentence of death upon thyself*.

7. εἰ μὴ ὅσον —] *Except so far as;* for a full construction supply τοσοῦτον before ὅσον.

11 1. συγγινωσκόμενος — εἶναι] *conscious of being.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII., Obs. 1, for the construction of βαρυσυμφορώτατος.

2. Τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν —] The order is: ὁ Κροῖσος μὲν ἐπυνθάνετο τὸ Ἀττικὸν [ἔθνος] κατεχόμενον [εἶναι] τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ [υἱοῦ] Ἱπποκράτεος, [κατὰ] τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. See at page 3. n. 3.

3. ἐπεστεῶτες,] for ἐφεστηκότες, by syncope; *standing near.* See at p. 3. n. 7.

4. γυναῖκα τεκνοποιὸν] *a wife who might bear him children.*

5. εἰ δὲ —] The construction is: εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων τὴν γυναῖκα, δεύτερα, ἐκπέμπειν· *and if he happens to have a wife, in the second place,* he advises him *to dismiss her.*

6. καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος] The order is: καὶ Μεγακλέος τοῦ [υἱοῦ] Ἀλκμαίωνος ἑστηκότος πρὸ τῶν μὲν [τῶν παράλων], Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαΐδεω [ἑστηκότος πρὸ] τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου.

7. καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς, —] *under pretext of protecting the mountaineers.* See at p. 3. n. 7.

12 1. πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας] *as he had formerly acquired reputation.*

2. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος,] The order is: ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς, καταλέξας τούτους ἄνδρας τῶν ἀστῶν, ἔδωκέ οἱ ——

3. ἐπί τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι —] supply θεσμίοις, — *according to the established institutions.* κατεστεῶσι, Ionic for καθεστηκόσι.

4. τωὐτὸ φρονήσαντες —] τωὐτὸ for τὸ αὐτὸ, *the same* · φρονεῖν τωὐτὸ, *to be of the same opinion, to conspire.*

5. Περιελαυνόμενος —] *worried, fatigued.* — ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, *proposed by means of a herald.*

6. ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι.] *upon condition of obtaining the government.*

7. Ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον, καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος, ἐπὶ τούτοισι —] *Pisistratus having accepted the proposal, and agreed upon these terms.*

8. ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ —] *for his restoration.*

9. ἐπεί γε ἀπεκρίθη, κ. τ. λ.] *since from the remotest times the Grecian race was distinguished above the barbarians.* Notice that though ἀποκρίνομαι generally means *answer,* ἀπεκρίθη here signifies *was distinguished,* preserving its primary force as the passive of ἀποκρίνω, *distinguish.* ἐὸν καὶ δεξιώτερον, κ. τ. λ., *being both more dexterous, and farther removed from stupid simplicity:* — εὐηθίης. Ionic for εὐηθίας, from εὐηθία, *simplicity, folly.* ἀπηλλαγμένον, perf. part. p. from ἀπαλλάσσω, *remove.* καὶ εἰ τότε γε — ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι, λεγομένοισι εἶναι τοῖσι πρώτοισι Ἑλλήνων [κατὰ] σοφίην, οὗτοι μηχανῶνται τοιάδε, *and more especially, that then among the Athenians, who were said to be* — &c., *these persons had recourse to such a stratagem.*

10. προδέξαντες σχῆμα, οἷόν τι — ἔχουσα, κ. τ. λ.] προδέξαντες, Ionic for προδείξαντες, 1 aor. part. act. of προδεικνύω — υμι — *expose, publicly show.* σχῆμα, Schweighaeuser says, refers to the *whole outward appearance.* The literal translation of the sentence would be, *publicly exposing such an outward appearance as she having would seem most beautiful.* The real idea is better expressed as follows: *showing her in public with such a dress and personal appearance as would produce the greatest impression.*

1. τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν —] The construction is : τὴν δὲ ἄμπε- 13
λον σχεῖν ἐπὶ — *and that the vine held itself*, or *was*, *upon*, that is, *covered*. See at p. 4. n. 10.

2. ὑπερθέμενος] second aorist participle of ὑπερτίθημι, *impose*. It is worth while to notice here the force of the middle ; *referring*, or *deferring*, expressing the exact idea. The historian means to say, that Astyages imposed upon the interpreters of dreams the duty of explaining his.

3. μετεπέμψατο —] *sent after* or *for*.

4. ἐπίτεκα] acc. sing. from ἐπίτεξ, -εκος, ἡ, *near the time of delivery*. From ἐπὶ, and τίκτω, *bring forth*.

5. τὸ ἄν τοι προσθέω —] Ionic for ὃ ἄν σοι προσθῶ. See before, at p. 3. n. 4.

6. σοὶ ἑωυτῷ περιπέσῃς.] literally, *fall upon yourself*, or *be your own stumbling-block*, if we follow out one probable metaphor. But Æmilius Portus in his Ionic Lexicon says, "This is a metaphor taken from edifices, which fall down by their own weight."

7. Λάβε τὸν —] See Fisk's Syntax, R. IX., Obs. 1, and R. VI., Obs. 2. See also, p. 3. n. 4.

8. ἐς σεωυτοῦ,] understand οἶκον.

9. ἀνδρὶ τῷδε] *in me*. Harpagus is supposed to lay his hand upon his breast. τῷδε from ὅδε.

10. τόγε ἐμὸν —] supply κατὰ and πρᾶγμα. In English, *according to my ability at least*. ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως, *to do my duty carefully*, the middle here indicating that kind of reflexive action.

1. Τούτοισι —] supply ἔπεσι, *With these words*. 14

2. τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ —] that is, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ — *according to the fashion on the prospect of death*. See at p. 107. n. 4.

3. Οὐκ ᾗ —] elliptical, for οὐκ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐν ᾗ.

4. εἰ δὲ θελήσει —] The construction is : εἰ δὲ τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἡ τυραννὶς θελήσει ἀναβῆναι ἐς ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα, ἧς τὸν υἱὸν νῦν κτείνει δι' ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ ἢ ὁ μέγιστος κινδύνων ;— θελήσει ἀναβῆναι has the force of ἀναβήσεται.

5. τὸν ἠπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεωτάτας νέμοντα,] *who he knew occupied pastures exactly of the right sort*. About τὸν see at p. 3. n. 4. ἠπίστατο, for ἐπίστατο, 3. sing. imperf. ind. from ἐπίσταμαι.

6. Αἱ δε ὑπωρεαί] Ionic for ὑπώρειαι. *The bases of the mountains*, or perhaps better, *the slopes*. Æ. Porti *Lex. Ion.*

7. βορέω] Ionic genitive for βορροῦ, from βορῆς, which is Ionic for βορρᾶς, contracted for βορέας, *the north wind* : πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν, κ. τ. λ. *to the north of Ecbatana, and towards the Euxine sea*.

8. ταύτῃ] supply τῇ ὁδῷ, *this way, on this side*.

9. ἴδῃσι συνηρεφής·] *covered with trees* : ἴδῃσι, Ionic for ἴδαις, from ἴδη, *a wood* or *grove*. συνηρεφὴς, from σὺν, *and* ἐρέφω, *cover*.

10. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρη] *the rest of the country of the Medes*.

1. Τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ —] The order is : δὲ καὶ ἄρα ἡ γυνὴ τῷ αὐτῷ. The translation : *Now the wife too of this same person*, ἐοῦσα 15
ἐπίτεξ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, *who had been upon the point of delivery — whose delivery had been expected every day*.

2. κατὰ δαίμονα] *according to some god : as some god would have it : providentially*.

3. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι —] *they were mutually anxious about each other*.

4. *ἀῤῥωδέων·*] used by Herodotus for *ὀῤῥωδέων*, *fearing*. [*ἕνεκα*] *τοῦ τόκου, κ. τ. λ.*

5. *ἐπέστη,*] *arrived*. See at p. 10. n. 5.

6. *τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον,—*] *what I wish I neither had seen, μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι, κ. τ. λ. nor had ever happened to Masters of ours!* *ὄφελον* has the force of *εἴθε*,— *O that*, or *I wish*.

7. *χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ.*] literally, *with gold and with variegated garments*, that is, *with garments embroidered with gold.* See just below, *χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι*. See also at p. 66. n. 11.

8. *οἴχεσθαι φέροντα,*] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII., Obs. 3.

9. *θηριωδέστατον*] supply *μέρος*.

10. *πρὸς δέ,—*] supply *τούτοις*, *besides*.

11. *κατεστεῶτα*] See above at p. 11. n. 3.

12. *ἐν Ἁρπάγου.*] supply *τῷ οἴκῳ*.

13. *θεράποντος,*] *ἐκ* may be understood; it is better, however, to refer it to R. XVIII., 9., of Fisk's Syntax.

14. *νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστὶ*] *and now this is the child*. This is the reading of Larcher, on the authority of two Parisian MSS. The former reading was *νῦν τε ὧδέ ἐστι*, *and now things are so*.

16 1. *οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τ' εἶναι*] *declared that he could not*. See above, at p. 5. n. 6.

2. *εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον·*] literally, *if then there is all* or *an absolute necessity that he should be seen exposed.* The first aorist of the deponent *ὄπτομαι*, *I see*, has a passive signification.

3. *τεθνεός·*] syncopated for *τεθνηκὸς*, from *θνήσκω*, *die*.

4. *ἁλώσεαι*] Ionic for *ἁλώσῃ*, 2 sing. 1 fut. M. of *ἁλίσκω*, *take*; the middle form having a passive force.

5. *παραδιδοῖ*] *delivers*; 3 sing. pres. ind. by contraction for *παραδιδόει*, from *παραδιδόω*, the same as *παραδίδωμι*.

6. *τιθεῖ.*] from *τιθέω*, the same as *τίθημι*, *I place*.

7. *ἐς τοῦ Ἁρπάγου,*] supply *τὸν οἶκον*.

8. *ἔφη ἑτοῖμος εἶναι —*] See at p. 11. n. 1.

9. *κού τι,*] *κού* is Ionic for *πού*. See Fisk, p. 237.

17 1. *Ἐκ τῆς ΕΥΤΕΡΠΗΣ.*] From the Second Book, which is inscribed EUTERPE.

2. *σφέων βασιλεῦσαι,*] See at p. 3. n. 3. For the construction of *πρὶν*, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXIX., Obs. 3.

3. *γενοίατο*] Ionic for *γένοιντο*, 3 pl. 2 aor. opt. of *γίνομαι*.

4. *ἐπιτεχνᾶται*] *ἐπιτεχνάεται*, *devises*; from *ἐπὶ* and *τεχνάομαι*, *contrive*, which is derived from *τέχνη*, *art*. After *τοιόνδε*, supply *πρᾶγμα*.

5. *ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων—*] *of common persons — of mean parents.* — See *ἐπιτυγχάνω* in the Lexicon. *τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποίμνια*, that is, *ἄγειν ἐς τὰ π. τρέφειν*.

6. *τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε·*] *τροφὴ* in Herodotus has the meaning of *way of educating*, *education*. See Æ. PORTUS. *κατά* may here be understood.

7. *ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν,*] *by themselves*.

8. *τὴν ὥρην,*] supply *κατὰ*: *at the appointed time*. *ὥρη* Ionic for *ὥρα*.

9. *πλήσαντα δὲ τοῦ γάλακτος,*] *when he had filled* or *fed them with milk*.

10. *τἆλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι.*] *he should mind*, or *go about*, *his other business.* *διαπρήσσεσθαί τι*, an Ionicism equivalent to *διαπράσσεσθαι, καὶ τελεῖν τι*, *to transact any thing.* See Æ. Portus. *τἆλλα*, for *τὰ ἄλλα*.

11. *Ταῦτα δ' ἐποιέετο*—] *Psammetichus* CAUSED *these things to be done*, such being the force of the middle.

12. *ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμων κνυζημάτων,*] *when they should leave off their inarticulate cries.* *ἀπαλλαχθέντων*, gen. plur. 1 aor. p. part. of *ἀπαλλάσσω*, *leave off.*

13. *βεκὸς ἐφώνεον,*] *they cried out* Bekos. The scholiast upon Apollonius reads *Βὲκ*; which Gale thinks right, as *ος* is a Greek termination.

14. *πολλὸν ἦν*] *was frequently repeated.* See at p. 3. n. 12.

15. *κελεύσαντος,*] viz. *τοῦ δεσπότου.*

16. *οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκὸς τὶ καλέουσι,*] *what men call any thing βεκός.*

17. *τὸν ἄρτον.*] supply *βεκὸς*.

1. *τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν,*] See above, at p. 3. n. 4. 18

2. *χαυλιόδοντας,*] *χαυλιόδους, -οντος, ὁ καὶ ἡ*, *prominent teeth* or *tusks*: from *χαλάω*, *loosen*, and *ὀδοὺς*, *a tooth.* See Diodor. Sicul. Lib. I., s. xxxv.

3. *οὐκ ἔφυσε·*] *it has not by Nature*, —*Nature has not given it.*

4. *δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν ἄῤῥηκτον*] *a scaly hide which cannot be broken.*

5. *Ἅτε δὴ ὢν ἐν ὕδατι δίαιταν ποιεύμενον,*] *and as it lives in the water;* —*ἅτε* is generally construed with a participle whose case depends upon something before. It should be translated *as* or *since.* —l. 21, below, *ἐώθεε*, Wess. *ἔωθε*, Schweigh.

6. *ἐκβῇ,*—*χάνῃ,*] See below, at p. 19. n. 6.

1. *ἀρτήματά τε λίθινα χυτὰ*—] *and having put pendants of glass and of gold in their ears.* See Schweighaeuser's Lexicon and Note. 19

2. *σιτία ἀπότακτα*—] *bread set aside* for the purpose.

3. *καὶ περιέποντες ὡς κάλλιστα ζῶντας,*] *and cherishing them with the greatest care while alive,*—*ταριχεύοντες δὲ ἀποθανόντας*, *and embalming them when dead:*—*ταριχεύω* is derived from *τάριχος*, *salted* or *pickled flesh.*

4. *Ἄγραι δέ σφεων πολλαὶ κατεστέασι,*] *There are many ways of catching them in established use.* *ἄγρα, -ας, ἡ*, *a hunt*, or *capture.* *κατεστέασι*, Ionic for *καθεστᾶσι* which again is put for *καθεστήκασι*, the 3 pl. perf. act. of *καθίστημι*, *establish.* See Schweighaeuser's Lex. Her.

5. *Ἐπεὰν νῶτον ὑὸς δελεάσῃ*—*καταπίνει·*] [The hunter of the crocodile], *after baiting a hook with part of a swine's back, throws it out into the river; and, having a live swine upon the bank of the river, beats it; the crocodile, hearing its cry, makes for the place; but, meeting with the bait, swallows it.* *δελεάσῃ*, 3 sing. 1 aor. subj. of *δελεάζω*, *lay a bait*, which is derived from *δέλεαρ, -ατος, τὸ*, *a bait.*

6. *πηλῷ κατ' ὦν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς·*] *besmears his eyes with mud.* *ἔπλασε*, 1 aor. ind. act. of *πλάσσω*, *besmear.* The aorist is here used in an indeterminate sense, which gives the idea of ALWAYS *bedaubs*; a sense not unusual. So Isocrates, p. 151 of this volume. *Καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν φαύλων συνηθείας ὀλίγος χρόνος ΔΙΕΛΥΣΕ·* *And indeed a short space of time* ALWAYS *dissolves the connexions of the wicked.* See below, at p. 24. n. 2. So also Mark, in his Gos-

pel, Ch. I., v. 11. *Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητὸς, ἐν ᾧ ΕΥΔΟΚΗΣΑ. Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am* ALWAYS *well pleased; or in whom I was, am, and always will be, well pleased.* So again in Longinus, *περὶ ὕψους*, S. I. p. 304, of this volume, *ὕψος δέ που καιρίως ἐξενεχθὲν τά τε πράγματα δίκην σκηπτοῦ πάντα ΔΙΕΦΟΡΗΣΕΝ, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥήτορος εὐθὺς ἀθρόαν ΕΝΕΔΕΙΞΑΤΟ δύναμιν. But the sublime, somehow or other, seasonably introduced,* ALWAYS *dispels every thing, and at once shows the collected power of the orator.* The sentence was mistranslated by Pearce, from his not observing this use of the Aorist. See further, Buttmann's doctrine of the Aorist, Syntax, § 137, n. 5. — *Κατὰ* is in this sentence separated by tmesis from *ἔπλασε*. *ὦν* is Ionic for *οὖν*, and not infrequently in Herodotus thus inserted.

7. *Ἐκ τῆς ΕΡΑΤΟΥΣ.*] That is, from the Sixth Book, which is inscribed Erato.

8. *τῶν δὲ, καὶ Μιλτιάδεω, κελευόντων.*] *and others, especially Miltiades, advising it.*

9. *ἐνίκα*] *was prevailing*, imperfect.

10. *ἦν γὰρ ἑνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχέειν·*] *for there was an eleventh voter, the person who had been chosen by lot to the office of Polemarch of the Athenians.* The Polemarch had a right to vote after the ten generals. *ψηφιδοφόρος, a voter*, from *ψηφὶς*, a diminutive of *ψῆφος, a pebble, a vote*, and *φορέω*, from *φέρω*. — *κύαμος, -ου, ὁ, a bean.* The ancients used beans for voting. See H. Stephens. — *πολεμαρχέειν, Πολέμαρχος· ἀρχή τις ἦν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω καλουμένη. ἔστι δὲ εἷς τῶν ἐννέα Ἀρχόντων. Polemarch. There was a magistrate of that designation among the Athenians: and he is one of the nine Archons.* Suidas. See also H. Stephens.

20 1. *ἐξ οὗ*—] supply *χρόνου, since the time when the Athenians began to exist* as a people.

2. *δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται*] *what* [hardships] *they must suffer have been determined upon, — it is a matter of certainty.*

3. *οἵη τέ ἐστι*—] See above, at p. 5. n. 6.

4. *καὶ κῶς ἐς σέ — τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν,*] *and how it lies with you to decide in these matters.* *κῦρος -εος, τὸ, authority*, literally; here, *decision*, or *casting-vote.*

5. *μηδίσαι·*] *μηδίζω, favor*, or *go over to the side of, the Persians.*

6. *μετεξετέροισι*] *μετεξέτεροι*, used in Ionic writers for *ἔνιοι* or *τινές, some, any.*

7. *οἷοί τε εἰμὲν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ.*] *we can conquer in the battle.* *εἰμὲν*, Ionic for *ἐσμέν*. See at p. 5. n. 6.

8. *προσθῇ*—] *τὴν ψῆφον, should you vote according to my opinion.*

9. *ἢν δὲ*—] that is, *ἢν δὲ ἕλῃ* [*τὴν γνώμην*] *τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν, but if you should vote with those advising against the engagement.* For *ἕλῃ* some read *ἔχῃ*, the translation of which would be about the same. The Edinburgh octavo has *συμβουλὴν, design* or *plan*. Also Schaefer and Borheck. Wesseling and Schweighaeuser have *συμβολήν*. The last inserts *τὴν* before the *τῶν*, and understands *γνώμην*.

10. *ἐκεκύρωτο*] 3 s. pluperf. ind. pass. of *κυρόω, decree*, a derivative of *κῦρος*.

21 1. *Τότε δὲ τασσομένων*] The earlier Edinburgh editions have *τασσομένον*.

2. ἀπείθησαν] Ionic for ἀφείθησαν, literally, *were sent away;* better, *were ordered to advance*, 3 pl. 1 aor. ind. p. of ἀφίημι.

3. μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον,] *they imputed madness to the Athenians*, καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, *and fatal in the utmost degree.*

4. ταύτην ἐσθημένους.] for κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐσθημένους, *clad in this manner.*

5. ἐνίκων —] *were conquering.* Notice here the force of the imperfect.

1. τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων] understand μέρος· *those of the barbarians whom they had routed,* — φεύγειν ἔων, *allowed to escape.* 22

2. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν,] *And in the first place,* — τοῦτο δὲ, *in the next place.* See at p. 6. n. 4.

3. ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε] by tmesis for δὲ ἀπέθανε — τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ [υἱὸς] τοῦ Θρασύλεω, *and there fell of the commanders Stesilaus the son of Thrasylaus.*

4. τὴν χεῖρα] understand κατά.

5. Ἐκ τῆς ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑΣ.] Or, from the Seventh Book, which is inscribed Polymnia.

6. γνώμην ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ,] *to express an opinion contrary to the one already proposed.*

7. τῷ δὴ καὶ πίσυνος ἐὼν,] *and feeling confidence from this circumstance.*

8. μὴ λεχθεισέων —] *unless different opinions are expressed.*

Line 1. ἐπεὰν δὲ παρατρίψωμεν] *but when we rub gold on the touchstone by the side of other gold*, by comparing the two streaks, *we discover which is the better.* Negris. 23

1. καὶ δὴ καὶ συνήνεικε, ἤ τοι κατὰ γῆν, — ἑσσωθῆναι,] καὶ δὴ καὶ, [supply τοῦτο φάθι.] *and suppose this too,* συνήνεικε ἑσσωθῆναι, *it hath happened, that you were defeated.* The future is here spoken of as if the action were completed. For καὶ δὴ καὶ, see Hoogeveen, pp. 575, 576. συνήνεικε, for συνήνεγκε, 1 aor. of συμφέρω, from ἐνέκω, ἐνέγκω. ἑσσωθῆναι, for ἡσσηθῆναι, 1 aor. inf. p. of ἑσσόομαι, for ἡσσάομαι, *am defeated*, a derivative of ἥσσων, *less, inferior.*

2. οὔκων ἀμφοτέρῃ σφι ἐχώρησε· — ἀλλ' ἢν τῇσι —] The supposition is continued from a former sentence; the future being again spoken of as something completed. *But grant that they do not succeed equally in conquering us in both*, that is, *by land and by sea; yet, &c.* Negris.

3. ἐμβάλωσι,] a neuter verb, *embark.*

4. οὐδεμιῇ σοφίῃ οἰκηΐῃ] *by no peculiar sagacity of mine.*

5. ἀλλ' οἷόν κοτε —] The order is: ἀλλὰ [συμβάλλομαι ταῦτα διὰ τοῖον] πάθος οἷόν κοτε ἐδέησε ὀλίγον καταλαβεῖν ἡμέας, — *but* [*I infer it from*] *the great overthrow which came very near happening to us.* Schweighaeuser makes this a mere exclamation.

6. παντοῖοι ἐγένοντο] literally, *became every thing;* that is, *tried every means.*

7. δεόμενοι Ἰώνων, κ. τ. λ.] The order is: δεόμενοι Ἰώνων, τοῖσι ἐπετέτραπτο ἡ φυλακὴ τῶν γεφυρέων τοῦ Ἴστρου, λῦσαι τὸν πόρον· *praying the Ionians, to whom the care of the bridges over the Danube had been intrusted, to destroy them.* For τοῖσι, *to whom*, see at p. 3. n. 4.

8. *ἐπέσπετο*] imperfect from *ἐπίσπομαι*, Ionic for *ἐφέπομαι*, from *ἐπὶ* and *ἕπομαι*, *follow*.

9. *διέργαστο ἂν* —] *the interests of the Persians would have been entirely lost*; or better, *an end would have been put to the political existence of the Persians*.

10. *ἐπ' ἀνδρί γε ἑνὶ* —] *depending upon one man*.

24 1. *ἕσσωται*] for *ἥσσηται*, *has been defeated:* 3 sing. perf. ind. from *ἑσσόομαι*, Ionic for *ἡσσάομαι*.

2. *δι' ὧν ἐσφάλησαν* —] *by which means they* CONSTANTLY *fall* — *ἐσφάλησαν*, 3 pl. 2 aor. ind. pass. from *σφάλλω*, *cause to fall:* and in the middle voice, *to totter*, *fall*. See above, at p. 7. n. 10; also at p. 19. n. 6.

3. *Επειχθῆναι*] 1 aor. inf. pass. of *ἐπείγω*, *urge on:* in the middle, *urge on myself*, that is, *hasten*. And the aorists of the passive are frequently taken in a middle sense. See above, at p. 7. n. 10.

4. *φιλέουσι*] is here to be translated, *are accustomed*.

5. *φλαύρως ἀκούειν*.] *to be slandered*, or *spoken ill of*. *ἀκούω*, like the Latin *audio*, sometimes means, *am spoken of*.

25 1. *τῇ σὺ λέγεις*,] that is, *ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐν ᾗ σὺ*, *κ. τ. λ.*

2. *κτεινέσθων*] for *κτεινέσθωσαν*, 3 pl. pres. imperat. pass. of *κτείνω*, *kill*. From this and other examples, it appears that this form of the imperative is Ionic as well as Attic.

3. *πασχόντων*,] for *πασχέτωσαν*, 3 pl. pres. imperat. act. of *πάσχω*, *suffer*; an Attic and Ionic imperative.

4. *ἤ σέ γε* —] See the Iliad, III., 409; and S. Clarke's note. — line 16. *ἀναγινώσκεις*,] *art trying to persuade*.

5. *ἡμετέρην·*] supply *χώρην*.

6. *εἰ χρὴ σταθμώσασθαι τοῖσι ὑπαργμένοισι ἐξ ἐκείνων*,] *if it is proper to judge by the things which have been begun by them*. *σταθμώσασθαι*, from *σταθμόομαι*, the same as *σταθμάομαι*, *weigh*; secondarily, *conjecture*, *judge*, *infer*. *ὑπαργμένοισι*, perf. part. pass. from *ὑπάρχω*, *begin*.

7. *ἤλασαν*] *ἐλαύνω* is both transitive and intransitive.

26 1. *ἵνα καὶ τὸ δεινὸν*, —] The order is: *ἵνα καὶ μάθω τοῦτο τὸ δεινὸν*, *τὸ πείσομαι*, *ἐλάσας*. See above, at p. 3. n. 4.

2. *ἐς τόδε*,] supply *τοῦ χρόνου*, *till this time*.

3. *Νυκτὶ δὲ βουλὴν διδοὺς*,] *Βουλὴν νυκτὶ διδόναι* is an idiom of Herodotus for *νύκτωρ βουλεύεσθαι*, *to deliberate during the night*. Æ. PORTUS.

4. *ταύτῃ*,] supply *χώρῃ*, *at that place*, *there*.

5. *φρασθεὶς*] *φράζω*, in the active, signifies *speak*; *φράζομαι*, middle, has the force of *deliberate*, and also *perceive*: and *φρασθεὶς*, the 1 aor. pass., here taken in a middle signification, means *perceiving*. See above, at p. 24. n. 3.

27 1. *οὐδεὶς* — *πέφυκε*,] *no one has been born so happy*.

2. *τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται*] *to whom it will not occur*. For *τῷ* used as a relative, see above, at p. 3. n. 4.

3. *τεθνάναι*] pres. inf. as from *τέθνημι*, the same as *θνήσκω*, *die*.

4. *γέγονε·*] *is*. For so it ought to be rendered; the time being that which is sometimes called the PRESENT PERFECT. See also, John's Gospel, Ch. I. v. 3, *καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ*, *and without him was nothing made which* IS.

5. *γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα*,] *giving us* only *a taste of sweet existence*, — *γεύσας*, *giving a taste*, *γευσάμενος*, *tasting*.

6. *διαιρέεται*] that is, *διαιρέῃ*. Both *διαιρεῖν* and *διαιρεῖσθαι*, signify *describe*. Æ. PORTUS.

7. *μεμνώμεθα*,] Not from the unusual *μέμνομαι*, as some suppose, but 1 pl. perf. subj. from *μνάομαι*. See Fisk, p. 88, Obs. 2.

8. *ἐφάνη*,] See above, at p. 7. n. 10.

9. *ἦ μετιστῆς ἄν*;] *or would you change it?*

10. *φέρε, μοὶ τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἰπέ*.] *come, tell me this truly.* A Homeric phrase. Thus the Iliad, X. 384. *Ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον.*

11. *τελευτήσειε*·] *may it turn out.* *τελευτήσεια, -ειας, -ειε* — 1 aor. opt. act. for *τελευτήσαιμι*, κ. τ. λ. This form is not only Æolic and Attic, but also Ionic.

12. *Δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν*,] *My good man*, or perhaps better, simply *Sir*. *Δαιμόνιε* is a Homeric word. See the Iliad, II. 190, 200; VI. 326, 407, 486. Perhaps the idea of rebuke, though not always of severity, goes with it.

1. *οὔτε στρατὸν τοῦτον, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, μέμφοιτ' ἄν*,] *no one* 28
at least who has common sense, would find fault with this army.

2. *Οὔκων δὴ ἐόντων τοι λιμένων ὑποδεξίων*,] *since proper harbours are wanting to you.*

3. *τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχουσι*,] *are the rulers of men.* See at p. 3. n. 3. — *αἱ συμφοραὶ*, *the chances of fortune*, or better, *fortune itself.*

4. *τῇδε*] that is, *ἐν τῇδε ὁδῷ*, *in the following way* or *respect.*

5. *ἐθέλει* —] See above, at p. 14. n. 4.

6. *τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος*·] that is, *κατὰ τὸ μέρος πρόσω*, κ. τ. λ. *always deceiving yourself with respect to advancing*, — or, *always advancing imperceptibly.*

7. *πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος* —] The order is: *ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι πᾶν χρῆμα*. The translation: *supposing that he will suffer every hardship.*

8. *εἰ γὰρ δὴ βούλοιο* —] *for if you wish*, — *τὸ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἐπιλέγεσθαι*, *to consider every thing alike, or give as much weight to one thing as to another*, — *ἐπὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ἐπεσφερομένῳ πρήγματι*, literally, *in the always occurring affair*; better, *in every affair as it occurs.*

1. *ποιήσειας ἂν οὐδαμᾶ οὐδέν*.] *you would never effect any thing.* 29

2. *Εἰ δέ, ἐρίζων* —— *λέξας*.] *But if, while you cavil at every thing that is proposed, you point out nothing that can be depended upon for certain, you must, in such cases, be as much deceived, as he who is of a contrary opinion on those subjects.* *Τοῦτο μὲν νυν ἔχει ἐπίσης*, *in this respect, then, you are upon an equal footing.* *Οὐδαμῶς δὲ μὲν δοκέω ἐόντα ἄνθρωπον εἰδέναι κῶς τὸ βέβαιον χρὴ* [*εἶναι*], *but indeed I am by no means of opinion, that any mere man knows for certain what the right course is.* Schweighaeuser reads *ὅκως* instead of *κῶς*, which makes the passage more intelligible.

3. *Τοῖσι τοίνυν βουλομένοισι ποιέειν, ὡς τοεπίπαν φιλέει γίνεσθαι τὰ κέρδεα*·] *success for the most part attends those, who are willing to be active.* *τοῖσι δὲ ἐπιλεγομένοισι*, κ. τ. λ., *but seldom those who are hesitating and timid.* *ὀκνεῦσι*, dat. pl. pres. part. Ionic for *ὀκνοῦσι*, from *ὀκνέω*, *fear.*

4. *ἐς ὅ δυνάμιος προκεχώρηκε*;] *to what a pitch of power they have arrived?*

5. *ἐς τοῦτό σφεα προηγάγοντο*.] *they brought them* [the Persian

affairs, viz.] *for themselves* [or, *they got them brought*] *to this situation.* For προηγάγοντο is middle. σφέα is Ionic for αὐτά.

6. ἐθέλει καταιρέεσθαι.] *are wont to be secured.* καταιρέεσθαι is Ionic for καθαιρέεσθαι, from καθαιρέω, *take, carry away.*

7. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ — τοῦτο δὲ,] See above, at p. 22. n. 2, and p. 6. n. 4.

8. ἐπιβέωμεν] Ionic for ἐπιβῶμεν, 2 aor. subj. of ἐπιβαίνω.

9. ἀναγκαίως γὰρ ἔχει —] *for there is a necessity* —

30 1. οἷοί τε εἰμὲν] See above, at p. 5. n. 6. εἰμὲν is Ionic for ἐσμέν.

2. Ἐς θυμὸν ὦν βαλεῦ] See the Iliad, I. 297; IV. 39, &c. σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν· *consider in your mind.* βαλεῦ is 2 aor. imperat. mid., for βαλοῦ.

3. τῶν ἀπεφήναο γνωμέων, σφάλλεαι κατὰ ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα,] *of the opinions which you have expressed, you err in this one especially.* ἀπεφήναο, for ἀπεφήνω, 2 sing. 1 aor. mid. of ἀποφαίνω. About σφάλλω, see at p. 24. n. 2.

4. τῶν ἔχομεν] See above, at p. 3. n. 4. — l. 12. γνῶμα -ατος, τό, *proof.* SCHWEIGHAEUSER.

5. ἐπὶ τούτοισι] *depending upon them, in their power.*

APPENDIX,

GIVING IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER THE IONIC WORDS WHICH OCCUR IN THE EXTRACTS FROM HERODOTUS.

A.

Ἀδελφεὸν, for ἀδελφὸν, *brother.*
ἀληθηΐη, for ἀλήθεια, *truth.*
ἀνδρεὼν, ῶνος, ὁ, for ἀνδρὼν, ῶνος, *men's apartment.*
ἀπηγέεσθαι, for ἀφηγέεσθαι, from ἀφηγέομαι, *relate.*
ἀπικέσθαι, for ἀφικέσθαι, 2 aor. inf. of ἀφικνέομαι, *come.*
ἀπικόμενος, for ἀφικόμενος.
ἀπῖκται, for ἀφῖκται.
ἀποδεξάμενος, for ἀποδειξάμενος, from ἀποδείκνυμι.
ἀποθωυμάσας, for ἀποθαυμάσας.
ἀποκληΐω, for ἀποκλείω, *exclude.*
Ἀριστολαΐδεω, for Ἀριστολαΐδου, from Ἀριστολαΐδης.
αὐτέων, for αὐτῶν.

B.

Βασιληΐοισι, for βασιλείοις. τὰ βασίλεια, -ων, *palace.* Supply οἰκήματα.
βδελλέων, for βδελλῶν.
βούλεαι, formerly βούλεσαι, afterwards βούλεαι, and Attic, βούλει.

Γ.

Γορδίεω, gen. for Γορδίου, from Γορδίας.
γνώμῃσι, for γνώμαις.

Δ.

Δέκομαι, for *δέχομαι*.
διαιρέεαι, formerly *διαιρέεσαι*, by elision, *διαιρέεαι*, and afterwards by contraction, *διαιρέῃ*, from *διαιρέω*, *divide, describe.*
διαφθείρεσκε, for *διέφθειρε*.

E.

Εγένεο, formerly *ἐγένεσο*, by elision, *ἐγένεο*, and afterwards by contraction, *ἐγένου*.
εἱμὲν, for *ἐσμέν*.
εἵνεκεν, for *ἕνεκεν*.
ἐκεκοσμέατο, for *ἐκεκόσμηντο*, 3 pl. pluperf. ind. pass. of *κοσμέω*, *adorn.*
ἐκπλώσας, for *ἐκπλεύσας*, from *ἐκπλέω*. Or from *ἐκπλώω* for *ἐκπλέω*.
ἐνθαῦτα, for *ἐνταῦθα*.
ἐναντιευμένου, for *ἐναντιουμένου*.
ἐξεργάσαο, for *ἐξεργάσω*. See *ἐργάσαο*.
ἐπεάν, for *ἐπάν*, *after that.*
ἐπεστεῶτες, for *ἐφεστηκότες*.
ἐπεών, for *ἐπών*.
ἐπιλέγεο, for *ἐπιλέγου*. See *ἐγένεο*.
ἐποιεῦντο, for *ἐποιοῦντο*.
ἐργάσαο, for *ἐργάσω*. Anciently *ἐργάσασο*, by elision, *ἐργάσαο*, and afterwards by contraction, *ἐργάσω*, 1 aor. m. from *ἐργάζομαι*, *work, labor.*
ἐτετάχατο, for *τεταγμένοι ἦσαν*, from *τάσσω*.
ἐχρέωντο, for *ἐχράοντο*, from *χράομαι*, *use.*
ἐωθώς, for *εἰωθώς*, *having been accustomed.*
ἐών, *ἐοῦσα*, *ἐόν*, for *ὤν*, *οὖσα*, *ὄν*.
ἑωυτόν, for *ἑαυτόν*. And so of the other cases.

Z.

Ζώειν, for *ζάειν*; or from *ζώω*, for *ζάω*.

H.

Ημέας, for *ἡμᾶς*.

Θ.

Θεησάμενον, for *θεασάμενον*.
θεωρίη, for *θεωρία*.
θηεύμενος, for *θεαόμενος*, from *θεάομαι*. Or from *θηέομαι*.
θῶυμα, for *θαῦμα*, *a wonder, a prodigy.*

I.

Ἴδμεν, for *ἴσμεν*, the same as *ἴσαμεν*, from *ἴσημι*, *know.*
ἱρήιον, for *ἱερεῖον*.

K.

Κατίσταται, for *καθίσταται*.

κάτοδος, for *κάθοδος*, *return, restoration.*
κερδανέεις, for *κερδανεῖς*.
κόθεν, for *πόθεν*, *whence?*
κοίῃ, for *ποίᾳ*, from *ποῖος*.
Κορινθίοισι, for *Κορινθίοις*.
κότερος, for *πότερος*.
κότε, for *πότε*.
κού, for *πού*.
κρέσσον, for *κρεῖσσον*.
κως, for *πως*.

M.

Μετιέναι, *μετιεὶς*, *κ. τ. λ.* for *μεθιέναι*, *μεθιείς*, *κ. τ. λ.*
Μίδεω, gen. for *Μίδου*, from *Μίδας*.
μιν, accusat. for *αὐτὸν*, or *αὐτὴν*, or *ἑαυτὸν*, or *ἑαυτήν*.
μοῦνος, for *μόνος*.

N.

Νέα, for *ναῦν*, from *ναῦς*, *a ship.*
νεηνίας, for *νεανίας*.
νοῦσος, for *νόσος*.
νυν, equivalent to *οὖν*, or *δή*.

Ξ.

Ξυνὸς, for *κοινὸς*, *common.*

O.

Οἰκήιος, for *οἰκεῖος*, *domestic, own.*
ὁκόθεν, for *ὁπόθεν*, *whence.*
ὁκόσος, for *ὁπόσος*.
ὅμουρος, for *ὅμορος*, *a neighbour.*
ὁρέω, for *ὁράω*, *see.*
ὁρέωντες, for *ὁράοντες*, from *ὁράω*, *see.*
ὁρμεώμενος, for *ὁρμώμενος*, a contraction of *ὁρμαόμενος*.
ὅτευ, for *οὗτινος*, from *ὅστις*.
ὅτεῳ, for *ᾧτινι*, from *ὅστις*.
οὐδαμοῖσι, for *οὐδαμοῖς*.
οὔκων, for *οὔκουν*, *not then.* But *οὐκοῦν* signifies *therefore.*
Οὔλυμπος, for *Ολυμπος*.
οὔνομα, for *ὄνομα*.
οὖρος, for *ὄρος*, *a mountain.*
οὕτερος, for *ὁ ἕτερος*.

Π.

Πεῖθευ, for *πεῖθου*.
πλεῦνας, for *πλέονας*.
πλῶσαι, for *πλεῦσαι*, from *πλέω*, *sail.* Or from *πλώω*, for *πλέω*.
ποιέεσκον, for *ἐποίεον*, *-ουν*.
ποιεύμενον, for *ποιούμενον*.

πολιήτης, for *πολίτης*, *citizen*. Dat. pl. *πολιήτῃσι*, for *πολίταις*.
πρῆγμα, for *πρᾶγμα*, *thing*, *business*.
πρήσσω, for *πράσσω*, *do*.
πρόκα, the same as *εὐθὺς*, *immediately*.
πρυτανηΐη, for *πρυτανεία*.

Σ.

Σάρδις, for *Σάρδεις*, *Sardis*, *the capital of Lydia*.
σέο, for *σοῦ*.
σεῦ, for *σοῦ*.
συμφορή, for *συμφορά*.
σφέα, for *αὐτά*, *them*, *those things*.
σφὶ or *σφὶν*, for *σφίσι* or *σφίσιν*, *to themselves*, or *to them*.

Τ.

Τέσσερες, for *τέσσαρες*, *four*.
τεῦ, for *τοῦ*, or for *του*, which is often put for *τινός*.
τέῳ, for *τινί*.
τοὶ, for *σοί*.
τούτοισι, for *τούτοις*.
τρωματίζω, for *τραυματίζω*.

Υ.

Υπεδέκετο, for *ὑπεδέχετο*, from *ὑποδέχομαι*, *undertake*, *promise*.

Φ.

Φοβέαι, for *φοβῇ*, 2 s. pres. from *φοβέομαι*, *fear*. See *διαιρέεαι*.
φοβέο, for *φοβοῦ*. See *ἐγένεο*.
φοιτέω, for *φοιτάω*.

Χ.

Χρέονται, for *χράονται*.
χώρη, for *χώρᾳ*.

Ω.

Ὦν for *οὖν*, *therefore*.
Ὤνθρωπε, for *ὦ ἄνθρωπε*.
ὠφελεύμενος, for *ὠφελούμενος*.

II. NOTES ON THUCYDIDES.

31 1. Ex Thucydide.] Thucydides was born at Athens, B. C. 471, of an illustrious family, being the son of Olorus, and the kinsman of Miltiades and Cimon. The accounts of his education vary. That of Marcellinus, which seems worthy of most credit, makes him to have been the pupil of Anaxagoras. Others represent him as having studied under Antipho. By whomsoever educated, he seems to have early displayed tokens of his ambition and future greatness. He was only about fifteen, when the famous scene at the Olympic games is said to have taken place. Of the early portion of his manhood, no notices have reached us. The accuracy of his knowledge about the affairs of Athens, forbids the belief that he was long absent from that city, though we find some evidence of his having accompanied Herodotus on his emigration to Thurium. He was at any rate actively engaged from the beginning in the great contest, whose history he was all the time purposing to write. A failure to succeed in an enterprise undertaken for the relief of Amphipolis, although occasioned by no fault of his, resulted in his banishment; which was brought about by the efforts of Cleon. He was now in his forty-seventh year. Retiring to Scaptesyle, in Thrace, where he had previously married a rich wife, he devoted himself to literary pursuits; and, although the sentence of banishment was afterwards virtually revoked, he is supposed to have passed the remainder of his life, which lasted till his eightieth year, in Thrace. The place of his sepulture is unknown; monuments to his memory have been found at Scaptesyle and at Athens; perhaps both are cenotaphs. He left only one son.

The history of Thucydides, which is occupied with an account of the Peloponnesian War and its causes, is written in the Attic dialect. It is divided into eight books, the genuineness of the last of which is disputed by some, but is admitted by recent scholars; who, however, consider it rather memoranda of materials, than a finished composition. The work preserves throughout the proper dignity of history; and reveals the careful observer, as well as conscientious narrator, in its author. His style is a standard of Attic composition; the speeches are considered by critics not inferior to the orations of Demosthenes, who gave to the works of Thucydides the closest study, transcribing the whole, as it is said, eight times with his own hands. Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks harshly of him [see Extracts] in a piece supposed to have been written in his early years. But Cicero, who, indeed, in another place complains of his obscurity, gives him the highest praise, when he says [De Oratore, II. 13.], "Thucydides omnes dicendi artificio, mea sententiâ, facile vicit, qui ita creber est rerum frequentiâ, ut verborum propè numerum sententiarum numero consequatur: ita porrò verbis aptus, et pressus, ut nescias, utrum res oratione, an verba sententiis illustrentur."

2. *Ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ πρώτου*] that is, from the First Book of the History.

3. *Περὶ τῶν πάλαι ῾ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ.*] That is, OF THE EARLY GREEKS.

4. *καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἵ τε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ παραθαλάσσιοι,*] *and of the barbarians, both those who lived on the continent near the sea,* —

5. *μᾶλλον περαιοῦσθαι*] *to cross more frequently,* — *ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, to one another*, or *to and fro.*

6. *ἐτράποντο*] *turned their attention to*, or *betook themselves to*; such being the force of the middle.

7. *κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου αὐτῶν ἕνεκα,*] *for the sake of gain to themselves*, or, *for their own gain* —

8. *καὶ κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις,*] *and inhabited in the manner of villages,* — the author refers to *states*, or *political communities*, made up of the inhabitants of different villages, as distinguished from those whose citizens dwelt in a single walled city. See the accounts of Lacedæmon.

9. *τὸν πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου*] *the greatest part of their living* —

10. *οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾷν,*] *to whom it is*, or *who regard it as, an accomplishment to do this honorably.* The Scholiast says: *Καλῶς, ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως. οὔτε γὰρ βοῦν ἀροτῆρα ἀπηλάτουν, ἢ ἔκλεπτον, οὔτε νυκτὸς, οὔτε μετὰ φόνων ἐποίουν τὴν λῃστείαν·* *Honorably*, that is, *with a proper regard to gods and men. For they neither drove away nor stole a working ox; nor carried on their robberies, either in the night, or with bloodshed.*

11. *τὰς πύστεις τῶν καταπλεόντων πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐρωτῶντες,*] *everywhere asking the same questions of those sailing*; or rather, representing their characters as asking. See GOELLER. *πύστις, a question*, from *πυνθάνομαι, ask.* The old grammarians understand *ἐκ* before *τῶν καταπλεόντων.* For the government of *πύστεις*, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXI., Obs. 1.

12. *ὡς οὔτε ὧν πυνθάνονται ἀπαξιούντων* —] *as if neither those, to whom they put the question, think the deed unworthy of themselves; nor do those who are anxious to know, mean to cast any reproach upon them.*

13. *μέχρι τοῦδε*] supply *τοῦ χρόνου.* *τοῦδε* has the force of *τούτου.*

1. *τὴν ταύτῃ ἤπειρον,*] *and that part of the continent.* *ταύτῃ* for 32
ἐν ταύτῃ χώρᾳ. See Bos's Ellipses Græcæ, at the word *χώρα.*

2. *τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι*] *and the fashion of wearing armour.* *τό.τε*, so written to distinguish it from *τότε, then.* The article is construed with the infinitive.

3. *καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο,*] *usually wore arms on all occasions.*

4. *Ἐν τοῖς*] The Scholiast says, *ἐν τούτοις, ποιητικῶς.* H. Stephens says, this use of the article ought not to appear strange, since the Attic dialect has affinity in many respects with the Ionic, which uses *τοῖς* for *τούτοις.* Arnold explains by *Ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις πρῶτος*, "*of the first among the first*; i. e. *among the very earliest.*"

5. *ἀνειμένῃ τῇ διαίτῃ, ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν.*] *and leading a life of relaxation they grew more elegant. They passed into a more elegant state.* *ἀνειμένῃ* — perf. pass. part. from *ἀνίημι, remit, relax*; here *διαίτῃ* is put absolute with *ἀνειμένῃ.* After this, elegance of manners was the distinguishing characteristic of the Athenians compared with the Lacedæmonians. Yet Pericles maintains, that the former were not inferior to the latter in braving

danger. *Ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι, οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν.* [See the Speech of Pericles in Thucydides, Book II. 39.]

6. *καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων, διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον,*] The construction is : *καὶ οὐ πολὺς* [*ἐστὶ*] *χρόνος, ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν εὐδαιμόνων αὐτοῖς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς, διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον, καὶ ἀναδούμενοι κρωβύλον τῶν τριχῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐνέρσει χρυσῶν τεττίγων. Nor is it a long time since* [*they saw*] *their elderly men, of the richer classes, leave off their linen undergarments, which they wore that they might live more delicately, and cease doing up a tuft of hair upon the top of the head by the insertion of golden grasshoppers.* See Arnold. These were worn by the Athenians, in assertion of their claim to be regarded as *γηγενεῖς*, or *born from the earth* ; as they had a fable of the production of grasshoppers from the earth.

7. *ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων*—] *from which* [circumstance] *also the same dress prevailed among the elder men of the Ionians, as was natural from their relationship.*

8. *καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον,*] *The Lacedæmonians were the first who used a common dress, and of the same fashion as at present.* The Lacedæmonian dress consisted principally of two parts, the *χιτών*, and the *χλαῖνα*. The first was a narrow kind of frock, without sleeves, coming down to the knees : the other was a sort of large square shawl, which wrapped round the left arm, then passed across the back and under the right arm, from whence it was crossed over the breast, and the end finally thrown over the left shoulder. Both this and the *χιτὼν* were of woollen. See Müller's "Dorians." Arnold.

9. *πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς,*] *πολλοὺς, τοὺς πένητας.* Scholiast.

10. *λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἠλείψαντο.*] *They smeared fat over their bodies, on entering the lists.* *λίπα*, probably an old form of the accusative case ; *fat.* *ἐς τὸ φανερὸν*, *for all to see.* See Arnold.

11. *καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς νῦν,*] *and among the barbarians there are some now who.* — The Greeks say *ἔστιν οἵτινες*, or *εἰσὶν οἵτινες*, for *τινές*· — thus *ἔστιν ὃς*, *some one*, *ἔστιν οἳ*, *some*, *ἔστιν οἷς*, *to some*, &c. The article is used because the sense is exactly the same as if the words had been *ἐν τισὶ τῶν βαρβάρων*. The term is first used generally *ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις*, and is then restricted to a partial sense by the words *ἔστιν οἷς*, *among the barbarians ; that is, amongst some of them.* See Arnold.

12. *καὶ ἤδη πλωϊμωτέρων ὄντων,*] supply *πραγμάτων*, *when things began more to admit of navigation.* Arnold.

33 1. *ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα*—] The order is : *τε ἕνεκα ἐμπορίας καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος* [*ἣν*] *ἕκαστοι* [*ἔχοιεν*] *πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους*, *both for the sake of commerce, and of the strength which each might have against their neighbours.* We may call *ἕκαστοι* an Attic feminine, referring it to *πόλεων*, above ; or, better, we can refer it to the idea of citizens, implied in *πόλεων*.

2. *ἐπιπολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαι,*] The better reading is here *ἀντισχοῦσαν*, agreeing with *λῃστείαν*, *on account of the piracy which extended far inland.* With the present text we must translate, *for the most part holding out against*, or *resisting.* The Scholiast says *μετὰ μάχης ἐναντιωθεῖσαι.*

3. ἔφερον γάρ—] Supply ἐκείνους before ὅσοι, and translate as follows: *for they both plundered one another, and so many other people as were not maritime in their habits, but dwelt upon the coast.* See HAACK. A fuller expression than this is ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν. See Herodotus I. 166. A successful robber was called ἀγαθός, from ἄγω· a more brilliant one φέρτερος, or φέρτατος, or φέριστος, from φέρω.

Line 6. ἀνῳκισμένοι] for ἄνω ᾠκισμένοι, *occupy the interior.* See Thucydides, Book I. 58.

4. οὐχ ἧσσον] *especially ;* the reference is not to *more* or *less.*

5. Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης,] *For Delos being purified.* See the Phædo of Plato, not far from the beginning. The place is given below, at p. 236. n. 5. The Athenians purified Delos by direction of a certain oracle from Delphi. See Thucydides, Book III. 104.

6. Μίνω] an Attic genitive from Μίνως.

7. πλωϊμώτερα] πράγματα is understood. See above, at p. 32. n. 12.

8. πλουσιώτεροι ἑαυτῶν] *richer than themselves ;* that is, *richer than they were before.* This short but luminous description shows how thoroughly Thucydides had examined the life of those old Greeks. Let scholars decide how far right are those philosophers of the present day, who boast of engaging in this discussion, as if it were a new matter.

9. Ἡ ΠΑΤΣ—] that is, *The Condemnation and Death of Pausanias the Lacedæmonian.*

10. ἀπελύθη μὴ ἀδικεῖν,] *was acquitted of the charge of injuring the state.*

11. τριήρη λαβὼν Ἑρμιονίδα,] *taking a Hermionian trireme.* The Scholiast says, ἀπὸ Ἑρμιόνης πόλεως Λακωνικῆς. Some consider Ἑρμιονὶς the name of the vessel, as the ancients had the custom of naming vessels.

1. Εὐεργεσίαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο,—] *And from the following circumstance he first bestowed a kindness upon the king, and made a beginning of the whole business.* 34

2. οἳ ἑάλωσαν] *who were taken.* ἑάλωσαν, Attic for ἥλωσαν, 3 pl. 2 aor. ind. act. from the obsolete ἅλωμι, which is assigned to ἁλίσκω, *take.* Notice that ἥλων, in the 2 aor. has a passive signification, as also ἥλωκα, from the obsolete ἁλόω. See the Iliad, Book II. 374 ; and Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates, II. iii. 10 ; also the Cyropædia, pp. 131, 286, 287, and 396, edition of Hutchinson, 4to.

3. τῷ δὲ λόγῳ, ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν.] *but according to the rumor* [which he spread about them] *they escaped.* ἀπέδρασαν, 3 pl. 1 aor. ind. act. of ἀποδιδράσκω, *run away.*

4. τούσδε τέ σοι—] The order is: βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαί σοι, τε ἀποπέμπει τούσδε, ἑλὼν δορὶ, —*wishing to oblige you, both sends you these men, after having made prisoners of them,* [δορὶ ἑλὼν, literally, *having taken them with the spear ;* that is, *in war :*] καὶ γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, *and I determine ;* —Pausanias passes over from the use of the third to that of the first person.

5. Δασκυλῖτιν σατραπείαν] So named from Dascylium, a city of Bithynia.

6. ἐπιστολὴν ἀντεπεστάλθαι] *returned an answer.*

35 1. *τῶν ἀνδρῶν,*] understand *ἀντί*, or *ἕνεκα*.

Line 10. *κεκωλύσθω,*] understand *ταῦτα*, or *τοῦτο*.

2. *εἴποι δεῖ παραγίγνεσθαι·*] *if it is necessary that it should be at any particular place.*

3. *Πλαταιᾶσιν*] *at Platæa :* as *Ὀλυμπίασιν*, for *ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ*, &c.

4. *ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ*] *τῷ Λακωνικῷ*. SCHOLIAST. See above, at p. 12. n. 3.

5. *παρετίθετο,*] *caused to be placed before himself :* such being the force of the middle.

6. *οὐχ ἥκιστα ἡ ξυμμαχία μετέστη —*] *for which reason, especially, the allies joined the party of the Athenians.* *οὐχ ἥκιστα*, is susceptible of two meanings like our *not the least*. See below, at p. 47. n. 5.

36 1. *ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ*] supply *κοινῷ*, *for the public good.*

2. *ἐπέσχον,*] Compare above, at p. 23. n. 3.

3. *σκυτάλην,*] For the signification of this word, see the Scholiast; also Gellius 17, 9; and Potter's Grecian Antiquities, B. III. c. 13. *εἶπον μὴ λείπεσθαι τοῦ κήρυκος· told him not to be behind the herald.*

4. *καὶ καθίστησιν ἑαυτὸν ἐς κρίσιν —*] *and he submits to a trial at the instance of any persons, who are willing to accuse him respecting these crimes.*

Line 16. *τιμὴν ἔχοντα,*] *holding the office* [of king]. See p. 53. l. 30, of this volume.

5. *μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι —*] *not to be content with things as they were.* See ARNOLD.

6. *ἐξεδεδιῄτητο*] *ἐκδιαιτάω τῶν νομίμων*, *I live and dress contrary to law and custom.*

7. *ἠξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι —*] *had thought proper to cause this couplet to be inscribed ;* *ἰδίᾳ*, supply, perhaps, *δυνάμει*, *by his own authority*, or *on his own responsibility.*

8. *ἐν τούτῳ*] *ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ τοῦ Μηδισμοῦ*. SCHOLIAST. The affair of the tripod seemed much worse, when regarded as of a piece with his present misconduct.

37 1. *παραποιησάμενος σφραγῖδα,*] *having counterfeited the seal.*

2. *ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνος —*] *and if he* [Pausanias] *should ask for the letters for the purpose of changing any thing.*

3. *ἐν αἷς, ὑπονοήσας —*] *in which, having suspected that some such injunction was added, he found*, besides other circumstances, *himself also expressly marked down to be put to death*, — devoted to death. *καὶ* is here emphatic. *Ἀρτάβαζον* accusative before *κτείνειν*.

4. *ὡς αὐτὸν*] Attic for *πρός αὐτὸν*, that is, *ἄνδρα Ἀργίλιον*.

5. *καθ' ἕκαστον,*] *separately.*

6. *ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις, παραβάλοιτο,*] *how he, in his missions to the king, had in no respect at any time for his own advantage exposed him to danger.* Suidas thus defines *παραβάλλεσθαι· πρὸς κίνδυνον ῥίπτειν ἑαυτὸν*, *expose one's self to danger.* But *παραβάλλομαι*, with an accusative, as *τινα*, for example, is, *expose another to danger for my advantage ;* a force of the middle not unusual. Compare the Anabasis, Book I., *Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτο ἐποιήσατο*, *but Abrocomas did not do this for himself.* See below, at p. 98. n. 5.

7. *προτιμηθείη*] *ἐν εἰρωνείᾳ τὸ προτιμηθείη λέλεκται.* SCHOLIAST. Perhaps better, *was thought deserving of death.*

8. *ἀλλὰ πίστιν, ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, διδόντος, τῆς ἀναστάσεως,*] *but offering him a pledge of safety in leaving the temple.* Suppliants were said *καθίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑστίας.* Leaving the altar was called *ἀνάστασις.*

1. *καὶ ἀξιοῦντος ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι,*] *and begging him to set* 38
out as speedily as possible —

2. *τὰ πρασσόμενα*] *the things a-doing ; the business in hand.*

3. *τὴν ξύλληψιν ἐποιοῦντο.*] *were preparing to arrest him ;* a well-known sense of the imperfect tense. Compare Herodotus I. 68.

4. *ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχώρει·*] *on what account, for what reason, he was coming.*

5. *Χαλκιοίκου*] *ἡ Χαλκίοικος*, an epithet of Minerva. The temple of Minerva of the Brazen House was one of the most ancient at Lacedæmon, deriving its name from the circumstance, that both the statue of the goddess, and the chapel, or interior part of the temple, in which it was erected, were of brass. See further ARNOLD. See also Pausanias, III. 17. § 3. See Sir W. Gell's "Argolis," pp. 30, 33.

6. *ὃ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ,*] *which belonged to the temple.*

7. *ἵνα μὴ ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωροίη,*] *lest he should suffer inconvenience from being in the open air. ταλαιπωροίη*, Attic for *ταλαιπωροῖ.*

8. *ἀπολαβόντες*] *ἀπολαμβάνω, shut off* or *exclude. μονώσαντες, περιείρξαντες.* SCHOLIAST.

9. *καὶ ὡς ἄγος αὐτοῖς ὂν τὸ πεπραγμένον,*] *and since what they had done was a crime to be expiated.* For the construction of *ὡς ἄγος — ὄν*, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXIII., Obs. 3 and 4.

1. *Ἐκ τοῦ τῆς ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗΣ δευτέρου.*] *From the Second Book of* 39
the HISTORY.

2. *Ὁ τῶν ΑΘΗΝ* —] THE PLAGUE OF ATHENS ; which occurred in the time of the Peloponnesian War.

3. *τὰ δύο μέρη,*] that is, *κατὰ τὰ δύο μέρη, in two divisions ;* — others, however, explain *Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὰ δύο μέρη*, as if it were *Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων τ. δ. μ.*

4. *ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν,*] supply *χώραν*, and translate, *made an incursion into Attica.*

5. *ἡ νόσος — λεγόμενον*] Poppo says *λεγόμενον* is a nominative absolute. Gesner and the Scholiast consider it to refer to *νόσος*, which word implies *νόσημα ;* or else to the sense generally. *The plague broke out,* A THING *which is said to have often visited other countries.*

Line 9. *οὕτως*] The adverb is here the predicate. *Οὕτως γενέσθαι, to have happened to such a degree.* ARNOLD.

6. *τέχνη οὐδεμία.*] supply *ἤρκει.*

Line 13. *μαντείοις*] Bekker, Goeller, and Arnold, read *μαντείαις.* Poppo says, that Thucydides uses both words in the same sense, to express *prophecies* themselves, as well as the *place where they were delivered.* The sense required here being rather *prophesyings*, Arnold prefers *μαντείαις.*

7. *Τελευτῶντες*] *At length.* Literally, *finishing*, or *desisting.* In Thucydides and some other writers, this participle has much the meaning of *τελευταῖον. αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν*, that is, *ἔστησαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.* In English, *abstained from them, left them off.*

8. ἥψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων] *touched* or *infected men.* ἅπτω, signifies *bind*; ἅπτομαι, middle, *bind myself to some one*, or *touch.* For the government of ἀνθρώπων, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII. 9.

Line 22. ἐς τὰ φρέατα·] *into the reservoirs*, or *tanks, made to catch the rain-water.* ARNOLD.

9. ἀφ' ὅτου εἰκὸς ἦν—] *from what it is probable that it arose.* According to Æ. Portus, the order is, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς, ἅς τινας νομίζει ἱκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν σχεῖν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι· *and the causes of so great a change, which he thinks sufficient to effect the change.* Gesner inserts ἢ after εἶναι, making the last clause refer to curing the disease. Arnold's explanation is the best; he considers μεταβολῆς to be used absolutely, as if the sentence read τῆς μεταβολῆς τοσαύτης γενομένης, and translates, *the causes which, where the change from health to universal sickness was so fearfully great, were sufficient to have had the power to create such a change.* Thucydides intended to say, *as the effect produced was so tremendous, where can we find causes which will not appear inadequate to have produced it.* ARNOLD.

40 1. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ—] The order is: γὰρ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐκεῖνο ἔτος, ὡς ὡμολογεῖτο, μάλιστα ἐκ πάντων ἐτύγχανεν ὂν ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας. ἀπεκρίθη, *all disorders seemed to be shut out from their own proper nature, and all to be turned into the plague.* See ARNOLD.

Line 8. προφάσεως] *with no ostensible cause; with nothing to account for it.* ARNOLD.

2. τὰ ἐντὸς,—] taken adverbially, *internally.* Compare Lucretius, Lib. I. 1143.

"Principio caput incensum fervore gerebant
Et duplices oculos suffusa luce rubenteis.
Sudabant etiam fauces intrinsecus atro
Sanguine, et ulceribus vocis via septa coibat,
Atque animi interpres manabat lingua cruore."

3. πνεῦμα ἄτοπον καὶ δυσῶδες ἠφίει·] literally, *emitted an unusual and fetid breath;* that is, *fetid to an unusual degree.* ἠφίει, Attic for ἀφίει, imperfect from the obsolete ἀφιέω, the same as ἀφίημι.

4. ἐς τὴν καρδίαν] οἱ παλαιοὶ ἰατροὶ τὸν στόμαχον κάρδιαν ἐκάλουν, καὶ καρδιωγμὸν τὸν πόνον τοῦ στομάχου. SCHOLIAST. στηρίξαι, an optative; a transitive verb here used intransitively. So we should say in English, *when the disorder fixed on the stomach.*

5. Λύγξ—κενὴ,] λὺγξ is *a hiccough;* λὺγξ κενὴ is an *ineffectual retching*, consequent upon exhaustion, when nothing is actually brought off the stomach.

6. μετὰ ταῦτα,] αὐτίκα. SCHOLIAST.

7. πελιδνὸν,] πελιδνόν ἐστι τὸ μετέχον ὠχρότητος καὶ μελανίας, οἱονεὶ μολυβδοειδές. SCHOLIAST.

8. μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνὸν ἀνέχεσθαι,] *nor to endure any other situation, but that of being naked.*

Line 27. Καὶ ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα.] *And many did this* [*threw themselves*] *into tanks and reservoirs.* ARNOLD.

9. Καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ—ποτόν.] *And it was the same thing whether they drank much or little.*

10. ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν] The last three words are explanatory of the two preceding. *A feeling of not knowing what to do with themselves, inasmuch as they could not rest; the misery of restlessness.* See ARNOLD.

1. ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως· ἤ, εἰ διαφύγοιεν —] *while they had still some strength;* [that is, before they were quite exhausted;] *or, if they escaped* that period, &c. 41

2. αὐτῇ — ἐγγιγνομένης,] that is, γιγνομένης ἐν αὐτῇ.

Line 5. ἀκράτου] It has been doubted whether this word is here used in a technical sense, as describing the nature of the diarrhœa, or merely signifies *vehement, excessive.* Arnold inclines to the former opinion.

3. καὶ, εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγίγνοιτο,] κινδύνων, δηλονότι. SCHOLIAST. *And if one survived these greatest dangers.*

4. τῶν γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμαινε.] The order is: ἀντίληψις γε αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ἐπεσήμαινε. Goeller refers αὐτοῦ to κακόν. *Its seizing upon the extremities left its mark;* that is, *marked the man as having had the disorder.* The word is applied to the mark or signature of the auditors of the public accounts at Athens, by which they signified that an account had been duly passed. ARNOLD.

5. εἰσὶ δ' οἳ] that is, τινὲς δὲ· supply διέφευγον στερισκόμενοι. See above, at p. 32. n. 11.

6. ἐδήλωσε — ἄλλο τι ὂν ἢ τῶν ξυντρόφων τι·] A well-known construction in Greek; as if it were ἄλλο τι εἶναι, κ. τ. λ., *showed itself to be something different from any thing common.*

7. οὔτε περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν.] *nor about any such* carcass.

8. διὰ τὸ ξυνδιαιτᾶσθαι.] that is, ἀνθρώποις.

9. παραλιπόντι] In the dative after ἦν. The order is: νόσημα ἦν ἐπῆλθεν τοιοῦτον [κατὰ] τὴν ἰδίαν [μοι] παραλιπόντι, κ. τ. λ. About ἐτύγχανε — γιγνόμενον, see above, at p. 7. n. 5. A little below: ἕν τε κ. τ. λ., *and there was no one established remedy which was sure to relieve those who applied it.*

10. Σῶμά τε αὔταρκες] The order is: οὐδὲν δὲ σῶμα, περὶ ἰσχύος ἢ ἀσθενείας, διεφάνη ὂν αὔταρκες πρὸς αὐτό· *and the body of no one, in point* either *of strength or weakness,* [whether weak or strong,] *showed itself sufficient to resist it.*

1. αἴσθοιτο κάμνων,] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII. 42

2. καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος —] *and because one became fully charged with infection from nursing another,* — understand τῆς νόσου after the participle.

3. οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι.] μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς τι, *to lay claim to any sense of honor, or shame, or duty.*

4. αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐσιόντες παρὰ τοὺς φίλους,] In English, *for, from delicacy, without minding themselves, they went in to their friends.* ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι τελευτῶντες ἐξέκαμνον [πρὸς] τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων, νικώμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ, *since even the relations were at last wearied out with the cries of the dying, being overcome by the severity of the evil.* ἠφείδουν is in the imperf. ind. from ἀφειδέω. About τελευτῶντες, see above, at p. 39. n. 7.

5. οὐχ ἥσσον] *especially.* See above, at p. 33. n. 4.

6. ὥρᾳ ἔτους] τῷ θέρει, δηλονότι. SCHOLIAST.

1. διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν·] *because multitudes to them* [that is, *in their families.*] *had already died before;* or, *because they had had so many friends die already.* 43

2. ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας, —] *for some people would place the*

corpse which they happened to be carrying upon the funeral-piles of others, anticipating those who had built them. νήσαντας, from νέω· νῆσαι πυρὰν, *to build a funeral-pile.*

3. Πρῶτόν τε ἦρξε καὶ ἐς τἄλλα,—] The order is: τε τὸ νόσημα πρῶτον ἦρξε [ἀρχὴ γέγονεν, SCHOLIAST.] ἐπιπλέον ἀνομίας τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐς τἄλλα, *and this disease was the beginning*, or *origin, of greater wickedness in the city, in other respects also.* ἐπίπλεον, to be taken adverbially.

4. ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐτόλμα—] Various constructions of this passage are given by different editors. The best, perhaps, is that which immediately follows. γάρ τις ῥᾷον ἐτόλμα ποιεῖν καθ' ἡδονὴν ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ [ποιεῖν·] *for anybody more readily dared to perform for his gratification the things which he had formerly been accustomed to conceal the practice of doing.* The phrase ἀποκρύπτομαι μὴ ποιεῖν seems to mean, *I make a secret of doing*, and is much like the Latin, vereor ne faciam, *I am afraid of doing.* Æ. Portus gives the following as the order of the words, ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τὶς ποιεῖν ἃ προτέρον ἀπεκρύπτετο, ὥστε μὴ ποιεῖν καθ' ἡδονήν. Fab. Paulinus says μὴ is redundant, and gives ἐτόλμα καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο. The infinitive here, as in the words already noticed, τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν, is explanatory of the preceding verb. In general, the article precedes the verb in such constructions. It does so, when the action is done by another person, and not by the subject of the preceding verb; or when the action is rather suffered by this last than done by him, although grammatically he is the subject of the infinitive mood, as well as of the principal verb preceding it. See ARNOLD.

5. τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ] τουτέστι, τῇ ἀρετῇ. SCHOLIAST. The simple infinitive would seem more natural than the use of the article with προσταλαιπορεῖν. Perhaps, however, this passage may be a confused construction, οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν being put for οὐδενὶ βουλομένῳ ἐγίγνετο. In the next line, πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν marks the distinction between the pursuit of virtue and the attainment of it. It was feared that the plague would cut short all virtuous efforts, before the full habit of virtue was attained. τὸ ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, *what served the ends of his pleasure, what ministered to it.* ἐς αὐτὸ is ἐς τὸ ἡδύ. See ARNOLD.

6. Θεῶν δὲ φόβος,—] This instance of the use of the nominative absolute has been made the subject of extended remark by Hoogeveen. The English idiom answers well to it. The sentence is thus to be construed: οὐδεὶς δὲ φόβος θεῶν, ἢ νόμος ἀνθρώπων ἀπεῖργε· *and no fear of the gods or law of men deterred them;* κρίνοντες μὲν ἐν ὁμοίῳ [εἶναι] καὶ σέβειν τὸ [θεῖον, implied in θεῶν φόβος] καὶ μὴ, ἐκ τοῦ ὁρᾷν πάντας ἀπολλυμένους ἐν ἴσῳ· *thinking it the same thing to worship them or not, since they beheld all perishing indiscriminately;* οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐλπίζων, βιοὺς μέχρι τοῦ δίκην γενέσθαι, ἂν ἀντιδοῦναι τὴν τιμωρίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· *and no one expecting, that by having lived till a trial happened, he would suffer the punishment of his crimes:* τὴν δὲ πολὺ μείζω [τιμωρίαν], ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην, κρεμασθῆναι ἐπὶ σφῶν, πρὶν ἣν ἐμπεσεῖν, εἰκὸς εἶναι ἀπολαῦσαι τὶ τοῦ βίου, *but* they thought *that a much greater punishment, already decreed, was hanging over them, before the falling of which it was reasonable they should have some enjoyment of life.*

1. *καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι.*] Apollo was said to have been the author of the pestilence commemorated in the First Book of the Iliad. He is called *ἑκηβόλος* and *ἑκάεργος*. Diodorus Siculus traces the origin of this ascription to the supposed effects of the heat of the sun in producing pestilence. 44

2. *ἐσβεβληκότων*] supply *ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν χώραν*, and translate, *having made an irruption into Attica*. See above, at p. 39. n. 4.

☞ For a description of the Plague of Athens, see Lucretius, VI. 1136.

III. NOTES ON XENOPHON.

1. Ex Xenophonte.] Of the parentage and early years of Xenophon our information is extremely scanty. His intimacy with Socrates, his connexion with the aristocratic party, and the high consideration he was held in at home and abroad, all point towards a distinguished origin. His father's name was Gryllus; he belonged to the Archian division of the Egeid ward. The date of our historian's birth is not certainly known. The result of Mitford's investigations seems to place it at about 427 years before Christ. His intellectual discipline during his early years was undoubtedly attended to; but Diogenes insinuates, that previous to his intimacy with Socrates, he was not exempt from the vices of his age and country. This intimacy, however favorable to inward improvement, did not contribute to his outward comfort. That philosopher was suspected by the popular leaders of disaffection to the democracy; and his disciples were exposed to the inconveniences and insults naturally consequent upon such a suspicion. Xenophon was a favorite pupil; and is said to have owed the preservation of his life to his master at the battle of Delium; which, however, can scarcely be credited, when we consider his immature years at the time of that engagement. 45

About a year before the condemnation of Socrates, Xenophon engaged in the Expedition of the Younger Cyrus against his brother; for doing which, sentence of banishment was passed upon him at Athens; inasmuch as this prince was the ally of Lacedæmon, and, consequently, reckoned an enemy to the Athenian state. His fortunes during this expedition are well described in the Anabasis, from which extracts are given in the text. The ten thousand, on their return, passed into the service of Agesilaus, the Spartan king, with whom Xenophon also served in Asia; gaining at the same time his friendship, and transmitting his fame to posterity. On the return of our historian to Greece, he retired to Scillus, an Eleian town near Olympia, which was at that time under Spartan domination, where he was joined by his wife Philesia, and his sons Gryllus and Diodorus. He here gave himself up to literary pursuits, to philosophy, and religion. He wrote, says Diogenes, about forty books, though others reckon them differently. The Anabasis, in which he wrote prefaces to the several books, but none to the whole work: the Cyropædia: the Hel-

lenics: the Memorabilia: the Symposium: the Economics: the Treatises on Horsemanship, and Farriery, and on Field Sports: the Defence of Socrates: the Essay on Public Revenue: Hiero, or Monarchy: the Panegyric of Agesilaus: and two Discourses on the Athenian and the Lacedæmonian States, which, however, Demetrius the Magnesian asserts not to have been composed by him. Though the Athenians reversed the sentence of his banishment, he would not leave his retreat. After the battle of Leuctra, and the repossession of Scillus by the Eleians, Xenophon sent his family to Lepreum, and petitioned for immunity for having held the town under the authority of another state. This was granted; but Xenophon afterwards, from motives not fully detailed, removed to Corinth, where he died at a good old age. The precise date of this event is not ascertained.

2. *Ἐκ τῆς ΚΥΡΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ.*] That is, from the CYROPÆDIA, or EDUCATION OF CYRUS. This work is supposed to contain rather Xenophon's ideal of the Education of a Prince, than an exact History of the Education of Cyrus. At the same time we must bear in mind, that it is necessary to receive with the greatest caution the judgments of Plato and others with respect to its authenticity. That great philosopher was a rival of Xenophon's; and his condemnation of the Cyropædia will lose some of the weight it would otherwise have, when we learn that our historian's accounts of Cyrus accord much better with probability and Scripture history than those of Herodotus. Besides, Xenophon "distinctly avers, that he had diligently set himself to obtain the most accurate information relative to the education, achievements, and character of his hero." And we must allow, that the probability of his effecting this was greater than that in favor of any other historian who has undertaken the task, when we consider his station in the court of the Younger Cyrus, his penetration and judgment, and his express and undivided attention to the subject. The work, however, is undoubtedly marked by a highly *idealized* character. See further, Encyclopædia Metropolitana, Art. CYRUS.

3. *Τὸ τοῦ ΚΥΡΟΥ γένος.*] that is, THE PARENTAGE OF CYRUS.

4. *Περσεῖδαι*] The Persidæ were only a part of the Persians.

5. *κληΐζονται·*] *have their name.*

6. *γενομένου*] *who was.*

7. *Φῦναι δὲ ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται, καὶ ᾄδεται ἔτι καὶ νῦν —*] *Cyrus is still described and celebrated by the Barbarians as having naturally been.* *λέγεται*, *is said* by writers: *ᾄδεται*, *is sung* by poets.

8. *Φύσιν μὲν δὴ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς μορφῆς —*] *He is indeed recorded as having possessed such a disposition of mind and appearance of body.* Notice, that *φύσιν* equally well expresses disposition of mind and outward appearance.

46 1. *Οὗτοι δὲ δοκοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιμελούμενοι·*] *And these laws seem to have their origin in a care for the common good.* It may be well to state here, that *δοκεῖν*, *φαίνεσθαι*, and *νομίζεσθαι*, are used by the Greeks to express facts, as well as appearances, or matters about which there is a doubt. See HUTCHINSON. *Ἀρχω* signifies *begin*, conveying further the idea that some one else continues or imitates; the middle is used

without any such idea annexed, signifying merely *begin*. For the construction of *ἄρχεσθαι ἐπιμελούμενοι*, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII. See below, at p. 47. n. 2. — *ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι*, that is, *σὺν τοῖς νόμοις τῶν πλείστων πόλεων*.

2. *μὴ παίειν ὃν μὴ δίκαιον,*] that is, *ἐκεῖνον ὃν μὴ δίκαιόν ἐστι παίειν*.

3. *ζημίας αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν.*] *They impose or inflict punishment upon them.* On this signification of the aorist, see above, at p. 19. n. 6. — Xenophon uses *αὐτοῖς*, although the *τὶς* which precedes demands *αὐτῷ*. See at p. 4. n. 7.

4. *Οἱ δὲ Περσικοὶ νόμοι προλαβόντες*] *But the Persian laws anticipating this.*

5. *τὴν ἀρχὴν,*] supply *κατὰ*, and translate *at all.*

6. *ἐφίεσθαι.*] *ἐφίεμαι*, literally, *send one's self for ;* secondarily, *seek, desire.* Compare *ὀρέγομαι*.

7. *ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ*] *a liberal forum ;* a place designed by the Persians for the education of youth. The adjective is used in a sense similar to that conveyed in the phrase, *liberal arts.* See Hutchinson's Second Dissertation, p. 67.

8. *τά τε βασίλεια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀρχεῖα* [*δώματα*] *πεποίηται.*] *are built the palace, and other houses of magistrates,* or rather, *houses in which the magistrates administered justice.*

9. *οἱ ἀγοραῖοι,*] *the dealers, the buyers and sellers.*

10. *ἀπειροκαλίαι*] *ungentlemanly pursuits,* or things arguing unacquaintance with the *καλόν*. *ἀπελήλανται*, Attic for *ἀπήλανται*, 3 pl. perf. pass. from *ἀπελαύνω*, *drive away.*

11. *ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἔτη γεγονόσι.*] Men over fifty years of age are referred to. For the *στρατεύσιμα ἔτη* were from 25 to 50.

Line 1. *αὖ τοὺς ἐφήβους,*] for *αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐφ*— 47

1. *ᾗ ἐπιμέλονται*] that is, *ἐν ᾗ ὁδῷ, in what way they provide.*

2. *διάγουσι μανθάνοντες*—] *spend their time in learning.*

3. *ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔρχονται,*] viz. *to learn justice : ἐπί τι ἔρχεσθαι* often in Xenophon and other writers signifies, *come with the purpose,* or *for the sake of doing something.*

4. *καὶ ἄλλων οἵων εἰκός.*] The meaning is : *and concerning other faults which are likely to happen, and which are and ought to be referred to a magistrate.*

5. *δικάζονται δὲ ἥκιστα,*] There is a difference of opinion as to the text in this place. Some critics think a negative particle ought to be supplied before *ἥκιστα*. The best editions are without it. The sense is not materially altered by the difference of reading. *δικάζονται δὲ ἥκιστα* would be translated, *but go to law about the least.* *δικάζονται δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα, but do not go to law about at all.* Compare at p. 35. n. 6. Notice, that *δικάζω*, active, signifies *administer the laws,* or *be a judge : δικάζομαι*, middle, signifies *go to law with.*

6. *ἂν —ἀμελῶς ἔχειν,*] *would neglect.* See above, at p. 4. n. 10. The particle *ἂν* here gives the infinitive a potential sense. See Fisk's Syntax, R. XLVII., Obs. 2. 2.

7. *μέγα δὲ συμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν σωφρονεῖν αὐτούς,*] *and it contributes much to their acquiring a discreet deportment.* For the construction of *εἰς τὸ αὐτοὺς μανθάνειν*, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXX. Obs. 1. Compare John's Gospel, I. 39. *Πρὸ τοῦ σε Φίλιππον φωνῆσαι, Before Philip called thee.*

1. *ἄρτον*—] Without authority Stephens changed ἄρτους to ἄρ

ἄρτον. The sense of the passage is: *In place of more solid food they bring for themselves from home bread*, or *cakes*; *and in place of any thing commonly eaten with it, cardamon.* This last was a kind of vetch. One translation is *watercress.* See upon the use of this plant, Cicero, Fin. 2. 28; Tusc. 5. 34.

2. *φυλάξασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον.*] literally, *to guard one's self against whatever assails.* Notice here the force of these middles. *φυλάσσω*, active, signifies *guard against*; *φυλάσσομαι*, middle, *guard one's self against*, or *beware of.* *φέρω*, active, signifies *bear*; *φέρομαι*, middle, *bear one's self*, or *rush*; *ἐπιφέρομαι* then may be translated, *rush on.*

49 1. *μάζα*] The translations of this word vary slightly. That which seems best follows: *barley flour moistened.* The liquid employed for this purpose was either water, or oil, or milk, or vinegar; sometimes a mixture of one or more of these with honey.

2. *διατρίβουσι μελετῶσαι*] *continue to practise*, or *keep on practising.*

3. *διαγωνιζόμενοι — διατελοῦσιν.*] *continue contending, keep contending.*

50 1. *ἤν τι δέῃ —*] *ἤν [κατά] τι δέῃ [τῶν ἔργων,] ὅσα ἤδη ἐστὶ ἔργα φρονούντων καὶ ἔτι δυναμένων*, *if the public good in any respect requires any of those things to be performed, which must be done by persons now of mature judgment, and still vigorous*, or better, *by persons who have attained the judgment, and still preserve the vigor, of manhood.*

2. *ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν,*] supply *χώρας.*

3. *φαίνουσι μὲν οἱ φύλαρχοι ἕκαστον,*] *the presidents of the tribes report every one.*

4. *ἐκκρίνουσιν·*] *degrade them.*

5. *μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι·*] *I go back a little upon it: I will recapitulate a little.* *εἶμι*, *go*, it will be borne in mind, has no peculiar forms in use to express future time, to indicate which, therefore, it employs the present.

6. *ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἂν δηλωθείη,*] *it can be described in a very few words.*

51 1. *καὶ ἡ πολιτεία αὕτη ᾗ οἴονται —*] *And this is the form of government, by the use of which, they think that they shall be best.* See at p. 47. n. 1.

2. *τοῦ ἐκπονεῖσθαι τὴν δίαιταν.*] *of their working off their food by labor*; *of the labor they undergo, in order to digest their food.*

3. *τὸ ἰόντα που —*] that is, *τό [τινα] γενέσθαι ἰόντα που φανερόν.*

4. *Ἡ τοῦ ΚΥΡΟΥ παιδία.*] *The Boyhood of* CYRUS.

5. *διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο,*] See above, at p. 46. n. 1.

6. *ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῇ, καὶ χρώματος ἐντρίψει, καὶ κόμαις προσθέτοις,*] literally, *with painting under his eyes, with rubbing in of colors, and with false locks.* Ashley translates, "*with his eyes* [query, *eyelids*?] *and complexion painted, and with false hair.*" *ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῇ* refers to the blacking of the eyelids, for which purpose either soot or plumbago was used. The last not only blacked but contracted the eyelids, and thus made the eyes appear larger. The colors used for changing the complexion were white and red.

52 1. *Ω μῆτερ, —*] Compare Sir James Melvil's answer to Elizabeth, when she inquired whether she or Mary Queen of Scots was the more beautiful. "I said she was the fairest queen in *England*, and mine the fairest queen in *Scotland.*" Memoirs, p. 50.

2. ἐμβάμματα] *sauces.* The word is derived from ἐν, and βάπτω, *dip.* Some choose to consider its meaning as more closely connected with its themes, and translate, *liquids in which morsels of food are dipped.* See Lexicon Xenophonteum.

3. φάναι] understand ἔφασαν.

4. Οὐ γὰρ] γὰρ introduces the reason for asking the previous question. See Buttmann, p. 428.

1. πολλοὺς δέ τινας ἐλιγμοὺς ἄνω καὶ κάτω πλανώμενοι,] *but wandering hither and thither with many turns.* 53

2. ὅ τι ἂν βούλωμαι, αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι ;] *to use them,* or *do with them as I choose.* See Buttmann's Syntax, § 131. 7.

3. λαβόντα τῶν κρεῶν] *taking of the meats.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XIX.

4. Ὁ δὲ Σάκας ἄρα καλός τε ὢν ἐτύγχανε,] *Now this Sacian happened to be handsome.* See above, at p. 7. n. 5. καὶ τιμὴν ἔχων, *and had as his office.* See above, at p. 36, l. 16.

5. δοκοίη] Attic for δοκίοι, by contraction δοκοῖ.

6. προπετῶς,] *pertly, forwardly.*

7. παῖς μηδέπω ὑποπτήσσων,] We may understand ἐπέροιτο, though some take this nominative as standing in place of an accusative. Translate, *as a boy, not at all bashful, would* ask.

1. καὶ διδόασι, τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις ὀχοῦντες τὴν φιάλην,] *and present the glass, holding it with three fingers.* διδόασι for διδοῦσι. 54

2. ἐνδοῖεν] for ἐνδοίησαν, 3 pl. 2 aor. opt. act. of ἐνδίδωμι, *reach, hand.*

3. εὐληπτότατα] adverbially, from εὔληπτος, *easy to be taken.* Themes εὖ and λαμβάνω, λάβω.

4. ἐγχέας,] 1 aor. act. part. from ἐγχέω, *pour in.*

5. Καὶ τὸν κελεῦσαι] that is, καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην.

6. οὕτω — εὖ κλύσαι τὸ ἔκπωμα, ὥσπερ τὸν Σάκαν ἑώρα·] *rinsed the cup well, just as he saw the Sacian do.*

7. στήσαντα τὸ πρόσωπον] *having put on a grave face.* σπουδαίως καὶ εὐσχημόνως πως, *in a serious and decent sort of manner.*

8. τῷ κυάθῳ,] The κύαθος was a brazen cup or spoon, with which some wine was dipped out of the goblet.

9. εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα ἐγχεάμενοι καταῤῥοφοῦσι·] *having poured it into their left hand, they sip it out.* ἐγχεάμενοι, 1 aor. m. part. of ἐγχέω. Notice here the force of the middle. ἐγχέω εἰς τὴν χεῖρα, *I pour* something *into the hand* of any person. ἐγχέομαι εἰς τὴν χεῖρα, *I pour* something *into my own hand.* See below, n. 11. With τοῦ δὴ supply ἕνεκα. Hutchinson reads δέ.

10. ἐδεδοίκειν] δέδοικα, *I am afraid ; ἐδεδοίκειν, I was afraid.* See the Iliad, Book I. 555 ; Book XXI. 198.

11. κατέμαθον φάρμακα αὐτὸν ὑμῖν ἐγχέαντα.] *I plainly perceived, that he had poured in poison for you.* See above, n. 9. See also Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII.

1. ἰσηγορία,] *liberty of speech.* Said in jest, of the bawling of intoxicated people. 55

2. Διψῶν παύεται·] *ceases to be thirsty,* that is, *thirsts for,* or *wishes, but little.* Some prefer the less correct translation, *leaves off* [drinking] *while yet thirsty.* See Lex. Xen.

3. Στὰς ἄν, — λέγοιμ' ἄν,] ἂν here, as often elsewhere, is used in the beginning of the sentence, to convey early the idea of a

subjunctive or optative meaning, and is then repeated with the verb. See Fisk's Syntax, R. XLVII., under Obs. 2. 2. See also Buttmann's Syntax, § 139. n. 4.

4. ἐπ' ἄριστον, — τῷ ἀρίστῳ] Inasmuch as ἀρίστῳ signifies either *to dinner*, or *to the bravest*, that is, *to the king*, some critics find the young Cyrus guilty of punning here; which, however, a due attention to the context will show was probably not the case.

5. ἕως παρατείναιμι τοῦτον,] *till I should have tormented him beyond measure.*

6. χαλεπὸν ἦν ἄλλον φθάσαι τοῦτο ποιήσαντα·] *it was difficult for another person to get the start of him in doing this.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII., Obs. 2.

56 1. ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔσται·] *it shall depend upon thyself; it shall be in thy own power.* Compare the Anabasis, Book I. Ch. 1. ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. See also, at p. 62. n. 5; at p. 85. n. 9; and often elsewhere.

2. χάριν σοι, — εἴσομαι,] *I shall thank you.* εἴσομαι an Attic future middle of εἴδω.

3. ἄπει,] See above, at p. 50. n. 5.

4. ἐπὶ τὸ μετρίως —] The order is: ἐπὶ τὸ δοκοῦν σοι ἔχειν μετρίως, — the translation: *to that which seems to you to be temperate.*

5. σοι] This use of the pronoun implies tenderness of feeling on the part of the old king. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 133. n. 2.

6. αὐτῷ.] Zeune notices here, as pleonasms very likely to occur in the conversation of a child, ἐνθάδε, ἱππεύς, and αὐτῷ.

57 1. πότερα τὸν βίᾳ ἀφελόμενον ἔχειν,] Understand κτῆσις δικαία ἐστί, from the preceding clause. Notice the difference between ἔχειν and κεκτῆσθαι, — the former denoting simply *possession*, the latter *legal possession.*

2. τὴν ψῆφον τίθεσθαι.] *to vote;* the figure is taken from the pebbles used in voting. See at p. 19. n. 10. Notice the difference between ψῆφον τιθέναι, or προτιθέναι, and ψῆφον τίθεσθαι, or προτίθεσθαι, — the former signifying *to put to vote*, the latter, *to vote.*

3. σοι,] See above, at p. 56. n. 5.

4. Ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπολῇ μαστιγούμενος,] HAVE A CARE, *lest you die under the lash; lest you be flogged to death.* Supply ὅρα or φυλάττου before ὅπως.

5. ἐν ᾧ ἐστι —] The order is: ἐν ᾧ ἐστι τὸ οἴεσθαι χρῆναι ἔχειν πλέον ἁπάντων, *in which is implied* a man's *thinking that he should possess more than all the rest.* p. 58. l. 1. πλεονεκτεῖν, literally, *to possess more:* the real meaning is, *to strive to possess more, to be grasping*, or *ambitious.*

58 1. συνεκέκρατο,] *he insinuates himself amongst them.* This verb is another form of συνεκεκέραστο, the pluperf. ind. pass. of συγκεράννυμι. Notice, that this passive form has a middle signification, as is the case with the perfect. — ὥστε οἰκείως διακεῖσθαι· *so as to be on a most familiar footing with them.*

2. ἀνήρτητο, προσιὼν, καὶ ἔνδηλος ὤν, ὅτι ἠσπάζετο αὐτῶν τοὺς υἱεῖς·] *attached to himself, by visiting them, and by publicly treating their sons with kindness.* φανερὸς and δῆλος, in general, cannot well be translated literally into English. ἀνήρτητο is the pluperf. pass. of ἀναρτάω. See n. 1.

3. *περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο*] literally, *made it to himself of all importance*; that is, *thought nothing of more importance.*

4. *κλαίων — ἐπαύετο.*] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII.

5. *οἴοιτο χαριεῖσθαι·*] *whatever he thought would please him.* *χαριεῖσθαι* Attic for *χαρίσεσθαι.*

6. *πῶς ἔχοντα τυγχάνοι·*] *how things were.* See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

1. *καὶ τὸ σκυλακῶδες,*] The construction is: *καὶ οὐκέτι ὁμοίως προπετῶς εἶχεν τὸ σκυλακῶδες — τὸ προσπίπτειν ὁμοίως πᾶσιν*, *and he no longer, in the same forward way as before, practised the manner of young dogs, — to fawn upon all indiscriminately.* 59

2. *ταῦτα ἐξήρχει,*] See above, at p. 46. n. 1.

3. *Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀπεδιδράσκεν,*] *And as, in consequence of being baffled, he did not decline performing the exercises wherein he was worsted, but constantly persisted in attempting again to perform them better.*

4. *τί σε δεῖ θηρία ζητοῦντα πράγματα ἔχειν;*] *What need is there of your taking the trouble to seek out animals for me to hunt?*

5. *προσῄει.*] The real imperfect of *πρόσειμι.* See Buttmann, p. 236. Compare line 20 of this page.

6. *παρίει*] 3 sing. imperf. ind. of *παριέω*, the same as *παρίημι*, *allow to pass, admit.*

1. *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις κατακρημνισθῆναι.*] supply *σύν*, and translate, *together with their horses had fallen down precipices.* 60

2. *καὶ μικροῦ κἀκεῖνον ἐξετραχήλισεν·*] understand *ἔδει.* See Schneider's Index. The translation is: *and almost threw him.* Some lexicographers suppose a reference is made to the danger of breaking one's neck in being thrown, but incorrectly. See Lex. Xen.

3. *οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'*] *nevertheless*; that is, more fully, *Cyrus was not thrown, however, but —.* See Buttmann, p. 433.

4. *ὁ ἵππος ἐξανέστη.*] *recovered himself.* See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

5. *καλόν τι χρῆμα*] See above, at p. 7. n. 9.

6. *ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτόν,*] *λοιδορεῖν*, in the active, signifies *to reproach*; *λοιδορεῖσθαι*, *to reproach mutually.* The former governs the accusative, the latter the dative. Instances, however, are not wanting, in which the middle has the same force as the active, so far as we can see, though it still takes after it the dative. See below, line 32.

7. *κατερεῖν αὐτοῦ*] that is, *ἐρεῖν κατ' αὐτοῦ*, *that they would speak against him; that they would complain of him.*

8. *εἱστήκει,*] *stood.* *ἕστηκε*, *he stands.*

9. *ἠνιᾶτο.*] from *ἀνιάω*, *vex*; middle, *ἀνιάομαι*, *am grieved.*

10. *προσφερόμενον,*] *rushing against him*; *φέρομαι*, middle, signifying, *bear one's self*, or *rush.*

11. *διατεινάμενος —*] *and having hurled the javelin with a skilful aim.*

12. *ὁ θεῖος αὐτῷ ἐλοιδορεῖτο,*] See above, n. 6. The only ground for a distinction here between the active and the middle is the supposition that Cyrus might have answered Cyaxares. See below, lines 1 and 4 of p. 61.

1. *θηράσειεν*] for *θηράσαι.* See above, at p. 27. n. 11. 61

2. *Ὦ παῖδες, ὡς ἄρα ἐφλυαροῦμεν,*] *O boys, how we have been trifling, then!* The particle *ἄρα* commonly introduces a deduction

from some preceding statement. With this use of the **imperfect** compare that of Demosthenes throughout; **also Luke's Gospel,** Ch. II. 48.

3. *οὐδὲ ἁμαρτεῖν οἷόν τε ἦν*] See above, at p. 5. n. 6.

62 1. *Τίς γάρ*—] The *γάρ* refers not to what precedes, but to something suppressed. ***Do you make mention; for who*** —. See the Iliad I. 123, 152; V. 22. See S. Clarke.

2. *οἷός τ' εἰμί,*] See above, at p. 5. n. 6.

3. *Ἢν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδιδῶ,*] Construe: ***and if I go on at this rate,*** *δέδοικα*, *I am afraid*. See above, at p. 27. n. 4.

4. *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν,*] *in our behalf.*

5. *τὸ ἐπὶ σοὶ*] See above, at p. 56, n. 1; below, at p. 85. n. 9.

6. *διαπράξειεν*] See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

7. *Ὥρα οὖν,* —] The order is: ***εἴη οὖν ὥρα σοι — παρασκευάζεσθαι*** *ὅτῳ*, [that is, *ἐν ᾧτινι τρόπῳ*] *μαστιγώσεις με*. The translation: ***it must be time, then, for you to be preparing some way of chastising me,*** or *thinking how you will chastise me.*

63 1. *τοῦ μὲν καταγελῶντα — τὸν δέ τινα καὶ ἐπαινοῦντα* —] ***laughing at one — and praising another.***

2. *οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν φθονερῶς*] *without the least appearance of envy.* The particle *οὖν* is suffixed to compound pronouns and their derivatives in the sense of the Latin *cunque; οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν* would then be literally, *not any, how little soever.* See Fisk, p. 58. Obs. 4.

3. *ἀπῄει.*] See above, at p. 59. n. 5.

4. *ὁπότε οἷόν τε εἴη,*] See above, at p. 5. n. 6.

5. *συνεξῄει τῷ Κύρῳ,*] for *ἐξῄει σὺν τῷ Κύρῳ.* See above, at p. 59. n. 5.

6. *τὰ — ἐπιχώρια*] supply *ἐπιτηδεύματα*, and translate, — ***customs of the country.*** *ἀποτελοίη, that he might comply with,* Attic for *ἀποτελέοι.*

64 1. *εἴ τῳ* —] *τῳ* for *τινι.*

2. *ὡς ἡδυπαθεῖν μεμαθηκὼς ἐν Μήδοις ἥκοι.*] ***as if he came having learned how to live delicately among the Medes.***

3. *μᾶλλον — ἢ προσδεόμενον·*] ***rather than desiring any addition to it.*** Notice the power of the preposition *πρός*, in composition. About *τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μέρους*, see above, at p. 53. n. 3.

4. *ἐδόκει*] See above, at p. 46. n. 1.

65 1. *ᾧ καὶ τήν* —] See above, at p. 64. line 9.

2. *τήν τε γυναῖκα*] *the woman,* of whom mention had been made before.

3. *οὐκ ἔτυχεν — ὤν,*] See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

4. *ἐφαίνετο διαφέρουσα* —] ***she plainly surpassed.*** See above, at p. 46. n. 1.

5. *ἀναστῆναι — συνανέστησαν*] See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

6. *τῇ ῥώμῃ,*] These two words should be stricken out. They are not found in the best manuscripts or editions.

7. *ἑστηκυῖα.*] See above, at p. 60. n. 8.

8. *Δῆλα δ' ἦν* —] ***and her tears were evidently trickling down.*** See above, at p. 46. n. 1; p. 58. n. 2.

66 1. *εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι* —] Some understand after *ὅτι*, ***τοῦτ' ἀληθές ἐστιν.*** Others understand ***ἐξαιροῦμεν,*** or else construe the *ὅτι* with the preceding clause; which last, however, the punctuation of our text would not allow. The best translation seems to be: ***now,***

however, we have delivered you from [the soldiers] *for a man, who, be assured,* —. The government of *τὸ εἶδος, τὴν γνώμην, κ. τ. λ.*, is referred to *κατὰ* understood.

2. *οὗ σὺ ἔσῃ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε·*] *whose you shall be henceforth.* *τοῦ χρόνου* is understood after *τοῦδε.* The particle *οὖν* in the next sentence connects itself directly with the fact here stated.

3. *περικατεῤῥήξατο — τὸν ἄνωθεν πέπλον,*] *she tore her upper garments quite in pieces all round her.* It is worth while to notice here the power of the middle, and the force of the two prepositions in composition.

4. *φῦναι, μηδὲ γενέσθαι*] The first of these infinitives may refer to *birth* in Asia; the second to *being* there, that is, to coming into Asia from some other country. This distinction, however, is not universally received, since *γενέσθαι* seems connected with *ἀπὸ θνητῶν.* See Lex. Xen.

5. *σοῦ ἀκούσας*] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII. 9.—l. 20. *καθοίμην* is to be noticed as an optative found only in Attic writers, about which see Buttmann, § 108. It is from *κάθημαι.*

6. *Οἴει γὰρ,* —] On the use of *γὰρ* here see at p. 62. n. 1. The sentence may be filled out thus: Why do you talk so? *For do you think —?* Toup translates thus, *What, then, do you think —?*

7. *πράττειν παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον;*] *to act* [*beside*] CONTRARY TO *what is best;* such being frequently the force of *παρά* with the accusative.

8. *οὕτως ἐπεφύκει,*] *were so by nature.*

9. *τῶν μὲν ἐρῶσι, τῶν δ' οὔ·*] understand *ἄνθρωποι.* Men *love some of the beautiful, and others they do not love.* This verb has with the genitive the idea of desire. *καὶ ἄλλος γε ἄλλου,* supply *ἐρᾷ,* — and translate, *and one loves one person, and another another person.*

10. *Αὐτίκα δὲ οὐκ ἐρᾷ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῆς.*] *Αὐτίκα δέ, and to take the first instance that offers.* Or, perhaps, merely, *for example.* Isaac Casaubon has the merit of being the first among the moderns to assign the true meaning to this word.

11. *φόβος καὶ νόμος*] Equivalent to *φόβος τοῦ νόμου, fear of the laws.* See above, at p. 15. n. 7.

1. *γοῦν*] *γε* is a particle of limitation; *οὖν* is illative; both have 67
their force in this compound. It is adapted to the suggestion, rather than the assertion, of a consequence. See below, at p. 225. n. 2. — *καθ' αὑτόν, his own,* or *things which suit him.*

2. *εἰ ἐθελούσιόν ἐστι τὸ ἐρασθῆναι,*] *if falling in love is a voluntary* [act]. Notice, that the 1 aor. pass. of *ἐράω, love,* has an active or middle signification. See Lex. Xen.

3. *ὥσπερ καὶ τινος ἄλλης νόσου ἀπαλλαγῆναι,*] *to be cured* [of love], *just as of any other disease.*

4. *πολλὰ καὶ εἰκῇ ὑπηρετοῦντας;*] *performing many unnecessary services;* literally, *serving much and to no purpose.*

5. *Ποιοῦσι γάρ.*] *Yes, they do so.* See above, at p. 66. n. 6; p. 62. n. 1. See also Buttmann, p. 428.

6. *μυρίων δ' οὐσῶν μηχανῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου,*] *and when there are ten thousand ways of departure from life.*

7. *ἀναγκαῖον τὸ κλέπτειν,*] After *ἀναγκαῖον* understand *ὄν,* which has been supposed to have been omitted by some careless transcriber, from its resemblance to the preceding syllable.

8. ἔρωτα αἰτιῶνται.] When a neuter plural denotes animated beings, writers prefer to put the verb in the plural. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 129. n. 1. Perhaps, then, we ought to read ἀκρατῆ εἰσι instead of ἀκρατῆ ἐστι.

9. ὥστε μὴ ἅπτεσθαι αὐτῶν,] See above, at p. 39. n. 8.

68 1. ἴσως γὰρ θᾶττον ἀπῆλθες,—] The construction is: *Perhaps you* ALWAYS *go away sooner*, [see at p. 19. n. 6,] ἢ ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ ὁ ἔρως πέφυκε συσκευάζεσθαι ἄνθρωπον, that is, ἢ ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ ἐν ὅσῳ, κ. τ. λ., *than within the time in which Love naturally ensnares a man*. συσκευάζομαι signifies originally, *pack up for a journey;* secondary meanings are, *equip myself, form plots against, take unawares, ensnare*, &c. About πέφυκα, see above, p. 66. n. 8.

2. Καὶ πυρὸς γάρ τοι ἐστὶ θίγοντα—] *For, indeed, it is possible that one who touches fire,* —

3. ἑκὼν εἶναι ἅπτομαι,] This infinitive is redundant. See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXIX., Obs. 6. See above, at p. 39. n. 8.

4. ἐπιμελοῦ αὐτῆς·] that is, τῆς καλῆς γυναικός.

5. Βουλόμενος δὲ—αὐτῷ—] Here is a transition from the nominative. The author probably did not notice in writing the conclusion of the sentence the construction of the beginning; or perhaps, after writing the sentence, inserted a new construction in the first part, without altering the last. Again, it is not impossible that the construction is a good one, as such anacolutha occur in the best writers. See above, at p. 4. n. 7.

69 1. ὀκνοῦσα συμβαλεῖν φίλους ἄνδρας.] *fearful of creating a quarrel between friends.*

2. ὑπηρετήσειν τῷ τυχεῖν, ἃ ἐβούλετο,] *would favor the attainment of what he wished.*

3. τὸν εὐνοῦχον] τὸν not for τινά, but having the force of the possessive pronoun, *her;* that is, the eunuch who took care of and served her. See Lex. Xen.

4. ἀνθρώπους τε οἶδα,—οἷα πεπόνθασιν] equivalent to τε οἶδα οἷα ἄνθρωποι πεπόνθασι.

5. καὶ αὐτὸς—] *and I knew that I could not hold out in my indifference to beautiful persons, if I were with them.*

70 1. ἐκποδὼν ἔχειν ἐμαυτὸν,] *to keep myself out of the way; to abscond.*

2. ὡς ἠδικηκότος ἐμοῦ μεγάλα.] *since I have done very wrong.*

3. οἷός τ' εἶ—] See above, at p. 62. n. 2.

4. Εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο,—] *O that there were some way, in which I might again be useful to you in good time.* For εἰ γάρ, see Buttmann, p. 423.

5. καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων οἶδα ὅτι, ὡς σὲ πεφευγώς, λόγον ἂν παρέχοιμι.] The order is: καὶ οἶδα, ὅτι ἂν παρέχοιμι λόγον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, ὡς πεφευγὼς σέ, *and I perceive that I should give my friends reason to say that I had deserted you.* Zeune traces the confusion of this arrangement to the agitation of the speaker.

6. Ὡς πορεύσομαι] Schneider reads πορευσομένου, on the authority of a Parisian MS., which seems the preferable text. Then ἴσθι may be considered the main verb of this clause. See Schneider's note and parallel passages. If the reading of the text is retained, understand νόμιζε, taking ὡς for ὅτι.

7. τὸ δοκεῖν με,—ἐκπεφευγέναι.] Construe, *my seeming to have made my escape,* μελλήσοντα παθεῖν τι ὑπὸ σοῦ, *when on the eve of suffering something at your hands,—of being punished by you.*

8. *Δύο γὰρ, ἔφη,—*] *γὰρ*, as frequently before, refers to some suppressed idea. *I shall be able, for* —. See at p. 66. n. 6, and p. 68. n. 1.

1. *ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ σοῦ λεγόμενα ἐμποδὼν μάλιστ' ἂν εἴη, ὧν βούλονται πράττειν.*] *so that what you say may obstruct, as far as possible, what they wish to do.* 71

2. *ἐμβαλεῖν που τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας·*] *ἐμβαλεῖν* is here neuter: translate it, *make an incursion.* See at p. 39. n. 4. *χώρας* is governed by *που*. See Fisk's Syntax, R. XLIV.

3. *ὁτιπλεῖστον χρόνον·*] *as long as possible.* See below, at p. 86. n. 3, and n. 5.

4. *μετατάσσεσθαι γὰρ ὀκνήσουσι·*] *for they will be unwilling to make a change in their arrangement.*

5. *ἐξ ὑπογύου ταράξονται.*] *they will immediately get into confusion.*

6. *καὶ δύναμιν—*] The order is: *καὶ οἶδα ὅτι παρίσται σοι ἔχων* [*τοσαύτην*] *δύναμιν, ὁπόσην ἂν δύνηται* [*ἔχειν.*]

1. *ὅμοια ἐκείνῳ·*] Briefly said for *ὅμοια τοῖς* [*ἅρμασιν ἐκείνου.*] 72
See Schneider.

2. *Συνεζεύξατο δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἅρμα τετράρρυμόν—*] *and he yoked his own carriage with four poles.* There is much controversy about the meaning of this adjective, of which Schneider gives a concise view in his note on the passage: those interested are referred to his edition. *ῥυμὸς* is the *pole* or *draught-beam* of a chariot.

1. *ἐθελούσιος ὑφίσταμαι τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀντίας φάλαγγος* 73
τάξιν ἔχειν,] *I willingly promise to take my position in face of the opposing phalanx.*

2. *καὶ ἔλαχεν Ἀβραδάτης, ἧπερ ὑφίστατο,*] *and Abradatas obtained by lot the acceptance of his offer.* Before *ἧπερ* supply *τῇ ὁδῷ*.

3. *σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος,*] *having made libations.* See above, at p. 60. n. 6, and n. 12, on the use of the middle.

4. *ἐξωπλίζετο—*] *was arming itself.* *ὥπλιζον—ἵππους, armed horses.*

5. *καὶ τοὺς μὲν μονίππους παραμηριδίοις.*] *and the single horses with cuishes, and the chariot horses with side-pieces.* For *ἤστραπτε* the old reading was *ἤστραπτο*. The passive voice is not in use.

Line 22. *χρυσοῦν, καὶ κράνος,*] commonly *χρυσοῦν κράνος*. Schneider, on Buttmann's suggestion, wrote *χρυσοῦν θώρακα καὶ κράνος*. Schaefer preferred *χρυσοῦν, καὶ χρυσοῦν κράνος*, understanding *θώρακα*. Our reading is an attempt to combine these two, *χρυσοῦν, καὶ κράνος·* that is, *χρυσοῦν* [*θώρακα,*] *καὶ* [*χρυσοῦν*] *κράνος*. See p. 72. l. 26, and what follows.

6. *ποδήρη, στολιδωτὸν τὰ κάτω,*] translate, *that reached down to his feet, and hung in folds at the bottom;* or, *was puckered at the bottom.*

7. *Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποιήσατο,*] *And she had caused these things to be made.* *ἐκμετρησαμένη τὰ ἐκείνου ὅπλα, having procured the measure of his armour.*

Line 29. *οὐκ οὖν*] *οὔκουν* is inserted by Zeune, Weiske, and Schneider, on the authority of several manuscripts.

1. *Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν,*] *ὅτι* is an expletive, or perhaps a mark of 74
quotation, and not to be translated. See Buttmann, p. 423.

2. *σοι πιθανώτερα παρεσχῆσθαι*] *have performed things more adapted to give you faith in me.*

3. *ἐπομνύω σοι τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλίαν,*] The order is: *ἦ μὴν ἐγὼ ἐπομνύω σοι τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ σὴν φιλίαν, βούλεσθαι ἂν ἐπιέσασθαι γῆν*

κοινῇ μετὰ σοῦ γενομένου ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς, μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν αἰσχυνομένη μετ' αἰσχυνομένου. The translation: *Verily I swear to thee, by my friendship and thy own, that I would choose to shroud myself in the Earth, in common with thee, if thou wert a brave and worthy man, rather than live, myself dishonored, along with thee in dishonor.* *ἐπιέσασθαι*, 1 aor. inf. mid. from *ἐπιέω*, the same as *ἐπιέννυμι*, or *ἐφέννυμι*, *put on*. A poetic use of language, whereby Panthea speaks of *putting on the earth* in which she would be buried.

4. *Πρὸς δὲ*] supply *τούτοις*, *besides*. *ἀπέστη αὐτοῦ*, that is, *ἔστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, *deserted*.

75 1. *κατεφίλησε τὸν δίφρον.*] *she earnestly kissed the diphros*, the part of the chariot where the driver and combatant sat.

2. *τῇ σκηνῇ.*] Some copies read *τὴν σκηνήν*, a correction of the MSS., which, though sanctioned by high authority, is needless. We are to understand by *σκηνῇ* *a part of the chariot concealed by a curtain*; some prefer *the curtain* itself.

3. *ἐπαίσατο ἄρα τὸν μηρὸν,*] *smote his thigh*; an action expressing grief. The *ἄρα* seems redundant. See Lex. Xen.

76 1. *ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος.*] that is, *ἤλαυνεν* [*ἐφ' ἵππου*] *ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος*. In English: *he rode to the scene,—to the fatal spot.* See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

2. *ὅποι ἂν αὐτὸν πυνθάνηται ὄντα,*] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII. See below, at p. 117. n. 7.

3. *τἄλλα*] that is, *μέρη τοῦ σώματος*.

4. *ἐγὼ δ' ἡ παρακελευομένη ζῶσα παρακάθημαι.*] *and I, who advised him, am sitting here beside him alive.*

5. *ἐπισφαγήσεται αὐτῷ,*] *shall be slain at his sepulchre.*

77 1. *κατοικτείρων τήν τε γυναῖκα, οἵου ἀνδρὸς στέροιτο,*] Fill out and translate, as follows: *ἕνεκα τοιούτου ἀνδρὸς, οἵου ἀνδρὸς στέροιτο*, *pitying the lady, on account of her being deprived of such a husband*, *καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἕνεκα τοιαύτης γυναικὸς, οἵαν γυναῖκα καταλιπὼν οὐκέτ' ὄψοιτο*, *and the husband, on account of such a wife as he had left behind, and would never see any more.* See below, at p. 86. n. 4.

2. *ἀποστῆναι·*] *to retire.* See above, at p. 71. n. 2.

3. *παρεσκευασμένη,*] *having provided for herself*,—perf. pass. part. to be taken in a middle sense.

4. *σπασάμενοι—ἀποσφάττονται,*] Notice here the force of the middle.

5. *Καὶ νῦν τὸ μνῆμα μέχρι* [*τοῦ νῦν*] *τῶν εὐνούχων κεχῶσθαι λέγεται·*] All the commentators agree in thinking the text here corrupted. Some editions omit *τοῦ νῦν*. Zeune omits also *μέχρι*. Still there remains a great difficulty. The author, says Schneider, after speaking of the mound raised in honor of Abradates and Panthea, suddenly digresses into giving an account of the tomb of the eunuchs, current in his day. One cannot, however, help thinking that many words have been wasted upon this passage in vain, when he considers the custom, which was not peculiar to the Eastern nations, of heaping great mounds over the bodies of the dead; and that these mounds were continually increasing in bulk from the devotion of passers-by. Retaining the text entire, it may be best to translate, *And now the mound* [that is, the one over Abradates and Panthea] *is said to have become extended as far as the present extent of* THAT [or *the mound*] *over the eunuchs*; implying

that, though originally the two mounds were at a considerable distance from each other, both had received such accumulations, that there was no intervening space between their bases in the days of Xenophon. Schneider, following Weiske, inverts the arrangement of the last two sentences.

6. ΣΚΗΠΤΟΥΧΩΝ.] Leunclavius remarks, that the eunuchs of the Ottoman court carry sceptres to this day.

7. καὶ τούτων μὲν, ᾗ εἰκὸς, ἐπεμελήθη,] that is, ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐν ᾗ εἰκὸς ἦν, κ. τ. λ., *and he attended to them in the way in which it was proper that he should.*

1. τὸ ἕβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς.] *the seventh time during his reign.* 78

2. καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ ἡγήσατο Πέρσαις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια,] supply ἤδη. *And led the dance of the Persians, according to the custom of the country.*

1. οἱ δ' ἔτυχον συνηκολουθηκότες αὐτῷ,] *and they by chance had accompanied him.* See above, at p. 7. n. 5. 79

2. Σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ τε προϊόντι ἀεὶ —] *And with the advance of time I seemed to perceive my strength always increasing. So that I have never felt my old age to be weaker than my youth. Nor do I know, that I have attempted or desired any thing, which I have failed of attaining.* "Libidinosa etenim et intemperans adolescentia effœtum corpus tradit senectuti. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam, quam adolescentia fuisset." Cicero, de Senect. 9.

3. ἰδιωτεύουσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ.] *being before but an obscure state in Asia.*

4. οὐδ' εὐφραίνεσθαι ἐκπεπταμένως.] *nor to be extravagantly delighted.* ἐκπεπταμένως is an adverb derived from the perf. pass. of ἐκπετάννυμι. See Buttmann, § 83. n. 1. See the Memorabilia, II. i. 22, extracted at p. 214, and note. Also the Iliad, Book XII. 122.

5. ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ, —] *And since this is the case, how can it be, but that I must with good reason be accounted a happy man, and live in the memory of mankind for ever?*

1. σαφηνίσαντα καταλιπεῖν·] *to make an explicit settlement —* 80

2. καὶ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων καὶ λόγων ὑπείκειν·] This verb governs the genitive. Ashley translates, *give place both in walking, sitting, and speaking.*

3. ὡς οὖν παλαιά —] Compare the Memorabilia, I. iii. 2. where ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας, is equivalent to νομίζων τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδέναι. The resolution and construction of this sentence seems to be: ἀποδέχεσθε οὖν [ταῦτα] οὕτως, ὡς [ἀποδέχοισθε] ἐμοῦ λέγοντος παλαιά, κ. τ. λ. *Wherefore listen ye to these things, as* [you would do], *if I spoke only what was agreeable to ancient times, to established custom, and to the laws.* So at the beginning of this speech, ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ, κ. τ. λ., *and it is your duty, when I am dead, to proceed on the belief that I am happy, in all that you say or do;* literally, *to say and do all things, as* [you would do], *if I were certainly happy.* See below, at p. 94. n. 5; and at p. 208. n. 5.

4. Τὸ δὲ δυσκατaπρακτοτέρων ἐρᾶν, —] *But to be enamoured of things that are difficult to obtain, and to be solicitous about a multitude of objects, and not to be able to enjoy tranquillity, (being stimu-*

lated by an emulation of my exploits,) and the forming of designs, and the having designs formed against one's self, — these should necessarily accompany the reigning Prince rather than thee.

5. *Οἶσθα μὲν οὖν καὶ σύ, ὦ Καμβύση,*] Compare Sallust's Jugurthine War, ch. 10.

81 1. *μηδαμόθεν πρότερον ἄρχου,—*] *begin nowhere sooner than with him who was born of the same parents.*

2. *Μόνου τοι, — ἐφικνεῖται.*] The idea is: *whatever other person you give the first place to will be envied; but if you give it to your brother, no one will envy him.* This verb governs the genitive.

82 1. *Τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄδικα παθόντων—*] *Have you never noticed what fears the ghosts of those who have been unjustly slain strike into the hearts of their murderers? And what avengers of crimes they send to the guilty?*

83 1. *τὸ ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι ἀποβαλεῖτε.*] *you will forfeit your credit. τὸ εἶναι ἀξιόπιστος, the being worthy of credit.*

2. *Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ — εἰ δὲ μή,—*] supply with the apodosis *καλῶς ἔχει*, which is omitted by an elegant ellipsis. Compare Samuel Clarke on the Iliad, Book I. 135 - 137.

3. *ἀδελφοῖς·*] Zeune received *ἀδελφοὶ* into the text, and is followed by Weiske and Schneider. Dr. Popkin proposes *φίλοι δὲ ἀδελφοὶ* alone, omitting *ἀδελφοῖς*.

4. *ἄν μοι δοκῶ κοινωνῆσαι—*] Construe *ἂν* with *κοινωνῆσαι*, not with *δοκῶ*. See below, at p. 108. n. 5.

5. *Ἀλλὰ γὰρ*] *But I can say no more; for —*

6. *ὅθενπερ,*] that is, *from those parts of the body from which —;* such as, *feet and hands.*

7. *ὡς ἔοικε,*] *as is natural.*

84 1. *ὁπόσα ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ εὐδαίμονι νομίζεται,*] *in whatever ways are customary at the funeral of a distinguished man.* Reference is made to feasting, presents, &c.

2. *μέμνησθέ μου —*] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII.

3. *ἀπαγγέλλετε ὡς παρ' ἐμοῦ·*] understand *χαίρειν*, — *and bid a farewell to your mother as from me.*

85 1. *ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ Α'.*] *ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ* is the title of the work in which Xenophon gives an account of the Expedition of the Younger Cyrus, and of the Retreat of the Grecian Auxiliaries. The history of the last, after their return and junction with the troops of Agesilaus, is lost in the general history of Greece, which is given by our author in the Hellenics. Cyrus, who must not for a moment be confounded with his namesake of the Cyropædia, was the son of Darius and Parysatis; his ambition, treachery, and just punishment, make the subject of the former part of the Anabasis. The sagacity and courage of the Greeks in the heart of a hostile country, and surrounded by enemies, give to the latter part all the interest of fiction. This work shows Xenophon in the character of a skilful general, as well as of an accomplished writer. The Darius mentioned in the text was the second king of Persia of that name, and was called Nothus or Ochus, being an illegitimate son of Artaxerxes. Parysatis was his wife and sister, and the mother of Arsaces and Cyrus. The first changed his name to Artaxerxes on his accession to the throne. He was surnamed Mnemon, on account of his remark-

able memory, by way of distinction from the other Persian kings of the same name. Tissaphernes should here be mentioned as the same person who was commander of the forces of Artaxerxes in the battle of Cunaxa, and the husband of his daughter. After his defeat by Agesilaus, Artaxerxes ordered that he should be beheaded. The word *Ἀνάβασις* is formed from *ἀνά, up*, and *βαίνω, go.* This compound was used to express the idea of *a journey from the sea-coast to inland places*, as from Asia Minor to Susæ. The idea of *going up* is also naturally associated with that of visiting a capital city, and is by many thought to have first sanctioned its popular use.

2. *γίγνονται παῖδες δύο·*] The present is frequently thus used by historians of many nations beside the Greeks in the narration of past events, in order to communicate a certain liveliness to the style, otherwise unattainable. See below, *Τισσαφέρνης διαβάλλει τὸν Κῦρον, Tissaphernes accuses Cyrus:* further down, *ἀποπέμπει πάλιν, sends him away again*, and elsewhere very frequently. See Longinus on the Sublime, § XXV., at p. 313 of this volume. See also Buttmann's Syntax, § 137, n. 7.

Line 3. *ὑπώπτευε*] *feared.* See Lex. Xen.

3. *παρὼν ἐτύγχανε·*] *happened to be present.* See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

4. *Κῦρον δὲ μετεπέμπετο*] *sent for*, if we retain the present reading; which Porson rejects, and reads, on good authority, *μεταπέμπεται, sends for.* Compare p. 87. l. 29, where *παραγγέλλει* seems better than *παρήγγειλε*, and is sanctioned by some MSS.

5. *σατράπην ἐποίησε·*] *Σατράπαι, Ἀρχηγοὶ, Στρατηλάται, Περσικὴ δὲ ἡ λέξις.* HESYCHIUS. — *αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε, appointed him.*

6. *ὁπλίτας*] *heavy-armed soldiers.* *τὸ ὁπλιτικὸν ἔχει θώρακας, καὶ ἀσπίδας παραμήκεις, καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ δόρατα, ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ σαρίσσας, ὡς Μακέδονες.* ARRIAN, p. 10. 8vo.

Line 10. *Παῤῥάσιον.*] The Parrhasii were an Arcadian people, apparently on the Laconian frontier; but the extent and position of their territory is not precisely determined. CRAMER.

7. *κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης,*] *had established himself in the kingdom*, or *secured himself on the throne.* See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

8. *ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν,*] *having begged him off for herself;* if we give the exact force of the middle voice, and of the preposition *ἐξ.*

9. *βουλεύεται, ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ,*] *deliberates how he may never in future be dependent upon*, or *in the power of, his brother.* See above, n. 2. See also, at p. 56. n. 1, and at p. 222. n. 3.

10. *ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ,*] *favored Cyrus; stood by him*, or *took his side.* Her whole conduct shows that Cyrus was her favorite son.

1. *εἴησαν,*—] 3 pl. opt. of *εἰμὶ, am.* The usual Attic form is 86
εἶεν, instead of which, however, Xenophon commonly uses *εἴησαν.* Our author often uses words which the grammarians call *κοινά*, in preference to their Attic equivalents. PORSON. — *καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ, and were favorably disposed towards him.* See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

2. *ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος,*] *as privately as possible.*

3. *ὅτι ἀπαρασκευαστότατον*] *as unprepared as possible.* Ὅτι, like *ὡς*, strengthens the superlative, chiefly with adverbs. And with

some adverbs it also strengthens the positive. See Buttmann, § 149. See below, at n. 5.

4. Ὅτε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν,—] τὴν συλλογὴν [τοσούτων φυλάκων,] ὁπόσους φύλακας εἶχε,— *Whilst, therefore, he was mustering as many garrison-soldiers as he had.* See Buttmann's Syntax, § 143. 4.

5. ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους,] See above, at n. 3 of this page.

6. ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι.] *as if Tissaphernes had a design upon those cities.* For the construction of ὡς with the genitive absolute, in order to express a reason, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXIII., Obs. 4.

7. Τισσαφέρνους] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XVII. — τὸ ἀρχαῖον, *formerly.*

8. ἀπέστησαν] *revolted.* See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

9. κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας.] Κατάγειν, is, says Suidas, τὸ τοὺς πεφευγότας εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας ἀποκαθιστᾷν. ἐκπεπτωκότας, *the exiles,* is from ἐκπίπτω, *fall out, am banished:* translate the three words then, *restore the exiles.*

10. ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων.] See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

11. τόνδε τὸν τρόπον.] supply κατὰ, and translate, *in the following manner.* τῇ καταντιπέρας,—τῇ is a correction by Wyttenbach, for τῆς.

12. μυρίους δαρεικούς.] The *daric* was a Persian coin, so called from a sovereign named Darius. Whether this was the son of Hystaspes or of some earlier prince of the name is a subject of dispute. The Scholiast upon Aristophanes, Harpocration, and Suidas affirm, that the latter reference is the true one; and they are followed by Prideaux, Hutchinson, and others, who think the Darius mentioned in Daniel, v. 31, is the same with the Cyaxares of Xenophon. But Wesseling approves the former reference. The authorities cited above furnish data for fixing the value of the daric at about $ 3·33. See below, at p. 110. n. 2.

87 1. Τοῦτο δ᾽ αὖ οὕτω τρεφόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα.] *And thus this army was secretly supported for him.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII., Obs. 2.

2. ὡς οὕτω περιγενόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν.] *As if he should thus prevail over the opposite faction.* Other editions read περιγενησομένος. Hutchinson disapproves the future form, attributing to the particle ἂν the potential sense conveyed in the clause. Notice, that περὶ, in composition, denotes excellence and governs a genitive.

3. μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι —] *not to come to a final accommodation with the insurgents, until he should first consult with him.*

4. ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον] See above, at n. 1.

5. πορεύεσθαι ἄνω,] *to go from the coasts and lower parts of Asia up into the interior.* See above, at p. 85. n. 1.

6. συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι,] literally, *having made peace with those at home;* that is, *having put an end to all differences between himself and those of the Thessalians who were disaffected.*

7. ξενικοῦ,] that is, μισθοφορικοῦ στρατεύματος. The adjectives πεζικὸν, ἱππικὸν, ναυτικὸν, Ἑλληνικὸν, Περσικὸν, κ. τ. λ., occur frequently without a substantive; στράτευμα, or πλῆθος, is to be understood.

88 1. καταπράξειεν, ἐφ᾽ ἃ ἐστρατεύετο,] Before ἐφ᾽ ἃ understand τὰ πράγματα. καταπράξειεν, Attic for καταπράξαι. Translate, *he should*

accomplish the purposes for which he was undertaking the expedition.

2. τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον —] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XIV., Obs. 3.

3. ὡς βασιλέα,] equivalent to πρός βασιλέα.

4. ᾗ] that is, ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐν ᾗ —

5. ἐξελαύνει] *marches:* ἐλαύνω is sometimes a neuter verb. Compare above, at p. 3. n. 7.

6. σταθμοὺς] Σταθμὸς, of which word frequent use is made in the Anabasis, is defined by Hesychius and Suidas, as στρατιωτικὴ κατάλυσις. The term is derived from ἵστημι, στάω, *stand.* The original meaning seems to have been *halting-place.* The secondary one, *the interval between two halting-places,* or *day's journey.* The length of the stathmus cannot be exactly defined, as it varied according to the character of the country passed through. It averaged about five parasangs.

7. παρασάγγας] Parasang is a word of Persian origin (*Farsang*); it was equal to thirty stadia. Hesychius, Suidas, and Herodotus, are the authorities. The length of the stadium was about an English furlong. The three days' march was therefore 82 miles.

8. πλέθρα·] The πλέθρον was a hundred feet; it is sometimes mistranslated *acre;* because the Romans translated it by *juger,* in the want of a more accurate word.

9. Κολοσσὰς,] The common reading is Κολοσσέας. Wesseling and Porson sanction the reading in the text. Compare Herodotus, VII. 30; and Bloomfield's note on Colossians, I. 1.

10. πελταστὰς] *targeteers.*

1. ἐμβάλλει] *empties.* Compare above, at p. 3. n. 7. Porson thinks 89
the following passages from Claudian worth transcribing here:

"Icarium pelagus Mycalæaque littora juncti
Marsya Mæanderque petunt; sed Marsya velox,
Dum suus est, flexuque carens, jam flumine mistus
Mollitur, Mæandre, tuo."

A little before he had said:

"Hic et Apollinea victus testudine pastor
Suspensa memores illustrat pelle Celænas."

2. τὰ Λύκαια] supply θύματα, *the Lupercalian sacrifice.*

3. στλεγγίδες] *flesh-brushes;* in common use among the ancients, in their baths.

4. Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν,] Spelman translates: *the market of the Ceramians.* Toup says, *the Potters' market.* Dalzel refers to *Market Harborough,* in Leicestershire, as having a name in some respects similar. But the Lex. Xen. decides in favor of Hutchinson, whose translation accords with Spelman's. See also Bornemann.

1. Ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε·] *he continued always giving them* 90
hopes: amusing them with hopes.

2. οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου,] *for it was not Cyrus's turn,* — or *Cyrus's way* —

3. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας,—] The order is: ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ταχθῆναι οὕτω, ὡς νόμος [ἦν] αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην. The translation: *and commanded the Greeks to arrange themselves as they usually did for battle.* ταχθῆναι, is here used in a middle sense. See above, at p. 7. n. 10. For στῆναι, see above, at p. 3. n. 7.

4. ἐπὶ τεττάρων·] *four deep.*

5. ἐφ' ἁρμαμάξης.] The ἁρμάμαξα was *a covered chariot*, used for conveying women and children on journeys. The word means literally *chariot-wagon*. It is composed of ἅρμα, *a chariot*, [Th. ἄρω] and ἅμαξα, *a wagon* [Ths. ἅμα, ἄγω.]

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε,] that is, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤλασε παρὰ πάντας, *when he had passed by all*. See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

91 1. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου,] supply τοῦ χρόνου, *afterwards*: θᾶττον, *more swiftly*.

2. ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις] *the soldiers ran of their own accord*, that is, *without command*.

3. οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς,] *the sutlers*.

4. φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον,] some interpret *a purple-dyer to the king*. Others, *a servant dressed in purple*, or rather, *light red*; which color was worn by the servants of the king. The latter translation is best. Hesychius does not define the word. Larcher calls it *standard-bearer*.

5. ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην,] *one of the satraps, who was the highest in authority*.

6. ἐσβάλλειν] *to enter*. See above, at p. 39. n. 4.

92 1. ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο τό τε Μένωνος στράτευμα, ὅτι —] Notice here the construction with ὅτι. The word στράτευμα is in the accusative, depending upon ᾔσθετο· see Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII., 9. Obs. 2. A pronoun referring to στράτευμα is the subject of ἦν. The succeeding clause also presents some difficulty: καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμὼν ἔχοντα, τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. That is, καὶ ἤκουε τριήρεις Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου, ὅτι περιπλέουσαι εἴησαν ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν, Ταμὼ αὐτὰς ἔχοντος. The translation is: *and had heard that triremes of the Lacedæmonians, and of Cyrus himself, were sailing round from Ionia into Cilicia, with Tamon for a leader*. For the declension of Ταμώς, see Fisk, p. 14. Compare ἔμπλεων, a little below.

2. σήσαμον καὶ μελίνην καὶ κέγχρον] *Sesame, and panic, and millet*. Sesame was a leguminous plant, whose seeds, called also sesame, were in great use as an article of food. See Theophrastus, Dioscorides, and Pliny about this plant; as also about panic and millet, which are much alike, being distinguished principally by the manner of their growth; the former growing in ears, the latter in bunches.

3. εἰς χωρίον ὀχυρὸν] understand πορεύεσθαι, and translate, *to go to a fastness* —

93 1. καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἁρπάζεσθαι·] *and his country to be no longer plundered: and to his country, security from being plundered*. The structure of this sentence has been commended by Demetrius Phalereus in his treatise Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας.

2. οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω·] *refused to go further*. The ellipsis at ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω, may be supplied as follows: ἰέναι εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ χωρίου ὄντος πρόσω.

3. ἐβιάζετο] *tried to force them* —. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 137. n. 10.

4. χαλεπῶς φέρω] This phrase corresponds to the Latin *molestè ferre*, with this difference, that φέρω not only is joined with the accusative, but also with the dative and ἐπί, or with the dative alone.

5. *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθηδυπάθησα,*] *which, when I received them, I did not lay up for my own use, but,—nor did I squander them away,—but expended them upon* YOU. The particle *ἀλλὰ* is used with reference to *ἐδαπάνων*, and is repeated after *οὐδὲ καθηδυπάθησα*, the idea contained in which, seems to have arisen in the mind of the speaker, after the use of the word for the first time.

1. *βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας τὴν γῆν.*] *when* 94
they wanted to deprive the Grecian inhabitants of their land.

2. *ὠφελοίην αὐτὸν, ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου.*] *I might do him some good, in recompense for the kindness which I had received from him.* *ὠφελοίην* is used by the Attics for *ὠφελέοιμι*, by contraction, *ὠφελοῖμι*, from *ὠφελέω*, *profit.*

3. *μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι.*] Porson says *ἰέναι* is the true reading here, though all the editions he had ever seen had *εἶναι*.

4. *Νομίζω γὰρ — σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν εἶναι τίμιος,*] For the construction of *τίμιος*, see Fisk's Syntax, R. IV. Exc. The particle *ἂν*, which Porson restored, where earlier critics had read *ἐάν*, gives the infinitive a potential sense. The whole sentence may be thus translated: *For I conceive, that you* ARE *my country and my friends and allies, and that, in your company, I shall be highly honored, wherever I am.*

5. *Ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος — οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε.*] This may be exactly translated thus: *Think of me, then, as* [you would do,] *if I were really going, wherever you shall go.* See above, at p. 80. n. 3.

6. *Κῦρος δὲ, τούτοις ἀπορῶν*] that is, *ἐν τούτοις τοῖς πράγμασι,*—*And Cyrus being at a loss in this condition of affairs*—See above, at p. 4. n. 3. *μετεπέμπετο, sent for.* See above, at p. 85. n. 4.

7. *ἔλεγε θαῤῥεῖν, ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον·*] For the construction of *ὡς* with the absolute participle, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXIII. Obs. 4. This sentence may be thus translated: *He bade him keep up his heart, as* [he would do,] *if these things were going to take a favorable turn*; which is equivalent to: *He bade him keep up his spirits*, for that *these things would come about as he wished after all.* See above, at p. 80. n. 3.

1. *τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, αἰσχυνόμενος, ὅτι σύνοιδα ἐμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος* 95
αὐτόν·] *chiefly being ashamed, because I am conscious to myself of having proved false to him in every thing.* The government of *πάντα* is referred by the old grammarians to *κατά*, understood. The author of the Lex. Xen. says, *ἐψευσμένος* governs here the accusative both of the person and of the thing. For the use of this passive form as a middle, see Buttmann, § 136. 3. See further, for the construction of *ἐψευσμένος*, Fisk's Syntax, R. IV., Exc. and R. XXXII.

2. *δίκην ἐπιθῇ. ὧν*—] that is, *ἀνθ' ὧν*, *inflict punishment for the things*—. Or *ὧν* may be governed directly by *δίκην*.

3. *οἵα εἴη ἀπορία.*] See above, at p. 4. n. 3.

4. *συσκευάζεσθαι·*] See above, at p. 68. n. 1.

1. *τὴν ταχίστην·*] that is, *κατὰ τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν.* 96

2. *μὴ φθάσωσι — καταλαβόντες·*] literally, *lest Cyrus or the Cilicians should anticipate them in occupying*, or *previously occupy.* See above, at p. 55. n. 6.

3. *Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσοντα ἐμὲ —— ὡς δὲ —— πείσομαι ——*] *Let no one of you nominate me to lead in this march; but* [be assured\

that I shall obey, as well as I can, whomsoever you may choose. The Syntax demands πεισόμενον instead of πείσομαι. But the orator, in the course of his sentence, probably forgot its beginning, and so fell into the use of this ἀνακόλουθον. See above, at p. 68. n. 5. Hutchinson regards this use of language as elliptical, and supplies after πείσομαι, ἢ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, οὕτω λέγετε, or οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε· thus giving to ὡς the meaning, *that.* But his explanation does not remove all the difficulty. See on Anacolutha, Buttmann, § 151. ii.

4. ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν.] *whose enterprise we are frustrating.* The dative is here used for the genitive.

5. ὀκνοίην] Attic for ὀκνέοιμι, by contraction ὀκνοῖμι. With αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι, supply σύν.

6. ἐπικινδυνοτέρα] The text is right here. Stephens wrote ἐπικινδυνωτέρα, which reading Porson confuted, and restored the earlier text. See Fisk's Grammar, p. 50. Compare also, at p. 115. n. 6.

7. πρὸς φιλίαν] supply χώραν, and translate, *to a friendly country.*

97 1. ὅτι ἄγει] supply αὐτούς, and translate, *that he was leading them.* For the use of the present in this construcion, see Buttmann, § 137. n. 7.

2. Προσαιτοῦσι] *To them demanding an augmentation of pay.* The preposition implies *addition.*

3. ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν, οὗ πρότερον ἔφερον,] that is, ἐκείνου μισθοῦ, οὗ [or ὃν] πρότερον, κ. τ. λ.—*that he would give to all half as much again of pay as they had before.* For the construction of the relative here, see Fisk's Syntax, R. VI., Exc. 1.

4. τοῦ μηνὸς, τῷ στρατιώτῃ·] Hutchinson remarks upon the double ellipsis here; and understands διά with τοῦ μηνός· and with τῷ στρατιώτῃ, ἑκάστῳ.

98 1. ἀποστάντες] *having deserted him.* See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

2. πέτραι ἠλίβατοι·] *inaccessible rocks.* Two derivations are given in the lexicons for ἠλίβατος. The first is ἥλιος and βαίνω, which would give this signification primarily; *so high as to be visited by the sun alone.* Some say, *reaching to the sun.* The other derivation, that from ἠλεός, [ἀλιταίνω] and βαίνω, would seem to mean: *that on which the footing fails.* Compare the Iliad, XV. 273, 619; XVI. 35, &c.

3. ἐφειστήκεσαν] the same as ἐφεστήκεισαν, literally, *stood upon,* or *were upon,* 3 pl. pluperf. ind. act. of ἐφίστημι, *place upon.* See above, at p. 10. n. 5. The pluperfect of this verb has the force of the imperfect, as ἕστηκα has the force of the present. See the Iliad, I. 37, and S. Clarke's note. τείχη, throughout this section, has the signification of *walls,* though some have translated it *forts,* and others *heights.* Cleveland cites the Lex. Xen. in support of the last translation, which, however, does not fully sustain him, but gives *walls* as the meaning of the word in one place.

4. ἀποβιβάσειεν] Attic for ἀποβιβάσαι. 1 aor. opt. from ἀποβιβάζω, *disembark,* or *carry across.*—βιασάμενοι, *having compelled,* from βιάζομαι, *accomplish by force, compel.* Theme βία, *strength.*—εἴσω καὶ ἔξω, *within and without;* that is, *within Cilicia, and without Cilicia,* or *in Syria.*

5. τοῦτο ἐποιήσατο,] See above, at p. 37. n. 6. Schneider reads ἐποίησεν.

6. ὡς μέντοι πλείστοις ἐδόκει,] Schneider reads, since there is nothing for μέντοι to refer to, μὲν τοῖς. The apodosis with δὲ is then omitted; on which see Buttmann, p. 427.

1. οἱ δ' ᾤκτειρον, εἰ ἁλώσοιντο.] *others began to pity them, if they should be caught.* ἁλώσοιντο is 3 pl. 1 fut. opt. m. of ἁλίσκω, *take, capture.* Its middle voice, as well as the 2 aor. act., and other tenses, has a passive signification. See Buttmann, § 113. 5, and § 114. See below, at p. 250. n. 2; also above, at p. 34. n. 2. 99

2. οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν,—οὔτε ἀποπεφεύγασιν,] *they have neither escaped by stealth,—nor have they got out of my reach by their celerity.*

3. ἰόντων ἄν,] ἰόντων, Attic for ἴτωσαν, which reading Schneider adopts, *let them begone.* See above, at p. 25. n. 2 and n. 3. Porson declares this use of ἂν with the imperative a solecism. H. Stephens had previously objected to it. Hutchinson and Weiske retained it; Dalzel had commended the elegance of the expression, but retracted his opinion in deference to Porson.

4. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται,] *but they shall not even be deprived of these, forfeit these.* The future middle was also used as passive; see Buttmann, § 113. 5, and Lex. Xen.

Line 23. ἰχθύων] Lucian mentions the veneration of the Syrians for fish and doves, and their abstaining from eating them. He refers for an explanation of these facts to the stories of Derceto and Semiramis. Modern travellers inform us, that such superstitions still remain in Syria.

5. εἰς ζώνην διδομέναι.] The old reading was ζωήν, and then the translation would be, *devoted to supplying the expenses of living.* Hutchinson adopted the reading of the text, which is to be translated, *devoted to supplying the expense of girdles.* It was the custom of Persian sovereigns to have many wives, and to assign each of them cities for supplying the expense of the various articles of their dress. See Cicero, against Verres. Cities were also required to supply bread, wine, &c., according to the directions of the monarch. See Cornelius Nepos, in the Life of Themistocles. The passages cited below confirm the reading of the text. Diod. Sic. I. 52. Τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων γινομένην πρόσοδον ἔδωκε τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸς μύρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον καλλωπισμόν. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. II. 31. Ἐν κώμαις ἑπτὰ εὐδαίμοσιν, ἃς ἐπέδωκε ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς ζώνην. Herod. II. 98. Τουτέων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἄνθυλλα, ἐοῦσα λογίμη πόλις, ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί. Plato I. Alcib. V. 44. Ἐπεὶ, ποτ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα ἀνδρὸς ἀξιοπίστου, τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων παρὰ βασιλέα, ὃς ἔφη παρελθεῖν χώραν πάνυ πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθήν, ἐγγὺς ἡμερησίαν ὁδὸν, ἣν καλεῖν τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ζώνην τῆς βασιλέως γυναικός.

Line 31. ὧραι] that is, ὧραι ἔτους, *seasons of the year.*

1. καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι ᾠκεῖτο —] *and a city was situated there.* Lex. 100 Xen.

2. ψηφίσωνται] The active, ψηφίζω, signifies *compute by votes,* or *collect votes;* the middle, *vote;* more literally, *cause my vote to be collected.* But ἀποψηφίσωνται below, means *determine otherwise, vote not to do so;* ἀπὸ communicating that force.

1. ἄπιμεν μὲν πάντες εἰς τοὔμπαλιν·] A present with the significa- 101 tion of the future. *We will all return back again.* See above, at p. 50. n. 5. τοὔμπαλιν, for τὸ ἔμπαλιν.

2. ὡς φίλου τεύξεσθε Κύρου.] The Lex. Xen. favors Hutchinson's suggestion to understand ὑπὸ or παρά. But why not govern Κύρου by the verb, and translate, *and, whatever else you may want, I know that you will secure Cyrus as a friend.*

3. τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα — ἅπαν·] *all the rest of the army* —

4. στρουθοὶ αἱ μεγάλαι·] *Ostriches.* ὠτίδες, *bustards.* δορκάδες, *antelopes.* See Gibbon, Decline and Fall, Vol. II. p. 430. 4to. edition. — l. 29, above, ὕλης, *shrubs.*

102 1. ἂν εἱστήκεσαν·] The old reading was ἀνειστήκεσαν. Porson made the emendation in the text. Translate, *when they had run on awhile, they would stand still.* See above, at p. 98. n. 3.

2. ταὐτὰ] for τὰ αὐτά, *the same thing.*

3. ὥστε οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἱππεῖς θηρῷεν διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις.] *so that it was impossible to catch them,* εἰ μὴ οἱ ἱππεῖς διαστάντες, [see above, at p. 3. n. 7.] *unless the horsemen, having posted themselves at a distance from each other,* [or, *having disposed themselves in the manner of relays,*] θηρῷεν διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις, *had managed the chase in succession with* fresh *horses.*

4. πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέπτα ἀποφεύγουσα,] *for it fled swiftly, making its escape.* ἀπέπτα is 3 sing. imperf. indicative of ἀποπτάω, which is the same as ἀφίπτημι, whose middle is ἀφίπταμαι. The text varies much at this place in different copies. Instead of ἀπέπτα, ἀπέσπα, ἀπεσπᾶτο, and ἀπέπτατο occur in different recent editions. Schneider sanctions the last, and removes the ἀπὸ from the next word; which, it seems probable, had got there from the τὸ preceding, by the carelessness of some transcriber. If we adopt the ingenious substitution of ἅμα for ἄρασα, some difficulties in the construction of the sentence are avoided. Yet with the present text, which after all seems correct in respect to this word, the participle may either be considered as intransitive, and then be translated *rising*, as Dalzel proposes; or, far better, be taken as transitive, and have αὐτάς, referring to πτέρυξιν, understood for its object. Translate then τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν, ἄρασα, ὥσπερ ἱστίῳ, χρωμένη, *using, on the one hand, its feet in running, and on the other, its wings as a sail, raising* THEM. The present editor has nothing but his own conviction, however, to oppose against great authorities, in thus constructing ἄρασα. The Lex. Xen. is against him, and favors the intransitive construction.

5. πόλις ἐρήμη,] Some translators say, *deserted*, or *uninhabited;* others better, *in the desert.* Compare below κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμούς, ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη.

6. ὄνους ἀλέτας] *millstones.* The original signification of ὄνος is *ass;* that animal was often employed in the labor of turning the upper millstone; and so the word is taken, secondarily, to signify *the upper millstone.* Some, however, refer the word to *the lower millstone*, as that may be conceived of as supporting a burden; which is what the ass is used for.

7. ἐν τῷ Κύρου βαρβαρικῷ,] supply στρατεύματι. See above, at p. 87. n. 7.

8. ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων,] *flour or barley-meal.*

9. Ὁ δὲ σίγλος —] The *obolus* was worth the sixth part of an Attic drachm, which is set down by Cleveland as worth \$0·167. The chœnix was more than nineteen twentieths of a quart. Consequently, something like forty-three cents was to be paid for

every quart, which was very dear; the chœnix was reckoned a fair daily allowance.

1. *Ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν,*] ἦν for ἦσαν. Supply τινές. See Eur. Ion. 1165, and Herodotus, V. 12. PORSON. With διατελέσαι supply τὴν ὁδόν. 103

2. *ἐπέστη ὁ Κῦρος*] *halted*; see above, at p. 3. n. 7.

3. *λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ* —] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XIX.

4. *ἔτυχεν ἑστηκώς,*] *happened to be standing.* See above, at p. 7. n. 5; also, at p. 98. n. 3.

5. *νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν ἂν θᾶττον ἔλθοι, — μαχεῖσθαι·*] Dawes, to avoid the impropriety of translating ἂν with ἔλθοι, since it would require ἔλθῃ, would place the particle immediately after νομίζων· and then change μαχεῖσθαι into μάχεσθαι· so that ἂν would give a potential sense to this, and the succeeding infinitive. His sentence then would read, *νομίζων ἄν, ὅσῳ μὲν θᾶττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μάχεσθαι· ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαιότερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον βασιλεῖ συναγείρεσθαι στράτευμα.* See Dawes, Misc. Crit., p. 81.

6. *Καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν*] Construe, *And any one who considered with attention might perceive,* — *ἡ βασιλέως ἀρχὴ οὖσα ἰσχυρὰ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων,* — *that, on the one hand, the king's empire was powerful in point of extent of country, and multitude of people,* — *τῷ δὲ μήκει τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ τῷ διεσπάσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις, ἀσθενής, but, on the other hand, weak by reason of the length of the roads, and the separation of its forces,* — *εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖτο, if any one should suddenly make war upon it.* Notice in the second member of this sentence, that a participle with the nominative is used where the Latin idiom would require the accusative before the infinitive. The following is the order: *καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ βασιλέως ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν συνιδεῖν οὖσα ἰσχυρά, κ. τ. λ.* Notice, that πλῆθος signifies both *quantity* and *number*. The article gives to διεσπάσθαι the force of a noun; its government is the same as that of μήκει. With *διὰ ταχέων, suddenly,* compare *διὰ βραχέων, briefly.* Thuc. I. 80; and Plat. Tim. near the beginning. Also, see below, at p. 130. n. 5.

7. *συνῆγον καὶ συνέσπων,*] *they joined and stitched together.* συνέσπων, contracted from συνέσπαον, is from συσπάω.

1. *προσήλαυνε.*] *was approaching.* See above, at p. 76. n. 1. 104

2. *ἕστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι.*] See above, at p. 3. n. 7, and at p. 4. n. 3. ἕστασαν is a syncopated pluperfect.

3. *ἔτυχε γὰρ — προσιών,*] See above, at p. 103. n. 4.

4. *εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων,*] supply τὴν τάξιν ἑαυτοῦ, and construe, *leading his division between them,* ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ ἐδεῖτο, *he stood with them, armed ready for battle, and besought.* See Lex. Xen.

1. *σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν* —] The readings of different copies vary much here. The common text is σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πλείστων. Muretus wrote σ. τ. πλείστοις τῶν παρόντων, and Hutchinson, σ. τ. παροῦσι τῶν Περσῶν. The Eton MS. has τῶν πιστῶν ἢ. ἰ. This reading is received by all the later editors; such being the usual designation of the high public officers and friends of the Persian king. ἧκεν ἐλαύνων — See above, at p. 76. n. 1. 105

2. *κατακεκόψεσθαι,*] *will be instantly cut to pieces,* 3 fut. inf. pass. of κατακόπτω, *cut to pieces.*

3. *κακῶς — ἐχόντων,*] *for if our interests are unprosperous.*

4. *κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα.*] *grounded arms.* Belfour.

5. *τὰ πολεμικὰ*] that is, *κατὰ τὰ πολεμικὰ πράγματα.*

6. *κωλύσειε — ποιήσειεν,*] See above, at p. 27. n. 11. Before *τοῦ καίειν,* understand *ἀπό.* *ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς,* *in order that they might not be able.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXIX., Obs. 3.

106 1. *τουτουΐ.*] *Οὗτος, αὕτη, τοῦτο — δέχονται τὸν προσχηματισμὸν τοῦ ι, διὰ πλείονα δεῖξιν.* Phavorinus. See Fisk's Grammar, p. 57. Obs.

2. *ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσοὺς,*] See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

3. *μεταμέλειν τέ σοι —*] The old reading was *μεταμεμέληταί σοι.* Hutchinson reads *μεταμεμελῆσθαί σοι,* in accordance with the conjectures of Stephens, Leunclavius, and Muretus. The Eton and Paris MSS. have the reading of our text, which Porson and Schneider approve.

4. *Η γὰρ ἀνάγκη.*] *γὰρ,* as often before, refers to something suppressed. Perhaps the idea is, *I have done so, for.*

107 1. *ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα·*] *to get rid of this man as quick as possible.* See above, at p. 86. n. 2.

2. *τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι,*] *so far as he is concerned,* or *for any thing that he can do.* The full sentence would be *κατὰ τὸ εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτον.* *εἶναι* is an Attic redundancy. See above, at p. 68. n. 3. *ἐθελοντὰς* for *ἐθέλοντας.*

3. *τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι.*] understand *τὴν ψῆφον.* See above, at p. 57. n. 2. See Ovid Metamorph. l. 15. v. 41:

> "Mos erat antiquus, niveis atrisque lapillis,
> His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpâ."

4. *ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.*] literally, *for death:* the whole clause may best be translated, *they took Orontes by the girdle,* leading him away *to execution.* On the Persian custom of taking criminals by the girdle, compare Diod. Sic. XVII. 30.

5. *σκηπτούχων,*] See above, at p. 77. n. 6.

6. *τεθνεῶτα*] for *τεθνηκότα.* See the Iliad, B. VI. 464, and Clarke's note.

7. *ἐφάνη.*] See above, at p. 7. n. 10.

8. *τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι,*] See above, at p. 3. n. 3.

108 1. *συνεβουλεύετό τε,*] *both advised with them concerning the order of battle, and at the same time himself encouraged them as follows.* The old reading was *συνεβούλευε τότε — καὶ ἀ. π.* Toup made the correction, which was received by Zeune and Schneider.

2. *ἀπορῶν —*] See above, at p. 4. n. 3.

3. *Ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε —*] See above, at p. 57. n. 4. Notice the skilful adaptation of this speech to Grecian ears; to which nothing was more grateful than the word *Ἐλευθερία, freedom.*

4. *τἆλλα —*] that is, *κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα:* construe, *in other respects, καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαί μοι δοκῶ, — methinks I am even ashamed.*

5. *μέμνοιό*] 2 sing. perf. opt. from *μνάομαι.* See above, at p. 27. n. 7. Schneider writes *μεμνῷό.* The form *μέμνῃο* is also found in the grammars, as the 2 sing. perf. opt.

6. *σατραπεύουσιν*] See above, at p. 85. n. 5.

109 1. *Οἴει γάρ σοι,*] Explain the *γὰρ* thus: Why do you talk so? *For do you think —.* See at p. 70. n. 8. *σοι* is redundant.

2. *ἀσπὶς*] for *ἀσπιδοφόροι,* as *ἵππος* for *ἱππεῖς.* This figure is not infrequent in Latin, as well as in Greek writers.

3. *ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων.*] *arrived*

five days after the battle, coming out of Phœnicia. See above, at p. 76. n. 1.

1. *πυνθάνεται Κῦρον προσελαύνοντα.*] See above, at p. 85. n. 2; 110
also at p. 76. n. 2.

2. *δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους — δέκα τάλαντα.*] See above, at p. 86. n. 12.

1. *ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν,*] *The time from the third hour of the* 111
day until the sixth is meant by the phrase, which is more literally translated *full-market*. See the Memorabilia, I. i. 10; extracted at p. 199; and the note.

2. *ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύσειν,*] *where they were to encamp.* See below, at p. 122. l. 5.

3. *ἐλαύνων κατὰ κράτος ἱδροῦντι τῷ ἵππῳ·*] *riding at full speed, his horse all in a sweat.*

4. *ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς,—*] *he called out both in Persian and in Greek.*

Line 27. *ψιλὴν*] Having his head covered with a turban or cap, not a helmet. Herodotus, V. 49. gives the Persians *κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι,* and Plutarch, Artax. c. 11., relates that Cyrus's turban fell from his head. Belfour.

1. *μέσον ἡμέρας, —— δείλη*] Dio Chrysostom gives the following 112
divisions of the day: 1. *πρωΐ·* 2. *πλήθουση ἀγορά·* 3. *αἱ μεσημβρίαι·* 4. *δείλη·* 5. *ἑσπέρα.* This division answers exactly to that used by Xenophon here.

2. *Ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν, ὡς — ἐλώντων καὶ διακοψόντων.*] *ἐλώντων* is Attic for *ἐλασόντων*. Translate: *But the determination was to attack and cut through the ranks of the Greeks.* Notice here the elegant use of *ὡς* with the participle; for where the Latins use the infinitive with the accusative before it, the Greeks employ *ὡς* with the participle in the genitive; and sometimes in other cases, where the particle is to be translated *as if*, or *that*.

3. *ἀλλὰ σιγῇ ὡς ἀνυστὸν,*] *as silently as possible.* *ἀνυστὸν* has the same signification as *δυνατόν*. Stephens, Leunclavius, and Hutchinson approve our text. One reading is *ὡς ἂν οἰστόν.* Another *ὡς ἂν οἷόν τε*, which is found in some MSS. of high authority. But Schneider receives *ἀνυστὸν*, citing as parallel passages Xenophon, Rep. Lac. I. 3; Plutarch, Lyc. c. 29; Arrian, I. xvi. 10.

4. *πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποίηται.*] *our business is completely done.* Notice here the happy use of the perfect tense. See above, at p. 27. n. 4; and at p. 85. n. 2.

5. *Κύρου*] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII. 9.

1. *ἅτ' ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον,*] understand *τόπῳ*. Translate, *as yet* 113
remaining in the same place. *ἅτ'* is a conjecture of Stephens, which Hutchinson adopts. The old editions have *ὅτ' ἔτι*. Schneider omits both particles.

2. *Ἰδὼν δὲ —*] The modest tone in which Xenophon introduces his own name has been made the subject of great commendation.

3. *ὑπελάσας*] In composition *ὑπὸ* signifies *approach, coming under*; as *ὑποδύνειν τὸ ζεῦγος*, Æschin. Dial. III. 10. Belfour. Translate then *ὑπελάσας, approaching.*

4. *Ὁ δ' ἐπιστήσας*] Some understand here *τὸ στράτευμα*, which is approved in the Lex. Xen. Schneider takes *ἐπιστήσας* as if it were a middle, and translates, *and perceiving Xenophon, spoke to him.* He quotes to this point Wyttenbach on Plat. p. 197, and 276.

5. *τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια*] Leunclavius supposes that *ἱερὰ* are *exta*, *entrails*, and that *σφάγια* are *hostiæ*, *victims*.

6. *τὸ σύνθημα*] *the word.* *Συνθήματα* were words given out as signals for the commencement of an engagement. The general gave them to the subaltern officers, and they to the soldiers. They were generally names of deities, whose aid was counted upon; perhaps, sometimes, merely words reckoned of good omen.

7. *ὅς*] See above, at p. 3. n. 5.

Line 15. *δέχομαι*] Belfour prefers understanding *τὸν οἰωνὸν*, rather than *τὸ σύνθημα*.

Line 18. *ἐπαιάνιζον*] *Δύο παιᾶνας ᾖδον οἱ Ἕλληνες, πρὸ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου, τῷ Ἄρει· μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.* Scholiast on Thucydides, I.

8. *ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος,*] *a part of the line rushed forward like waves overflowing the shore.* This passage and figure have been noticed for their beauty. The verb is from *ἐκκυμαίνω*, a derivative of *κῦμα*, *a wave*.

9. —*ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγξαντο πάντες, οἷόν περ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι,*] *began to run with speed. And they all shouted at once, just as when they raise the warlike shout to the god Mars.* *Ἐλελίζειν* is to utter the *ἐπιφώνημα*, or *ἐπίφθεγμα πολεμικὸν*, which is called *ἐλελεῦ*. Hutchinson.

10. *ἐξικνεῖσθαι,*] supply *εἰς αὐτοὺς*, and translate, *the Grecian arrows reached them.*

11. *κατὰ κράτος*] *with all their might.*

12. *διΐσταντο·*—] The old reading was *ἵσταντο*. Zeune introduced *διΐσταντο*, on the authority of several MSS., which is now universally received. *ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη, ὥσπερ ἐν ἱπποδρόμῳ, ἐκπλαγείς·* *and one was even caught by surprise, as if in a hippodrome.* *ἔστι ὅστις*, signifies the same as *τίς*. See above, at p. 32. n. 11. Hoogeveen notices, that the verb in such constructions is always in the present tense, although the rest of the sentence may have reference to the past or future.

114 1. *Τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς*] that is, *τὸ βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα*.

2. *Καὶ γὰρ ᾔδει αὐτὸν, ὅτι*] See above, at p. 92. n. 1.

3. *ἡγοῦντο,*—] The sense seems to demand here the present *ἡγοῦνται*, which may have been changed by the carelessness of some transcriber. See Porson on Eur. Med. 44; and above, at p. 85. n. 4; also at p. 241. l. 9, of the Anab. edit. Hutch. in 8vo. where *ὠθεῖται* is the reading of the Paris MS. for *ὠθεῖτο*.

4. *σὺν τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις,*] *with the* 600,—formerly mentioned. *τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους*, *the* 6000,—formerly mentioned.

5. *καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι.*] See above, at p. 103. n. 6.

115 1. *περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ.*] *to have fallen upon him.*

Line 13. *ἐτελεύτησεν,*] *τὸν βίον* understood. Compare Tacit. Ann. L. VI. c. 50. Sic Tiberius finivit, octavo, &c. Belfour.

2. *τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι.*] *who were well known to be acquainted with him.* See above, at p. 46. n. 1. *ἐν πείρᾳ γίνεσθαι*, signifies *to enjoy the use of, to be intimate with.* Compare near the end of Book Second, at 122, l. 9, of this volume: *Κλέαρχος, ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπείρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων.*

Line 19. *ἐν ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις*] Schneider reads *ἐπὶ* instead of *ἐν*. *The king's gate*, or *door*, in the Persian idiom, is equivalent to

ours of the *King's Court.* In speaking of the imperial Turkish residence, we use the word *Porte.* Compare Cyrop. VIII. viii. 7. *Ἀλλά τοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὸ μὲν παιδεύεσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις, ἔτι διαμένει.* Belfour.

3. *ἄρχειν*—] See above, at p. 46. n. 1.

4. *καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι.*] Understand *ἐδόκει.* *ἄριστα* is to be taken adverbially.

5. *Ἔκρινον*] that is, *οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ Κύρου ἐν πείρᾳ γενόμενοι.* Supply with *τῶν* the participle *ἡκόντων.*

6. *φιλοκινδυνότατος.*] The short antepenult is right. See above, at p. 96. line 29, and note.

7. *ἐπιφερομένην*] See above, at p. 48. n. 2.

1. *ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ [τινι] σπείσαιτο, καὶ εἴ τῳ [τινι] συνθεῖτο,*—] *that he reckoned it a matter of the utmost importance, if he made a treaty with any person, and if he made an agreement with any person, or if he promised any thing to any one, never to prove false.* *σπένδω,* in the active, signifies *pour out,* or *make a libation;* in the middle, *make libations mutually.* As this was done in the making of treaties, truces, &c., *σπένδομαι* has come to mean, *make a treaty* or *truce.* Thus *συντίθεσθαι,* middle, signifies *to agree mutually.* About *ψεύδεσθαι,* see above, at p. 95. n. 1. 116

2. *πράξειαν — ποιήσειεν.*] See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

3. *Φανερὸς δ' ἦν,—νικᾷν πειρώμενος·*] *It was plain that he endeavoured to surpass* —. See below, at p. 124. n. 2.

4. *ἔστε νικῴη*] *ἔστε, until.* *νικῴη,* Attic for *νικάοι,* by contraction, *νικῷ.*

5. *ἀλεξόμενος.*] *in requiting them.*

6. —*τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν,*] *of those of our time.*

7. *προέσθαι.*] *to give up, abandon,* or *lose,* 2 aor. mid. of *προΐημι.* The word occurs with this meaning a little above; *ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι.*

8. —*ἦν ἰδεῖν*] *ἦν* has here the force of *ἐξῆν, it was possible.* Translate the sentence: *And there might frequently be seen* —. The custom of mutilating malefactors is still kept up in Oriental countries.

9. *ἔχοντι ὅ τι προχωροίη.*] *having whatever might be for his own advantage.* *προχωροίη,* Attic for *προχωρέοι, οῖ.*

1. *ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθούς,*—] *so that the brave appeared most happy, and cowards were thought just fit to be their servants.* 117

2. *Εἴς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην,*] Elliptically for *Τό γε μὴν εἰς δικαιοσύνην ἧκον* or *ἀνῆκον.* Hutchinson. *So far as justice was concerned.* *εἴ τις αὐτῷ φανερὸς γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι [ἑαυτὸν δίκαιον] βουλόμενος, if any one plainly appeared to him wishing to show himself to be actuated by a sense of justice.* Such transitions as that from *τὶς* to the plural are not uncommon.

Line 14. *στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ*] *an army of true quality.*

3. *καλῶς ὑπηρετήσειεν,*] *served him faithfully.* See above, at p. 116. n. 2.

4. *ὁρῴη*] See above, at p. 116. n. 4.

5. *καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα,*] *and improving the revenue for him* —— *οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο,* that is, *ταύτην τὴν χώραν.* *ἀφαιρέομαι* takes two accusatives after it. See the Iliad, Book I. 182.

6. *πέπατο*] for *ἐπέπατο,* 3 sing. pluperf. ind. of *πάομαι, acquire.*

7. *Φίλους — ὅσους ποιήσαιτο,*] *friends, — so many as he had acquired;* that expression having the force of the middle. *καὶ εὔνους γνοίη ὄντας, and perceived to be friendly.* Notice the use of the participle where the Latin requires the infinitive; which also the Greek idiom allows, as the next sentence shows. *καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι, and judged fit to be coadjutors with him, ὅ τι τυγχάνει βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, in what he happened to be wishing to do.* Before ὅτι understand *ἐκείνου πράγματος. κράτιστος — γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν, to have been most skilful in paying court to.*

8. *Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ*] that is, *κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο. For as to that thing.*

118 1. *πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ἑκάστου σκοπῶν,*] See above, at p. 90. n. 2.

2. *Καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα —*] that is, *Καὶ μὲν τὸ νικᾷν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα τὰ μεγάλα — and indeed his surpassing his friends in conferring great favors —*

3. *τοῦτον οὖν σοι ἔπεμψε, —*] Zeune and Schneider, on the highest MS. authority, read *τοῦτον* for *τοῦτο.* The beauty of this sudden change from oblique to direct speaking has suggested a comparison with the following passage of the Paradise Lost:

> "*Thus at their shady lodge arrived, both stood,*
> *Both turned, and under open sky adored*
> *The God that made both sky, air, earth, and heaven,*
> *Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,*
> *And starry pole: —* THOU *also mad'st the night,*
> *Maker Omnipotent, and Thou the day.*"
>
> Par. Lost, B. IV. 720.

4. *ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωσιν.*] *that starving animals might not carry friends of his.* The beauty of this expression also has been much commended.

119 1. *ἵστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι*] See above, at p. 85. n. 2.

Line 23. *τὴν Φωκαΐδα*] Belfour quotes Plutarch and Athenæus to show, that both of these concubines were named Aspasia.

2. *οἳ ἔτυχον — ἔχοντες*·] See above, at p. 7. n. 5. *πρὸς,* just before, seems to mean, *towards the Greeks for rescue.* BELFOUR.

Line 30. *ἐντὸς αὐτῶν,*] *within their lines.*

120 1. *Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες συστραφέντες παρασκευάζονται, ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντες καὶ δεξόμενοι.*] With *ταύτῃ* supply *ὁδῷ,* and translate: *And the Greeks having at once wheeled about, make ready to advance this way and receive him.* Zeune, however, says, that *προσιόντες* has no meaning, and reads *προσιόντος,* which must agree with *τοῦ βασιλέως* understood, the genitive being put absolute with the participle, and *αὐτὸν* referring to the king, understood after *δεξόμενοι.* The correction of Zeune is generally received, and is sanctioned by the highest MS. authority; though his assertion about the unintelligibleness of the old reading is not true.

2. *προσάγοιεν*] See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

3. *καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὄπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν.*] See above, at p. 37. n. 6.

4. *Ἐν ᾧ δὲ*] That is, *Ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ —*

5. *παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν —*] *having changed his line so as to have the same arrangement that it first had, he disposed it directly in front of them.* Hutchinson refers the government of *φάλαγγα* to one of these words, and understands it for the other.

1. *ἀλλ' ἐκ πλείονος, ἢ τοπρόσθεν,*] *but fled while they were at a* 121
greater distance than before.

2. *ἐπὶ πέλτης, ἐπὶ ξυστοῦ—*] The Eton MS. has this remarkable note : *δηλονότι, ὁ μὲν ἀετὸς ἐπὶ πέλτῃ ἐπεποίητο ἑστώς, ἡ πέλτη δὲ ξύλῳ τε ἐπέκειτο.* Some copies have *ξύλου*, and some *ξύλῳ*, instead of *ξυστοῦ*, which is a correction by Hutchinson from the old *ξύλον*. Toup, however, rejected *ἐπὶ ξυστοῦ*, or *ξύλου*, as a gloss ; which opinion Porson, Schneider, and others approve.

3. *Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἕστησαν*] See above, at p. 3. n. 7.

4. *οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα,—*] *for they did not know that he was dead ; but supposed, that he had gone off in pursuit* of the enemy, *or had advanced to secure some advantage.*

5. *ἀμφὶ δόρπιστον,*] *about supper-time.*

1. *ἄδειπνοι*] *dinnerless.* Compare the Greek word *ἀνάριστοι* and 122
the Latin *incœnes*, *incœnati*, and *impransi.*. On the times of the Grecian meals, consult Athenæus, Lib. I. c. 10. *Ἄριστον μέν ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω λαμβανόμενον· δεῖπνον δὲ μεσήμβρινον, ὃ ἡμεῖς ἄριστον· δόρπον δὲ τὸ ἑσπερινόν.*

2. *Ἐκ τοῦ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ Β'.*] that is, From the Second Book of the Expedition of Cyrus. After the death of Cyrus, Tissaphernes offered to accompany the Greeks on their homeward march, as a guide. A treaty was made with him, and the march commenced. On their arrival at the river Zabatus suspicions arose on both sides. Clearchus met Tissaphernes for the purpose of removing them. The Persian satrap convinced the first of his favorable disposition towards the Greeks, and entertained him handsomely. Clearchus soon after accepted an invitation from Tissaphernes to visit his camp, and learn who were the authors of the suspicions which had been visible on the part of the Persians. He was accompanied by four other generals and twenty captains. When they arrived, on a given signal, the generals and captains were seized and put to death. The names of the four generals thus murdered with Clearchus, were Proxenus, a Bœotian ; Meno, a Thessalian; Agias, an Arcadian; and Socrates, an Achæan. These five were slain within, the others without, the gates. Xenophon, after relating the circumstances of this treachery, proceeds to give an estimate of the characters of the murdered generals.

3. *ὡς*] Attic for *πρός*.

4. *ἐτελεύτησαν·*] supply *τὸν βίον*.

5. *τῶν ἐμπείρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων,*] See above, at p. 115. n. 2.

6. *ἀδικοῦσι*] See Buttmann's Syntax, § 137. n. 7.

7. *οἱ Ἔφοροι,*] Suidas says, *παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν ἀριθμὸν ε', οὓς Ἐφόρους ἐκάλουν, διὰ τὸ ἐφορᾷν τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα.* Their power was great ; they could put even the kings in chains. See Cornelius Nepos and Pausanias. See above, at p. 36. l. 9, 10.

8. *ᾤχετο πλέων*] See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII., Obs. 3.

9. *ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ*] The Scholiast upon Thucydides has the following passage : *Τὰ τέλη, οἱ προάρχοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἄρχοντας τέλη ἐκάλουν, διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς τὰ τέλη τοῖς πράγμασι τιθέναι.* Thuc. I. 58.

10. *μυρίους δαρεικούς·*] See above, at p. 86. n. 12.

11. *ἔφερε καὶ ἦγεν αὐτούς·*] See above, at p. 33. n. 3.

123 1. *ἐξόν*] This participle is to be taken absolutely. The absolute case of participles from impersonal verbs is always the nominative. See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXIII., Obs. 3.

2. *ὡς οὐκ ἀπιστέον εἴη Κλεάρχῳ.*] *that Clearchus was not to be disobeyed.* Schneider reads *πιστέον* instead of *οὐκ ἀπιστέον*. Some copies have *οὐκ ἀπειστέον*. Compare p. 124. l. 29.

3. *ἔσθ' ὅτε.*] that is, *ἔστιν ὅτε*, which is equivalent to *πότε*, or *ἐνίοτε*. The phrase elsewhere also occurs at the end of a clause. See Ælian, Book IV. c. 11. *Αἴσπερ οὖν ἐχρῆτο Σωκράτης ἔστιν ὅτε.*

4. *φυλακὰς φυλάξειν,*] See above, at p. 31. n. 11.

5. *ἀρχομένους*] Hutchinson and Larcher prefer *ἀρχομένοις*, assigning as a reason for the change the universal use of this participle in the same sense as *ὑπηκόος*, or *στρατιώτης*. See below, at p. 124. l. 27, for an example of this. They would give the following order: *καὶ ἐξείη τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς ἄλλους* [*στρατηγοὺς*] *ἀπιέναι*. This sense, however, can be preserved, without an alteration of the text, by the construction which follows: *καὶ ἐξείη* [*τοῖς στρατιώταις*] *πρὸς ἄλλους* [*στρατηγοὺς*] *ἀπιέναι, ἀρχομένους* [*στρατιώτας*], *and it was allowed the soldiers to depart to other generals, to be governed by them*, or *serve under them*, thus giving to *ἀρχομένους* the force of *ἀρξομένους*.

The simplest construction of all is to consider *ἀρχομένους* as an accusative before the infinitive *ἀπιέναι*, and to it there is no decisive objection.

124 1. *τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους —*] *for both the being courageous against their enemies was present* [to their minds, as a motive], *and the fearing punishment from him made them orderly.* Such is the literal translation, from which the real meaning can readily be seen.

2. *καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φανερὸς τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, —*] *and he evidently feared more being hated by his soldiers, than his soldiers* feared *to disobey him.* *φανερὸς ἦν φοβούμενος* cannot well be literally translated into English. It means about the same as would *φανερὸν ἦν αὐτὸν φοβεῖσθαι.* Compare a little below, *δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν·* and *ἔνδηλος ἦν ἐπιβουλεύων.* About *ἀπιστεῖν*, see above, at p. 123. n. 2.

125 1. *κερδαίνοι·*] Hutchinson reads *κερδάνοι.* Some editions have *κερδαίνῃ.* The reading of our text is approved by Porson and Schneider, and is undoubtedly the best.

2. *ἐνόμιζε τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἠλιθίῳ εἶναι.*] The old editions have *ἐνομίζετο·* some are without either form of this verb. Porson and Schneider receive the active form, which is in our text.

3. *ᾐσθάνετο —*] Porson prefers *αἰσθάνοιτο.* Some copies have *ἂν*, which the learned critic, last mentioned, disapproves. See above, at p. 103. n. 5.

4. *τῷ πλάσασθαι*] Instead of *πλάσασθαι* Porson would read *πλάσαι*, citing the following authorities: Sophocles, Aj. 148. *Τοιούσδε λόγους ψιθύρους πλάσσων.* Demosth. Phil. 1. p. 38. ed. Par. *οἱ δὲ, λόγους πλάττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα.* p. 54. l. 7. Photius Lex. MS. *Λογοποιῶν· πλάττων λόγους ψευδεῖς.*

5. *Καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλίᾳ, —*] *And those in whose regard he attempted to gain the first place, he thought he must acquire as friends*, by *slandering those* already *first* in their regards.

6. *ἀφίστατο,*] *ἀφίσταιτο* is approved as the true reading by Porson, but not received by Schneider. The earlier editions of Suidas have this reading. Kuster's and those after his are altered here and elsewhere in conformity to new readings. This custom is strongly reprobated by Porson, who makes the above statement.

126 1. *Ἤιστην,*] for ἤτην, with an Attic pleonasm of the sigma.

NOTES

ON THE

RHETORICAL EXTRACTS.

I. NOTES ON LYSIAS.

129 1. Ex Lysia.] Lysias, the earliest of the Grecian orators to arrest attention by the number, fame, or merit of his works, was an Athenian by birth. He was born at a period when peace at home and abroad left to his countrymen leisure for the cultivation of their tastes and the prosecution of literary enterprises. The year was B. C. 458. His father was Cephalus, a rich Syracusan, who had emigrated to Athens on the invitation of Pericles. This will account for the fact, that Lysias is sometimes called a Syracusan. After the death of Cephalus, the son joined the Thurian colony, which we have already had occasion to mention as having among its members Herodotus and Thucydides. Thurium was a flourishing city, and afforded him a home for thirty-two years. At the end of that period, which nearly coincided with the termination of the Peloponnesian War, he left it in company with others of similar politics, in consequence of a defection of its citizens from the Athenian interest, and returned to the place of his birth. But he found it no longer the peaceful city of his childhood and early youth. The miseries accumulated upon the heads of the Athenians by the unfortunate issue of the Peloponnesian War were at their height. The city had been taken by the Lacedæmonians under Lysander, and subjected to the domination of the Thirty Tyrants. These exercised the most heartless and unfeeling cruelty in the administration of the government; putting to death innocent citizens without even the form of a trial; and among them Polemarchus, a brother of Lysias, who lived at that time in a house which he had hired at Athens. Our orator saved his own life by flight; and aided Thrasybulus in his noble and successful exertions to restore liberty to his oppressed country; finding here a good opportunity of expending some of the wealth of which he was possessed. After the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants he took up his abode in Athens, and spent the remainder of his life, which lasted till fourscore, in the cultivation of oratory, to which he had previously given considerable attention under the care of Tisias and Nicias, two of his Syracusan

teachers. He was not in the habit of speaking his orations in public. That against Eratosthenes is probably the only one in which he departed from his usual custom. He wrote speeches for the use of others, and gave instruction in rhetoric, during the later years of his life. Further particulars about him may be found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in Plutarch, in Photius, and Suidas. Among the moderns, Taylor and Gillies have written the biographical notices of Lysias which best deserve attention.

Of the numerous Orations which he wrote, thirty-four are all that have come down to us. It ought to be mentioned here, that there is a question as to the genuineness of some which bear his name. His skill in the invention, and judgment in the selection, of arguments, are highly commended. Their arrangement was censured by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He had the faculty of communicating to his subject an air of dignity and importance, without resorting to inflated phraseology, barbarous expressions, or ambitious ornament. Purity was the chief merit of his style. His speeches contain much information about the public economy of Athens, and the injustice practised towards the richer citizens for the sake of gratifying the lower classes with theatrical shows. He displays everywhere a democratic spirit; forgetful, perhaps, that the tyranny of the mob, after the success of Thrasybulus, was hardly less unjust and oppressive, than the bloody proceedings of the Thirty. Confiscations took place, not because treason had been committed, but because demagogues needed money for the amusement of the people. The speeches of our author, however little he intended to disparage the government of his country, can hardly fail to qualify and abate, in one who studies them, the most ardent admiration of Athenian institutions.

2. *ΛΥΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ*—] That is, *The Oration of* LYSIAS *against Eratosthenes, one of the Thirty Tyrants; delivered by Lysias himself.* The last four words are probably added, because this orator, as mentioned above, was not in the habit of publicly speaking his orations, but generally wrote them for the use of others.

ARGUMENT.

Eratosthenes, when in authority with the rest of the Thirty, had condemned the brother of Lysias without a trial, and ordered his execution. Lysias, in this oration, is making the demand for his punishment, and showing the reasons why it should be inflicted.

3. *ΟΥΚ ἄρξασθαί*—] The order is: *ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐ δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι ἄπορον ἄρξασθαι τῆς κατηγορίας, ἀλλά* [*μοι*] *λέγοντι παύσασθαι.* About *ἄρξασθαι*, see above, at p. 46. n. 1.

4. *αὐτοῖς.*] Eratosthenes, his colleagues, and their satellites, says Reiske, are referred to. For when the Thirty were in power they had not only slain and banished many citizens of different politics from their own, whom the fortune of war had spared, but disgraced themselves by their infringements of the rights of property. Thrasybulus first, and for some time alone, resisted them. See Cornelius Nepos, in his Life of Thrasybulus. The government of *τὸ μέγεθος* and *τὸ πλῆθος* is referred to *κατά* understood. Translate *εἴργασται αὐτοῖς*, *have been perpetrated by them.*

5. ὥστε μήτ' ἂν ψευδόμενον —] The order is : ὥστε μήτε ψευδόμενον ἂν δύνασθαι κατηγορῆσαι δεινότερα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μήτε βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν τἀληθῆ [ἂν δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν] ἅπαντα. For the construction of ὥστε with the infinitive, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXIX., Obs. 3. It occurs also sometimes with the indicative. See Buttmann, p. 423.

6. ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἢ τὸν —] Stephens preferred ἀνάγκην εἶναι ἢ τὸν, κ. τ. λ. Markland and later critics and editors are unanimous, it is believed, in favor of the reading of our text. We are to understand ἐστὶ after ἀνάγκη.

7. ἐν τῷ προτοῦ χρόνῳ.] That is, ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ προτοῦ· literally, *in the time before* ; or more simply, *before*. προτοῦ is for πρὸ τούτου [χρόνου]. See Eurip. Med. 694. About the construction of ἢ, see Buttmann, p. 424.

8. πρὸς τοὺς φεύγοντας·] *against the defendants*. φεύγω sometimes means *am accused*. ἀποφεύγω, also, in like manner, signifies *am acquitted*. Such constructions as ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν ἔχθραν, ἥτις εἴη, — *to tell the cause of their resentment, what it was*, seems to have had peculiar beauty in the eyes of the Attic writers. They are also found in Latin authors. See above, at p. 92. n. 1.

130 1. ἀνθ' ὅτου] Reiske understands ἔργου, or γεγονότος, or συμβάντος. Auger prefers πράγματος, but mentions with some approbation Reiske's other proposition, to change ὅτου to ὅτης. But ὅτου is not only masculine, but also feminine ; and is therefore Attic for ἧστινος, and refers directly to ἔχθρα.

2. ἀλλ' ὡς ἅπασι —] *but because to none of you is there any lack of reasons for resentment, either on account of your own calamities, or those of the public*. Taylor and Reiske have mistranslated the passage from a wrong conception of the meaning of ἢ, to which they give the force of *than*, when its real signification is here *or*. The same particle is then to be understood before ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων. Giving the other meaning to ἢ, we must understand μᾶλλον, according to some commentators, and οὐ μᾶλλον, according to others.

3. κατέστην,] See above, at p. 3. n. 7 ; and at p. 85. n. 7. — ὥστε πολλάκις εἰς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν κατέστην, *so that I have frequently felt great anxiety*.

4. τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσωμαι.] *lest I should prefer this accusation in behalf of my brother and myself unworthily and weakly*. Compare the use of the middle of this verb a little above ; τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦμαι, *I make this speech of* MINE, *I say so*. Notice also the difference between τὸν λόγον ποιῆσαι and τὸν λόγον ποιήσασθαι· the former signifying *to furnish another with the substance of a speech* ; the latter, *to speak*. This distinction, however, is not universally observed. Sometimes, though rarely, τὸ ποιεῖν refers to the agent. The following examples of the use of this verb are taken from Lysias. τοιαύτην τοῦ βίου τελεύτην ἐποιήσαντο, *such an end of life they gained for* THEMSELVES. [*ΕΠΙΤΑΦ. ΤΟΙΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘ. ΒΟΗΘ.*] θάνατον αὐτοῖς ἐποίησε τὴν ζημίαν, *he made death their punishment*. [*ΑΠΟΛ.* ὑπὲρ τοῦ *ΕΡΑΤ.* φόνου.] περὶ ἐλάττονος τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐποίησας, *you preferred your pleasures*. [The same.] But we find much more frequently the middle used, ποιεῖσθαι περὶ πλείονος, ποιεῖσθαι περὶ ἐλάττονος, κ. τ. λ.

5. δι' ἐλαχίστων] *very briefly*; διά with the genitive of an adjective, being generally best rendered by an adverb. See, for

example, Thuc. Book I. 80., *διὰ ταχέων, quickly*; Plat. Tim., at the beginning, *διὰ βραχέων, briefly*; and, finally, the same, at the end, *διὰ βραχυτάτων, as briefly as possible*. See above, at p. 103. n. 6.

6. *ἡμεῖς,—*] that is, *Lysias and his brother. δίκην οὔτε ἐδικασάμεθα, οὔτε ἐφύγομεν· We neither appeared as plaintiffs nor defendants.* *δικάζω*, in the active, signifies *administer the laws*, or *act as judge*; *δικάζομαι*, middle, *go to law with, appear as plaintiff.* See above, at p. 31. n. 11; at p. 47. n. 5; and at p. 129. n. 8.

7. *εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν,*] See above, at p. 130. n. 3.

8. *πάντως δὲ τὴν μὲν πόλιν γενέσθαι, τὴν ἀρχὴν δεῖσθαι χρημάτων.*] *that for the existence of the state*, or, *in order to secure the existence of the state, the government by all means needed money*; or, *money was absolutely necessary for the government.* The text, however, is generally thought corrupt. Markland conjectures *πένεσθαι* in place of *γενέσθαι*.

9. *περὶ οὐδενὸς—*] *περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγεῖσθαι, to think of no importance, to make nothing of*; *περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, to think of great importance, to make much of.* See above, at p. 130. n. 4.

1. *πεποιηκότες,*] Taylor prefers *πεποιηκότας*, used absolutely in 131
the accusative, such being a not infrequent Atticism. With whom Auger agrees, understanding *αὐτούς*. Markland, however, would retain the present text, and commends the use of *πεποιηκότες* as preferable to *πεποιηκόσι* agreeing with *αὐτοῖς*. He says the Attics delight in such mutations of cases, when they occasion no ambiguity in the sense of the passage. Compare above, at p. 4. n. 7.; at p. 43. n. 6; and at p. 68. n. 5.

2. *τάλαντον*] The talent is usually reckoned worth $ 1000.

3. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὅσον—*] The construction is: *Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶχεν οὐ [μόνον τοσοῦτον] ὅσον ὡμολογήκειν [δοῦναι,] and when he had got not only what I had consented to give.*

4. *κυζικηνοὺς,*] The *κυζικηνὸς* was worth twenty-eight drachms.

5. *δαρεικοὺς,*] See above, at p. 86. n. 12.

6. *ὁ δ' ἀγαπήσειν με ἔφασκεν,*] *But he said that I ought to be contented.*

7. *εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*] supply *δώματα*.

8. *εἰς Δαμνίππου.*] supply *τὸ δῶμα*.

1. *Ἐν τοιούτῳ δ' ὄντι μοι κινδυνεύειν ἐδόκει,*] supply *καιρῷ*, or *τόπῳ* 132
with *ἐν τοιούτῳ*. Reiske. *In such a situation I thought of risking an experiment,—ὥς γε ἤδη τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχοντος, since now at any rate I was to die,—since now it was but death at any rate.* About *ὡς*, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXIII., Obs. 4.

2. *ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔτυχον.*] *happened to be open.* See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

3. *εἰς Ἀρχένεω—*] supply *τὸ δῶμα*. The common form is *Ἀρχέναος, -ου*· the Attic, *Ἀρχένεως, -εω, κ. τ. λ.*

4. *παρήγγειλαν—τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον παράγγελμα,*] *they pronounced against him the decree usual with them*, or *frequently used while they were in power.* See above, at p. 31. n. 11.

5. *οὕτω πολλοῦ ἐδέησε κριθῆναι,—*] *so far was he from being tried—*

6. *προὔθεντο αὐτόν.*] *caused him to be exposed to public view.*

1. *ἀλλ' οὕτως εἰς ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὰ χρήματα,—*] *but they exercised cruelty against us, on account of our wealth, just as others would exer-* 133
cise cruelty if angry about great injuries. It is usual to supply

ἀντὶ or *ἕνεκα* before *μεγάλων*. Perhaps, however, the true regimen is by *ὀργήν*. Construe the succeeding clause: *οὐ τούτων ἀξίους γε ὄντας τῇ πόλει*, *when we had not deserved such treatment at the hands of the state*, or *from the state*.

2. *χορηγίας χορηγήσαντας,*—] For the government of *χορηγίας*, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXI., Obs. 1. Also, compare at p. 31. n. 11. *Χορηγὸς*, from which is derived *χορηγεῖν*, is a word used by Attic writers to designate *one who provides a chorus*. The Choregus was expected to pay all the expense of his chorus, and make every provision and arrangement for some public performance, and see that those who took part therein were skilled in the particular department of their art in which they were to appear; since there seem to have been various kinds of choruses, such as comic, tragic, and dithyrambic. And not only were the Choregi to pay the expense of the chorus, but also of the actors, and of the whole theatrical exhibition. Hence those who were at the expense of bringing out a play were said *χορὸν διδόναι*· the poet whose play was performed, was said *λαμβάνειν χορόν*. See Kuster on Arist. Equit. 510. The folly of the Athenian populace is nowhere more strongly shown, than in their devotion to stage-plays. The liberty, rights, and lives of the citizens were made of slight account, when their infringement would supply this gratification.

3. *μετοικοῦντας,*—*ἐπολιτεύοντο.*] Lysias and Polemarchus were *μέτοικοι*, *sojourners*. The Thirty were *πολῖται*, *citizens*.

4. *μετῆν γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ*—] *for I should come in for a share not the least in this good. A share not the least* is equivalent to *the greatest share*. The idea of the orator is, that his wrongs would disappear on the establishment of the innocence of the Thirty.

134 1. *Ἀναβιβασάμενος*—] *Having called him upon the stand*, preparatory to questioning him; a form of procedure not wholly unlike those now used in courts.

2. *ἐπὶ σοὶ μόνῳ ἐγένετο*] *it depended upon thee alone*. See above, at p. 85. n. 9.

3. *εἶθ' ὅτι μέν, ὡς φῄς, ἀντειπὼν, οὐδὲν ὠφέλησας,*—] *because then, on the one hand, to take your word for it, you were able to do nothing when you spoke against the measure, do you think you ought to be esteemed a good man? and, on the other hand, do you not think you shall receive your punishment at the hands of these citizens and myself, for apprehending and murdering Polemarchus?*

4. *Ἔπειτα τῷ ἧσσον εἰκὸς ἦν*—] The article is here used for the relative, or rather for the interrogative. Construe thus: *To whom is it less likely that this task would have been committed*, *ἢ* [*ἐκείνῳ*] *ὅστις, κ. τ. λ.*, *than* to him *who, as it happened, had spoken against it, and publicly expressed his opinion.*

135 1. *παρὰ τοῦ*] The word *τοῦ* is here, as frequently elsewhere by the Attics, used for *τίνος*. The common reading is *παρ' αὐτοῦ*, which, says Dalzel, means nothing.

2. *Καὶ μὲν δὴ*—*κατὰ*—*ἀπήγαγεν.*] The old reading was: *καὶ μηδὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ σοίζοντα αὐτὸν, καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐψηφισμένα, ὃν συλλαβὼν ἀπήγαγεν.* Taylor amended this so as to have it read thus: *καὶ ΜΗΝ ΗΔΗ οὐκ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ΚΑΤΑ τὰ τούτοις ἐψηφισμένα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ σώζοντα ΑΥΤΟΝ συλλαβὼν ἀπήγαγεν.* His translation, rendered into English, is as follows: *Add too,*

that he took him into custody, not apprehending him at his house, as had been decreed by the Thirty, but when he was in the street, flying for safety. Markland traces the insertion of ὂν in the old reading to its similarity to the termination of αὑτὸν, which he prefers to the former word, αὐτόν. ὑμεῖς δὲ πάντες ὠργίζεσθε, (not ὀργίζεσθε,) ὅσοι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἦλθον τὰς ὑμετέρας, κ. τ. λ. Before ὅσοι the usual pronoun is to be supplied. Translate the whole passage from νῦν δὲ to ἐξελεγχθῆναι, as follows: *And now, whom will you ever punish, if you permit* individuals of *the Thirty to plead* in excuse of their crimes, *that they* merely *executed the commands of the Thirty? Add, too, on the one hand, that* Eratosthenes *took* my brother *into custody, not apprehending* him *at his house, according to the directions of the Thirty, but* when he was *in the street flying for safety. But, on the other hand, you were all enraged at such* servants of the Thirty, *as came to your houses in search of you or yours. Although, if it is necessary to forgive those who destroy others for the sake of their own safety, you might with more reason forgive those* servants, than I can forgive the defendant: *for there was danger in not going when* they had been *sent; and in denying* the fact, *when they had found* those whom they were ordered to arrest. *But Eratosthenes might have said, that he did not meet* Polemarchus; *or, in the next resort, that he did not know him; for* the Thirty *could not have got any refutation of these* statements, *nor any evidence* about them; *so that he could not have been caught in a lie, even by enemies who wished* to do it.

3. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστὶ,] *is in their power.* See above, at p. 134. n. 2.

1. τί ἂν] Reiske understands ἐποιεῖτε, or ἐποιήσατε. Consult the next note. About εἰ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες ἐτύχετε αὐτοῦ, see above, at p. 7. n. 5. 136

2. ἀπεψηφίσασθε;] Markland says, that we ought either to supply ἂν, or read ἀποψηφίσαισθε. Reiske supposes the negative οὐ to be wanting after this verb. Combining the comments of these two critics, we should read: τί ἂν ἐποιήσατε εἰ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες ἐτύχετε αὐτοῦ, ἢ καὶ υἱεῖς; ἀπεψηφίσασθε ἄν; οὔ· and should translate: *What would you do if you happened even to be brothers of him, or even sons? Would you acquit him? No.* So poor and slender is the assistance of the editors in elucidating this passage. The present editor prefers removing the mark of interrogation after υἱεῖς. There would then be no need of supposing any such ellipses as Markland and Reiske fill out. The translation would then be: How *could you acquit him, even if you happened to be his brothers, or even his sons?*

3. τὴν διαψήφισιν] *the decision.*

4. ἀπλασιν,] See above, at p. 50. n. 5.

5. Ὅσοι δὲ ξένοι—ἢ δικαίως.] *But so many strangers as are sojourning at* Athens *will know whether rightfully or wrongfully they formally banished the Thirty from their cities.*

6. Εἰ γὰρ δὴ αὐτοὶ οἱ—τειρομένους.] *For truly if those who were cruelly used* by them, *shall suffer them to escape, when they have them in their power, surely* those strangers *will think they have given themselves a great deal of superfluous trouble in your behalf.*

7. Οὐκοῦν δεινὸν,—] This sentence contains a question, and is continued down to κολάζεσθαι. The unusual form of the perfect

active participle of *θνήσκω*, *τεθνειότων*, found in this sentence, is commonly referred to the Bœotian dialect, and occurs in some of the editions of Homer. Compare the Iliad, Book XVII. 161; Book XIX. 300; also the Odyssey, Book I. 289. Wolf, however, writes *τεθνηὼς*, *κ. τ. λ.* The orator's allusion is to the naval battle at Arginusæ, in which the Athenians gained a victory over the Peloponnesians. The Athenian generals retired, however, after the battle, without recovering the bodies of those lost, for sepulture; though great exertions were made to accomplish this object, which were unsuccessful, owing to the inclemency of the weather and the violence of the wind. The people at home were more displeased at this non-performance of duty, than rejoiced by the victory; and decreed the death of eight generals; six of whom, being in their power, were executed. For further information on these points the learner is referred to the Hellenics, I. vi. 19, to the end of the Book. An allusion to this affair occurs in the Memorabilia, I. i. 18; extracted at p. 201, line 23, of this volume. The whole interrogation is thus translated by Gillies. *And how inconsistent will it appear, that you who punished with death the commanders in the sea-engagement, because they were unable to draw up the dead bodies from the bottom of a tempestuous sea, saying, that it was necessary to sacrifice the living to the virtues of the dead, should neglect to chastise those men, who, when in a private station, exerted their utmost endeavors to render us unfortunate at sea, and, when vested with supreme authority, sported with the lives of your citizens? Ought not your resentment to be kindled against them and their children?*

8. *ἐποίησαν*] Reiske thinks *ὑμᾶς* wanting here. The allusion is to the unfortunate engagement at Ægospotamos.

9. *τὰ κατηγορημένα·*] *the charges already preferred.*

10. *τῷ φεύγοντι ἄξια εἰργάσθαι.*] The order is: *ἕως ἄξια θανάτου ἂν δόξῃ εἰργάσθαι τῷ φεύγοντι*, *until things worthy of death are proved to have been perpetrated by the defendant.* *εἰργάσθαι* has the force of a passive, as is sometimes the case with deponent verbs. See above, at p. 16. n. 2; also Buttmann, § 113. n. 6. The dative, *τῷ φεύγοντι*, has the power of the genitive with *ὑπὸ*, — *ὑπὸ τοῦ φεύγοντος*. See above, at p. 129. n. 4, and n. 8.

137 1. *δίκην δοῦναι δύναιντ' ἄν.*] The orator says in this sentence, that he *does not know why it is necessary to accumulate charges against such men, who, not even if they could be put to death twice for each of their crimes, could ever be punished according to their deserts.* Markland feels the want of *ἀξίαν*. But Dr. Popkin rightly supposes *δίκην*, *satisfaction*, to contain itself the force Markland would attribute to the adjective.

2. *Οὐ γὰρ δὴ —*] The particle *γὰρ* is here again used in reference to something elegantly suppressed. The idea seems to be: I must anticipate some pleas which Eratosthenes may offer; *for it does not profit him to do that*, —. See above, at p. 62. n. 1.

3. *περὶ δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἕτερα λέγοντες ἐνίοτε ἐξαπατῶσιν,*] *but by mentioning other things concerning themselves, they impose sometimes* upon the judges, — that is, *they divert them from the main question.*

4. *Επεὶ —*] This particle is used before imperatives with the force of *γὰρ*, and like *γὰρ* refers to something suppressed. *For*, if he says any thing of this kind, *command him to show.* Stephens

reads αὐτούς. Reiske approved αὐτὸν, referring it to Eratosthenes, who alone of the Thirty Tyrants remained at Athens, and was under accusation. But ἀπέκτειναν has reference not only to the actual defendant, but to the whole Thirty. Eratosthenes, as the only one of their number present, is required to answer for all of them.

5. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ—] Compare this use of γὰρ with that commented on above, at n. 2; also with that of ἐπεὶ just above. The idea is: *But* what can he say of this sort? *For have they plundered the enemy of so many weapons as they have robbed you of?*

6. ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτοῖς] For ἐδήλωσαν above, the old reading was ἐδούλωσαν. Taylor made the correction. ὡς is equivalent to ὅτι, *because*. Lysias has been censured for a distortion of historical facts here. His account of the destruction of the walls does not accord with that of Xenophon, in the Hellenics, I. ii.

7. Οὐ γὰρ νῦν πρῶτον—] The particle γὰρ seems here to refer to some such suppressed clause as this: And that he is such a man I will now show; *for*—. Such, that is, such an one as does bad actions, and praises bad men.

8. τὰ ἐναντία ἔπραξεν,] Markland notices here the want of the word οὗτος or Ἐρατοσθένης.

9. ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων] *in the time of the Four Hundred*, who had before that attained supreme authority at Athens; their sway, however, was of short duration. See Thucydides, Book VIII. 67.

1. ἡ ναυμαχία,] Lysias refers to the unfortunate affair of Ægos- 138
potamos, in which Lysander seized the Athenian vessels.

2. ὅθεν τῆς στάσεως ἦρξαν,] Reiske says, that two constructions are here admissible. These four words may be regarded as parenthetical, and translated, *from* or *after which they began their attempts against the people;* or may be taken as used interrogatively. The first construction is preferable.

3. φυλάρχους τε ἐπὶ τὰς φυλακὰς—] Phylarchs were appointed, whose duty it was to act as spies, and to subserve the interests of these enemies of the state. Taylor and Markland approved the reading φυλάς.

4. ἐπεβουλεύεσθε,] *you were ensnared,* ὅπως μήτ' ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν ψηφίσεσθε, *that you could neither pass any decree for the advantage of the state, and should be oppressed by a variety of wants.* Notice, that ψηφίσεσθε, ἔσεσθε, and a little below, ἔσονται, &c., are to be translated by the imperfect potential.

5. οἷοί τε ἔσονται] See above, at p. 5. n. 6.

6. συμπράττοντας,] *his colleagues,* — ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἀκούσαντας, *those who have heard it from Eratosthenes himself.*

7. κατεμαρτύρουν ἂν αὐτῶν·] *would have accused them;* that is, *the Five.* The reference is to τοὺς συμπράττοντας, above. Popkin.

8. καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους,] The order is: καὶ μὲν, εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν, οὐκ ἂν ἐνόμιζον τοὺς ὅρκους πιστοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν, ῥᾳδίως δὲ παρέβαινον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῆς πόλεως. The translation: *and, on the one hand, if they had been rightly minded, they would not have thought their oaths binding if they were to the injury of the citizens, but, on the other hand, would readily have violated them for the good of the state.*

9. Καὶ Βάτραχος—] Taylor declares this place corrupt, and that

better MSS. are wanted, before it can be corrected. Dalzel, however, gets over the difficulty, to some extent, by understanding παραδείγματος ἕνεκα, *for example*. Translate, *and that, for example, neither Batrachus nor Æschylides made true accusations, but laid informations of things as true, which had been contrived by the Thirty*. Markland would insert ἅτε before the last τἀληθῆ.

139 1. ὅσοι κακόνοι ἦσαν—] *whoever were enemies in their heart to your popular government*, — οὐδὲν ἔλαττον εἶχον σιωπῶντες, *lost nothing by their silence*; ἕτεροι γὰρ ἦσαν, — *for there were others, who said and did the most ruinous things, which could possibly be done to the state*.

2. εἰ δὲ μή, —] Here seems to be an ellipsis of τοῦτο μὲν ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι, *this would be well*. See above, at p. 83. n. 2. The construction of the whole sentence is given below: — ἴσως δ' ἂν ἔχοι εἰπεῖν, κ. τ. λ. *But, perhaps, (and some of you may think this a sufficient apology,) he may say, that he was afraid of seeming to oppose the Thirty by speaking out his sentiments*. This, indeed, would have been well, — it would have been a good reason, if it had been true: εἰ δὲ μή, — *but if this was not really the case*, ἐνταυθοῖ δῆλος ἔσται, — κ. τ. λ., *then it will be plain, both that these deeds of theirs were perfectly agreeable to him, and that he had such influence with them as to run no risk of sustaining any hardship in consequence of his opposition*. The peculiar subtilty of Lysias has been traced in this sentence.

3. ἀλλ' οὗτος —] that is, Eratosthenes.

4. μοι ταῦτα πράξουσι,] Markland prefers πάντα πράξουσι. Reiske, μόνοι πάντα πρ., *which of them should manage every thing alone*; that is, *have every thing his own way*.

5. Θρασυβούλου Φυλὴν κατειληφότος,] For Thrasybulus had with him not more than thirty friends when he betook himself to Phyle. See Nepos, Life of Thrasybulus, c. 2.

6. συνουσίαν;] Markland prefers εὔνοιαν, though he thinks συνουσίαν a tolerably good reading. Reiske assents to the preference of Markland.

7. κατεψηφίσατο.] καταψηφίζομαι, *vote against, condemn*. τινὸς θάνατον καταψηφίζεσθαι, *to condemn one to death*. See above, at p. 57. n. 2.

8. καὶ αἱ ταραχαὶ γεγενημέναι ἦσαν,] *and the disturbances were over*. Compare with this use of the perfect the Latin, — Fuit Ilium, *Ilium has been, Ilium is* no more. Vixerunt, *they have lived, they have done with living*; that is, *they* are dead. See Harris's Hermes, Book I. c. vii. The sense of this passage eluded Taylor, from his not noticing this power of the perfect tense. He understood the orator to mean, *after the disturbances were made*. Reiske had a right notion of the meaning of the passage, but wished to change ἦσαν into κατέστησαν.

140 1. εἴασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν·] αὐτοὺς designates those citizens who were defeated by such patriots as had fled to the Piræus; the aristocratic party was allowed to return to the city unmolested, and even to have a share in the new administration.

2. αὐτοὶ — κατέστησαν,] See above, at p. 85. n. 7. Different readings are αὖτις, αὐτοί, and αὐτούς.

3. τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεος] Taylor says, that τοὺς is the correct reading.

4. τεθνεῶτες] See above, at p. 107. n. 6.

5. *τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμποδὼν ὄντων,*] *because the omens were unfavorable.*

6. *ἑκατὸν τάλαντα*] See above, at p. 131. n. 2.

7. *ἵνα ἔχῃ ἐπικούρους μισθοῦσθαι.*] See above, at p. 3. n. 14.

1. *καὶ τελευτῶντες*] See above, at p. 39. n. 7. 141

2. *τῶν συμμάχων*] that is, *τῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπαρχόντων.* Reiske.

3. *εἰ μὴ δι' ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς,*] that is, *ἐκωλύθησαν,* or *τοῦτο ἐνεποδίσθη.* Reiske. — *unless* they had been prevented *by brave men; οἷς ὑμεῖς δηλώσατε — κ. τ. λ., to whom prove ye, that you are ready to make a requital, by inflicting punishment upon their enemies.*

4. *ὅμως δέ·*] that is, *ὅμως δὲ παρέξομαι, however I will produce them,* &c.

5. *ὡς πλεῖστον,*] Reiske would either insert *ἐπὶ,* or read *πλείστων.*

6. *διὰ βραχυτάτων*] See above, at p. 130. n. 5.

7. *καὶ μηδενὶ τοῦτο παραστῇ,*] *And let not this supposition be entertained by any one, ὡς, Ἐρατοσθένους κινδυνεύοντος, Θηραμένους κατηγορῶ, that, while Eratosthenes's trial is depending, I enter upon the accusation of Theramenes;* and thus deviate from the question before you. What I am going to say of Theramenes is exactly in point. [About *γὰρ,* see below, at n. 8.] *γὰρ πυνθάνομαι αὐτὸν ἀπολογήσασθαι, for I understand that Eratosthenes's apology is, ὅτι ἐκείνοις φίλος ἦν, that he was in the habits of friendship with Theramenes and his party,* — those, viz. who had opposed the violence of the other tyrants, particularly that of Critias, *καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων μετεῖχε, and shared in the same* meritorious *transactions with them. καίτοι σφόδρ' ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι, μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέους πολιτευόμενον, προσποιεῖσθαι πράττειν, ὅπως οἰκοδομηθήσεται τὰ τείχη· and truly I have a strong suspicion, that he is a person who, if concerned in the administration with Themistocles, would have affected to coöperate in the building of the walls:* [See Thucydides, Book I. 90; and Cornelius Nepos, Life of Themistocles.] *ὁπότε καὶ μετὰ Θηραμένους, ὅπως καθαιρεθήσεται· but when concerned with Theramenes,* joined *in demolishing them.*

8. *Οὐ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἴσων ἄξιοι γεγενῆσθαι.*] Markland thinks something is wanting before *οὐ γὰρ,* or else that *γὰρ* is a false reading. But Dalzel accounts for the use of the particle, by supposing here, as so often elsewhere in Lysias, a reference to something suppressed; and proposes [*ἀλλὰ μάτην,*] *οὐ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν, κ. τ. λ., but* in vain, *for* Themistocles and Theramenes *do not appear to me to be entitled to equal honor.* See above, at p. 62. n. 1, and at p. 66. n. 6. Reiske fills out the ellipsis thus: *οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Θεραμένει ἐπιχείρων ἀπολαυσάτω.* Or thus: *οὐκοῦν ὀρθῶς ποιῶ τοῦτον ἐκείνῳ ἀντιτιθείς.* Stephens proposed *ἴσου,* and Markland *ἴσων,* in place of the old reading, *ἴσον,* to which, however, there is no valid objection, as it may be taken adverbially.

9. *Ἄξιον μὲν γὰρ καὶ —*] After *γὰρ, ἦν* is to be understood. Reiske.

10. *ἐτύγχανεν — πράττων·*] See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

1. *προτέρους —*] The old reading was *πρωροτέρους.* 142

2. *τούτων*] that is, Theramenes and his father. Reiske.

3. *πρὸς ἐκείνους*] Pisander and Callæschrus. Reiske.

4. *πραττούσης μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλῆς σωτηρίαν,*] *whilst on*

one hand, the senate of the Areopagus was exerting itself for your safety.

143 1. ἐκείνου] Taylor would prefer ἐκείνων, referring it to the Lacedæmonians. The reading of our text, however, might pass unquestioned.

2. γνόντες τὴν παρασκευὴν] παρασκευὴ is with the Attic orators the conspiracy of a faction, the clandestine machination of abandoned men, who, by secret plans agitated among themselves, have agreed to spare no efforts to subvert the laws, and destroy civil liberty. REISKE.

144 1. τοῖς φεύγουσιν,] Not those who had returned home from Phyle after the subversion of the tyranny of the Thirty Tyrants, whose return was preceded by the death of Theramenes, but those who had been restored on the overthrow of the government of the Four Thousand. REISKE.

2. Καὶ τοσούτων] From this digression about Theramenes, the orator returns to the completion of his design, which was to establish the following positions. Eratosthenes puts his confidence in the friendship of Theramenes, and hopes to escape by that means. But Theramenes was a most dangerous enemy to the state; then is Eratosthenes also. Therefore he ought to be punished. REISKE.

3. αἴτιοι γεγενημένοι,] That is, Eratosthenes and his companions. Reiske would prefer reading αἴτιον γεγενημένον, so that it might refer to Theramenes alone. Translate, if the text be so altered, *Will they dare to claim the character of friends to that Theramenes, who, after having brought so great evils upon the state, fell, not for your good, but in consequence of his own wickedness?*

4. τουτουὶ] See above, at p. 106. n. 1.

145 1. ἡμεῖς δὲ νυνὶ εἰς κατηγορίαν καὶ ἀπολογίαν καθίσταμεν.] *But now we are in such a state, as to give an opportunity not only for accusation but for defence.* καθίσταμεν for καθεστήκαμεν. See above, at p. 3. n. 7; also, at p. 27. n. 4; and at p. 29. n. 4.

2. λαβεῖν,] Reiske says, that ἱκανὴν seems to be wanting after λαβεῖν. See above, at p. 137. n. 1. πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ὑμῖν καὶ ἡντινοῦν ἀπολιπεῖν, ἥντινά τις βούλοιτο παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν; *how shameful would it not be for you to omit any punishment whatever, that any person should wish to inflict upon them?* ἡντινοῦν is the acc. sing. fem. from ὁστισοῦν, *whoever.* ἥντινα is the relative.

3. τοσοῦτον δ' ὑμῶν καταπεφρόνηκεν, ἢ ἑτέροις πεπίστευκεν.] Reiske says, that δὲ should be omitted, or else changed to ἤ. Dalzel proposes δ' ἤ. *And thus he either despises* YOU, *or confides in some other men.* [See above, at p. 27. n. 4.] ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἄξιον [ἐστὶν ὑμῖν] ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἐνθυμουμένοις, ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνα δύναιντο ποιεῖν, μὴ ἑτέρων συμπραττόντων· *both of which circumstances it is worth your while to mind, when you reflect, that they could not have perpetrated those things without the assistance of others:* οὔτ' ἂν νῦν ἐπεχείρησαν ἐλθεῖν, [for ἐλθεῖν Taylor reads ἐλθεῖν, or ἐρεῖν, or εἰπεῖν,] *nor would they have now attempted to speak* (or *to come hither*) in order to defend themselves, [Reiske prefers ἐλθεῖν,] μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰόμενοι σωθήσεσθαι· *unless they had expected preservation from the same* accomplices; οἳ οὐ τούτοις ἥκουσι βοηθήσοντες, *who do not come* merely *with a design to abet* THEM, ἀλλὰ ἡγούμενοι πολλὴν

ἄδειαν σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι τῶν πεπραγμένων, *but upon the supposition that their own fear, on account of what they have already perpetrated, will be in a great measure removed,* καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ [πολλὴν ἄδειαν σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι] ποιεῖν, ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται, εἰ, κ. τ. λ., *and that, for the future, they will be under no restraint in doing whatever they have a mind, if,* &c.

4. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συνερούντων αὐτοῖς ἄξιον θαυμάζειν,] *but with respect to those who are advocates for them, one might wonder,* [For the common reading συνεργούντων, Reiske has συνερούντων. But there seems to be no valid objection to that reading and the sense, *those who coöperate with them.* The genitive is governed by θαυμάζειν. See Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII. 3.] πότερον ὡς καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ αἰτήσονται, *whether as good and worthy men,* — whether in virtue of their own merit, *they will desire a pardon for Eratosthenes and his associates,* τὴν αὑτῶν ἀρετὴν πλείονος ἀξίαν ἀποφαίνοντες τῆς πονηρίας; [supply ἐκείνων] *demonstrating their own virtue to be superior to the crimes of their clients?* (ἐβουλόμην μέντ' ἂν αὐτοὺς οὕτω προθύμους εἶναι σώζειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ οὗτοι ἀπολλύναι· *and truly I should wish that these pleaders had been as eager to save the state, as their clients have been to subvert it;*) ἢ ὡς δεινοὶ λέγειν ἀπολογήσονται, *or trusting to the force of their rhetoric, will they apologize for them,* καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔργα πολλοῦ ἄξια ἀποφανοῦσιν; *and even demonstrate their deeds to have been meritorious?*

1. σφόδρα ἐπιλήσμονας — ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν.] *thinking you forsooth* 146
to be very forgetful and foolish, if they suppose they can get the Thirty safe through your assembly, when, by the agency of Eratosthenes and his coadjutors, it was dangerous even to go to the funeral of the slain.

2. Οὐκοῦν δεινὸν, —] Reiske attempting an emendation of the text, proposes, in the first place, to read ἦ or εἴη for εἰ, with the supposition of a slight pause, and then of a new start at τῶν μὲν αδίκως. His second correction is the insertion of ἐπ' before ἐκφορὰν. In the third place, he borrows from Taylor βοηθεῖν, to replace the common reading νοηθεῖεν. But our text, on the whole, seems preferable; allowing οὐκοῦν the force of a negative interrogative. Οὐκοῦν δεινὸν [ἐστὶν,] *Is it not an extraordinary circumstance,* — εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀδίκως τεθνεώτων οἱ φίλοι συναπώλλυντο· *that the friends of those who had suffered an unjust death usually perished along with them,* [that is, if they ventured to perform their funeral exequies;] αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσασιν ἦ που ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν πολλοὶ ἥξουσιν, ὁπότε βοηθεῖν τοσοῦτοι παρασκευάζονται; *and that great numbers will certainly attend the funeral rites of those who ruined the state, since so many now appear in their behalf?* i. e. will do them honor by attending their funeral rites when they die; if we may be permitted to judge from the crowds that are now ready to plead their cause? For, with the Greeks, due attention to the burial of the dead was a matter of great moment. Dr. Popkin prefers ἤ πού to ἦ πού.

3. ἀντειπεῖν,] That is, here, κατηγορεῖν. Καὶ μὲν δὴ πολὺ ῥᾷον ἡγοῦμαι — ἀπολογήσασθαι. Reiske explains it thus: Although it was much easier in the judgment of Lysias, for the one party to accuse these men of the wrongs they had suffered, than for the other to defend them in their course of proceeding.

4. ὡς Ἐρατοσθένει — κακὰ εἴργασται,] See above, at p. 136. n. 10.

5. ὅτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων—] Amongst all the Greeks taken together, who had been advisers of war, no one had been the cause of greater misfortunes to Athens than Eratosthenes. REISKE.

6. οὐκ οἴονται] understand διὰ τοῦτο. REISKE.

7. καταψηφιεῖσθε,] Attic for καταψηφίσεσθε, from καταψηφίζομαι, *condemn*. ἀποψηφίζομαι, *acquit*. See above, at p. 43. n. 6, and at p. 57. n. 2; also at p. 139. n. 7.

147 1. οἴσεσθε] 2 pl. pres. imperat. m. from the obsolete οἴω, *bring*.

2. Βούλομαι—] The order is: Βούλομαι δὲ καταβαίνειν, ἀναμνήσας ἑκατέρους ὀλίγα. The translation: *I will descend, after briefly recalling to your minds the condition of both.* Καταβαίνειν is used with reference to the elevated stand on which the orator stood. See above, at p. 134. n. 1.

3. σφόδρα ἤρχεσθε,] See above, at p. 46. n. 1.

4. ἐν ᾧ ἡττηθέντες—] *in which, if, on the one hand, you were conquered, you would be on a level with your conquerors;* that is, equally slaves to the Thirty Tyrants, as were those by whom they had been conquered. REISKE. Being conquered, they became free; if they conquered, they remained slaves, that is, οἱ ἐξ ἄστεος. POPKIN.

5. τούτοις] that is, the Thirty Tyrants.

6. ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων] understand τῶν τότε ὑπαρχόντων. The word πράγματα is often taken in a bad sense for *difficulties, a disturbed and unpleasant condition of affairs*. REISKE. Translate then, *from those difficulties in which they were then involved.*

7. Συνωφελεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἠξίουν, συνδιαβάλλεσθαι δ' ἠνάγκαζον·] *For they did not think you worthy of sharing advantages with them, but they compelled you to share their disgrace.*

8. φύλακας τῆς σφετέρας ἀρχῆς—] *the guardians of their sway.* We are to understand by φύλακας, *Lacedæmonian auxiliaries of the Tyrants.* The common reading for σφετέρας was ὑμετέρας. Markland suggested the change, which Reiske sanctions.

9. πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ὅπλων ἀναμνήσθητε,—] *in the first place, indeed, recall to mind your arms, — that, after having fought many battles abroad, you were despoiled of your arms, not by your enemies, but by these men, in time of peace.* The active ἀφαιρέω governs two accusatives, one of which is retained by the passive. See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXVII.

148 1. καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς τῆς νομιζομένης εἴασαν τυχεῖν·] *nor allowed them the common rites of burial.* See above, at p. 146. n. 2, at the end.

2. τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίας.] *than to be liable to overthrow by divine vengeance.*

Line 14. ἐν πολεμίᾳ τῇ πατρίδι—] *in their own country, which was hostile.*

3. αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν—] The order is: αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐφεύγετε δεδιότες μὴ πάθητε τοιαῦτα, οἷα καὶ πρότερον. The translation: *you would have fled, impressed with the fear of suffering the same sad calamities as before.*

4. διὰ τοὺς τούτων τρόπους] *on account of their dispositions.* The theme of τρόπος, *turn, cast*, or *disposition of mind*, is τρέπω, *turn*.

5. ἐπὶ ξένης,] supply χώρας.

6. μικρῶν ἂν ἕνεκα συμβολαίων ἐδουλεύον,] *would have been reduced to slavery, for some little debt.*

7. *Ἀλλὰ γὰρ —*] The ellipsis here seems to be : *But* there is no need of further suppositions ; *for*, —. See above, at p. 62. n. 1.

8. *Ὅμως δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἐλλέλειπται*] The insertion of *οὐδὲν* after *προθυμίας* was made by Reiske. But this is to change entirely the author's meaning. Nor ought *οὐδὲν* to be inserted. Since Lysias does not say, that he has omitted nothing which ought to have been mentioned about the temples of the gods ; but that his genius would be inadequate to that task. For *ὅμως δὲ* is not here *nevertheless*, but *accordingly*. For the original meaning of this particle, see Hoogeveen's Doct. Part. Gr. L. p. 817. Translate then, *ἐλλέλειπται τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν*, *and accordingly my eagerness to speak for the temples is insufficient*, — it is inadequate to the subject, which would require the joint efforts of many. The sense, Taylor thinks, is *Many things are left unsaid by me wishing to say them.*

9. *τὰ μὲν ἀπέδοντο,*] The orator alludes to vases, votive offerings, and other sacred treasures deposited in the temples, which had been removed and sold. MARKLAND.

1. *οἷς ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ζῶσιν ἐπαμῦναι οὐκ ἠδύνασθε, ἀποθανοῦσι βοηθήσατε.*] *whom, since you could not protect them while alive, avenge now that they are dead.* 149

Line 2. *Οἶμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ὑμῶν τε ἀκροᾶσθαι,*] The poet pictures the dead as present, and awaiting with interest the decision of the judges about their murderers.

2. *ἀποψηφίσησθε, — καταψηφιεῖσθαι·*] See above, at p. 146. n. 7.

3. *τιμωρίας πεποιημένους.*] Reiske thinks *φανήσεσθαι* should be inserted.

II. NOTES ON ISOCRATES.

1. Ex ISOCRATE.] Isocrates, an Athenian orator who flourished nearly at the same time with Lysias, was born at Erechthea, a village of Attica, about 436 B. C. The opulence of his father Theodorus afforded him the means of an excellent education, so far as outward helps could advance him. As he was destined for political life, he was sent to hear the principal teachers of eloquence in Greece. Gorgias of Leontium, Tisias of Syracuse, and Theramenes, the Athenian, are mentioned as having been at different times his masters. Isocrates, however, was prevented by his constitutional timidity, and some weakness of his voice, from taking that active part in public affairs, which engaged so much of the time of his teachers, as to entitle them rather to the name of statesmen, than of rhetoricians. He sought fame by other avenues. And in retirement he devoted himself to the instruction of young men in eloquence, and to the composition of those speeches, which were destined to transmit his name to our times. He had once striven to make up in some degree for the loss of his patrimony in the Peloponnesian War, by writing defences for those accused in courts of justice ; which employment he soon abandoned for the more congenial task of teaching. He first opened 151

his school at Chios; and, after his reputation was established, transferred it to Athens. He found leisure for the cultivation of philosophical, political, and ethical studies; and by keeping aloof from the disputes of his countrymen, could better apply his speculations to their profit. His school was the resort of the flower of the Athenian youth, and Demosthenes, its most distinguished member, always acknowledged the superiority of Isocrates in the art of composition. He died in his ninety-eighth year, through grief, as some say, at the blow which the liberties of Greece received in the fatal battle of Chæronea.

Of his orations, twenty-one have come down to us. Ten letters also, bearing his name, are still extant. His style, like that of Lysias, is pure and correct; though occasionally some affectation of a poetical rhythm, and caprice in the arrangement of words and choice of figures, have called forth criticism. In the invention of arguments he is equal to Lysias; in their arrangement, his superior. "Lysias is neat and dexterous in the management of minute points; Isocrates excels in the management of great ones." An element of moral beauty, apparent at intervals in his sentiments, gives him, in the last analysis, a great advantage over his contemporary; while the justice of his political speculations elevates him above the partisan feelings of the democratic Lysias.

The learner is referred to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and to Gillies, for further information about Isocrates. See also Encyclopædia Metropolitana, Art. *Grecian Eloquence.*

2. *ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ* —] That is, *The Oration of* ISOCRATES *to Demonicus*. This oration was addressed to Demonicus, a young Athenian, who was cousin-german to Alcibiades, and, together with the other relations of that singular man, involved in his misfortunes. His father was named Hipponicus. He was a man of wealth and high reputation for his virtues, and one of the friends of Isocrates. To the son the orator here gives precepts for his guidance to comfort and happiness; and, more than these, to honor and virtue.

Wolf notices the regular division of this performance into three parts, viz. The Introduction, The Maxims on Manners and Morals, and The Peroration.

3. *διεστώσας*] *different*, for *διεστηκότας*. *διεστώς, διεστῶσα, διεστώς* is Attic for *διεστηκώς, -υῖα, -ός*. On the real time of this tense in this place, see above, at p. 27. n. 4; and at p. 29. n. 4.

4. *εἰλήφασιν*] The perfect here also has the force of the present. See Buttmann, § 113, 6. Translate the clause, *but they have assumed by far the greatest difference*; that is, *they differ most of all.*

Line 7. *διέλυσε*·] This aorist is used as mentioning something customary, or of ordinary occurrence. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 137. n. 5. See above, at p. 19. n. 6. The sentence may be thus translated: *And, indeed, a short space of time* ALWAYS *dissolves the connexions of the wicked.*

5. *τὰς δὲ τῶν σπουδαίων φιλίας οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν ἐξαλείψειεν.*] *but even eternity itself would not be able to obliterate the friendships of the worthy*. See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

6. *τοὺς δόξης ὀρεγομένους,*] *those striving for fame.* *ὀρέγω*, in the

active voice, signifies *reach out; ὀρέγομαι*, middle, *stretch one's self out for any thing*, and, secondarily, *seek, strive for, desire.*

7. *παιδείας ἀντιποιουμένους,*] *ἀντιποιέω*, active, signifies *act in opposition, do in turn, render an equivalent ; ἀντιποιέομαι*, middle, *assert right to, claim*, and is joined with the genitive. See H. STEPHENS.

1. *ἀκμὴν φιλοσοφεῖς,*] *ἀκμὴν* is properly the accusative of *ἀκμή*, 152 *edge, highest point*, and as such governed by *κατά*, understood. Here, as often elsewhere, it is to be taken adverbially. Some translate it *already ;* others, and better, make it signify *ardently, earnestly.* With Isocrates *φιλοσοφεῖν* often means little more than *study*, and *οἱ φιλόσοφοι* is a word synonymous with *students, literary men.* AUGER.

2. *τοὺς προτρεπτικοὺς λόγους*] *encouraging discourses ;* here these words seem to mean *reasons for cultivating eloquence.*

3. *οὐ μὴν περί γε τὸ κράτιστον τῆς φιλοσοφίας διατρίβουσιν·*] *yet are not engaged in those literary pursuits which are the highest.* Notice here the wide sense in which *φιλοσοφία* is used ; but we ought to remember that it was not an unusual one in other authors, as well as Isocrates. See n. 1.

4. *ἀλλ'· ὅπως τὰ τῶν τρόπων—*] The order is : *ἀλλ' ὅπως δόξουσι πεφυκέναι σπουδαῖοι [κατὰ] τὰ ἤθη τῶν τρόπων.* The translation: *but in order that they may seem endowed by nature with uprightness as to their habits and dispositions. τροπὸς, a disposition, a turn of mind*, is derived from *τρέπω, turn.* See above, at p. 90. n. 2, and at p. 148. n. 4.

5. *οὐ παράκλησιν—ἀλλὰ παραίνεσιν—*] There is some disagreement about the difference of meaning between *παράκλησιν* and *παραίνεσιν.* Auger understands by the first *an exhortation to the study of eloquence ;* and by the second, *an encouragement to virtue.* Wolf calls the first *an exhortation*, and the last, *directions, precepts, information.*

6. *Κάλλος μὲν γὰρ ἢ χρόνος ἀνήλωσεν, ἢ νόσος ἐμάρανε·*] *For either time consumes, or disease impairs beauty.* On the use of the aorist in this indeterminate sense, see Buttmann's Syntax, § 137. n. 5. See also above, at p. 19. n. 6.

7. *Ῥώμη—ὠφέλησεν,—ἔβλαψε·*] See on these aorists the preceding note.

8. *τῶν ἀσκούντων*] With this participle understand *ἑαυτοὺς*,—*those who exercise themselves ;* that is, *οἱ ἀθληταί.* WOLF.

1. *τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων.*] See above, at p. 136. n. 10. 153

2. *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ*] *Yet no ! rather even.* See Buttmann's Syntax, § 150. Others translate, *nevertheless ;* others again, *but*, alone.

3. *καὶ τοῖς φίλοις κοινός·*] *and devoted without reserve to his friends.* AUGER.

4. *Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν—*] *We will show the exact truth about them at a more favorable opportunity.* Some choose to consider *τὸ ἀκριβὲς* as referring to *their perfection.*

5. *ἐξενηνόχαμεν.*] *We have produced*, or *exhibited*, 1 pl. perf. Attic for *ἐξηνόχαμεν*, from *ἐξ* and the obsolete *ἐνέκω*, the same as *φέρω.* perf. m. *ἤνοχα*, Attic, *ἐνήνοχα.*

1. *Οὕτω δὲ τὴν γνώμην—*] The order is : *ἀδύνατον δ' [ἐστὶ] τὸν* 154 *μὴ πεπληρωμένον πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἀκουσμάτων οὕτω διατεθῆναι τὴν γνώμην.* The translation : *but it is impossible that he who is not*

filled with many beautiful precepts should be so affected in his mind. διατεθῆναι is 1 aor. pass. of διατίθημι. See above, at p. 7. n. 10.

2. αὔξεσθαι πέφυκε.] *is naturally improved.* See above, at p. 68. n. 1.

3. συντόμως ὑποθέσθαι,] *to communicate,* or *suggest concisely,* or *in a few words.* The form of the optative which follows is Attic; the usual one is δοκέοις, δοκοῖς. See above, at p. 94. n. 2.

4. αὐθάδης·] *conceited.*

Line 28. κρατεῖσθαι] *to be contained.*

155 1. Εὐλαβοῦ τὰς διαβολάς,] *Guard yourself from,* or, *beware of, accusations,* —.

2. εὐδοκιμοίης, —] An Attic optative for εὐδοκιμοῖς. See above, at p. 94. n. 2. Construe as follows: *would have the best reputation,* εἰ φαίνοιο ταῦτα μὴ πράττων, *if you were known to be unwilling to do,* —. On the use of δοκέω to express what is certain, see above, at p. 46. n. 1. The Attic optative ἐπιτιμῴης occurs in the next clause, for ἐπιτιμῷς, from ἐπιτιμάω, *censure.*

156 1. τοῖς αὐτοῖς,] *with the same men;* περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, *about the same things.*

2. Ὑφ' ὧν κρατεῖσθαι —] The order is: ἄσκει ἐγκράτειαν πάντων τούτων, ὑφ' ὧν αἰσχρὸν [ἐστὶ] τὴν ψυχὴν κρατεῖσθαι. The translation: *Exercise temperance in all those things which it is base for the soul to be conquered by.* — In the line below, translate Ἔσῃ δὲ ἐν τῷ κέρδει τοιοῦτος, *and you will be such,* that is, *temperate, in regard to gain.*

3. ἀξιώσειας·] See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

4. Δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς —] Construe, γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας φαίνεσθαι παρεχομένους τρόπον πιστότερον ὅρκου. *For good men ought to show plainly, that their disposition is more to be depended upon than an oath.* See above, at p. 155. n. 2.

5. Ὅρκον ἐπακτὸν —] *An oath required of thee, an oath tendered to thee* —.

6. φιλοχρημάτως ἔχειν.] *to be avaricious.* See above, at p. 86. n. 1.

157 1. Μὴ τυχὼν μὲν γάρ,] that is, πίστεως καὶ σιγῆς. Wolf.

Line 7. ἀνακοινοῖ.] ἀνακοινῇ, ἀνακοινόῃ, ἀνακοινοῖ, are the different readings at this place.

2. Παραπλήσιον — πάσχουσιν,] *are in a like situation.* πάσχω, signifies *I am in a situation,* whether good or bad.

158 1. Πειρῶ τὸν πλοῦτον χρήματα —] There is considerable difference of opinion about the precise meaning of this passage. The difficulty lies, in the first place, in finding the intended antithesis between χρήματα and κτήματα, and, in the next place, between ἀπολαύειν and κτᾶσθαι. Auger refers ἀπολαύειν to the use of the *conveniences* of life; κτᾶσθαι, to the possession of the *necessaries* of life. He would then annex to χρήματα, the idea of *superfluities;* and to κτήματα the idea of *necessaries.* Wolf places the difference of the meaning of these verbs in the difference between the ideas of *enjoying* and *using.* Dr. Popkin quotes Lange as sanctioning the translation which follows: *Connect the possession of riches and the use;* that is, *Be neither a spendthrift nor a miser.* The real difference, then, between χρήματα and κτήματα would seem to be, that between *things to use,* and *things to keep.*

2. τοῦ τε ζημίαν μεγάλην ἐκτῖσαι,] *both in order to make up for a great loss.*

3. *ὥσπερ τοὺς τυχόντας,*] *as at indifferent persons; ὁ τυχὼν, any body that chances.*

4. *Ἐὰν ἀποδέχῃ τῶν φίλων τοὺς*—] *If you embrace those of your friends who flatter you for your worst qualities, you will never have in life* [that is, *you never will have so long as you live*] *those who will encounter your hatred, by imparting the best influences.*

5. *καρτερήσειαν*·] *can endure.* See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

6. *ὀργιζόμενοι τυγχάνωσιν*·] See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

1. *ὅπερ πάσχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ,*] *which is the case with the bulk of* 159
mankind. See above, at p. 157. n. 2.

2. *Ἀθάνατα μὲν φρόνει*—] *By the elevation of your sentiments aspire after immortality; and by a temperate use of the present world show a sense of your mortality.*

Line 14. *τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας,*] *than rudeness.*

3. *προσεζημίωσε*] *brings loss besides.* See above, at p. 19. n. 6; also at p. 97. n. 2.

1. *Μιμοῦ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἤθη,*] *Imitate the manners of kings.* 160
It has been observed, that, if the manners of kings were never bad, this maxim would not be without its worth. Isocrates, writing to a young man educated under a popular government, and transplanted to the court of a monarch, recommends entire submission to the will of the prince to whose laws he is, for the time being, subject. AUGER.

2. *Εἰς ἀρχὴν καταστα θεὶς,*] *Being appointed a magistrate.*

3. *Μηδενὶ πονηρῷ πράγματι*—] *Neither uphold nor defend a base action.* Both of these verbs, according to Wolf, have a primary reference to the vocation of lawyers; the former, to *letting the guilty escape by not appearing against them*; the latter, *to defending the guilty when on trial.*

4. *ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς δικαιοσύνης,*] *to seek justice.* See above, at p. 151. n. 6.

1. *ἀλλ' οὖν ἐλπίσι γε*] *ἀλλ'* here signifies *at least*; in which 161
sense it frequently has with it *γε οὖν, οὖν γε,* or *γοῦν. οὖν* is illative; *γε* is a particle of limitation, and here merely strengthens the meaning of *ἀλλά.* Translate the three words *at least, then* —.

2. *γίνου δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν μηδετέροις ὢν κατάδηλος.*] The order is: *δὲ γίνου ὢν κατάδηλος τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν μηδετέροις.* The translation: *be conspicuous in neither.* The reading of different copies varies between *ἐν μηδετέροις* and *μηδ' ἐν ἑτέροις.*

1. *ἡ πεπρωμένη*] *fate,* from *πρόω.* Compare *πεπερατωμένη,* from 162
περατόω, allot, finish.

2. *χάριν σχοίην,*] *thank. σχοίην* Attic for *σχοῖμι.* See above, at p. 94. n. 2.

3. *ἣν ἔχων—τυγχάνω.*] See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

1. *αἱ λῦπαι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς παραπεπήγασι.*] *pain clings to pleasure.* 163
πεπήγασι is perf. m. from *πηγνύω,* or *πήγνυμι,* which signifies *fasten;* in the middle this verb has the meaning of *adhere.* The Greeks sometimes, like the French, use the article with the names of general ideas.

2. *τὰς τέρψεις εἰλικρινεῖς*] Reference is had to those enjoyments which are neither attended nor followed by ill consequences. WOLF.

3. *φαύλοις ἐνδέχεται τὰ τυχόντα πράττειν*·] *bad men may do any*

thing they wish. See above, at p. 158. n. 3. The parenthesis may be thus translated: *for they have professedly laid out such a plan of life.* For πεποίηνται, passive, used as middle, see Buttmann, § 136. 3. Some MSS. have ὅτι instead of διότι. If the latter is retained, we should consider it as used for the former.

4. οὐχ οἷόντε] See above, at p. 5. n. 6.

Line 18. ἐλαττουμένους] *deficient;* that is, *belying the opinion which had been formed of them.*

164 1. ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς καλοκἀγαθίας·] *to aspire after every thing fair and good,—after all moral virtue.* See above, at p. 151. n. 6.

2. τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἁμαρτίας ἐπικρατήσειεν.] *should be able to subdue the failings of his nature.* See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

III. NOTES ON DEMOSTHENES.

165 1. E Demosthene.] Demosthenes is by general consent entitled to precedence of all other orators. The fastidious delicacy of Cicero even could find nothing to censure in his compositions. Nay, the Roman orator considered him not only to have surpassed all actually existing models in his art, but to have effected all that taste could desire or imagination conceive; in short, to have attained the beau ideal of excellence. The year of his birth is uncertain; probably between 364 and 351 B. C. His father, who bore the same name, was an Athenian citizen of opulence and rank, and the proprietor of an extensive sword-manufactory. He died when his son was only seven years old, leaving a large amount of property to the latter, which was appropriated by his guardians to their own purposes. The early studies of Demosthenes were impeded by the anxiety of his mother about his health. He seems, however, to have paid some attention to philosophy in his early years, having frequented the schools of Plato and Euclid of Megara. When he was about sixteen, he was inflamed with the desire of becoming an orator, from hearing Callistratus plead a cause successfully, and noticing the applause bestowed upon him. He studied rhetoric under Isæus and Isocrates, and made his appearance in public as his own advocate against his guardians. But, though successful in this attempt, his early efforts to gain distinction as a speaker failed on account of the weakness of his voice, and the indistinctness of his utterance. He accordingly secluded himself by the seashore, and resorted to various expedients to strengthen his voice, and overcome his other physical disqualifications for public speaking. Accounts of many of these expedients have come down to us with different degrees of credibility. His resolute struggle with his difficulties was successful, and he returned to Athens, henceforth to be confessed by all the first of her orators. In that capacity the only drawback upon his fame was the industry and previous study which he always bestowed upon his rhetorical efforts. Yet, when occasion demanded, he showed himself great in extempore speak-

ing. Though no threat or danger could silence his voice or check his eloquence in the Athenian assembly, he was not formed for military command. At Chæronea he fled from the field of battle. He had early foreseen the dangers which threatened Athens from Macedon, and striven to rouse his countrymen to a sense of them. The joy of both was unbounded at the news of the death of Philip. But their hopes soon fell, when they saw how vigorous and ambitious was the policy of his son. The good name of Demosthenes now for the first time was blighted. He was accused of taking a bribe from Harpalus, and condemned by the court of Areopagus to imprisonment. By the aid of some friends he escaped from Athens, and went into exile. On the death of Alexander his countrymen recalled him from banishment, sent a ship to Ægina to bring him home, and went in a body to the Piræus to receive him. But he was not allowed to remain long in the enjoyment of his recovered popularity. When Antipater approached Athens, and renewed the demand which Alexander had made, for his being delivered up for punishment, Demosthenes avoided this disgrace by flight, and eventually by a voluntary death, — "the usual refuge of Pagan fortitude, when resistance to surrounding evils was useless, and escape appeared impossible." This event took place in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, whither he had fled on the approach of Antipater, and availed himself of its protection as a sanctuary. He was then about sixty-two years old. The learner is referred to Plutarch for the best account of this extraordinary man. Lucian, Libanius, and Suidas may also be consulted.

There are extant under his name sixty-one orations, sixty-five introductions, and six epistles. Extracts from the most celebrated orations are given in the selections of our text; notices of the occasions on which these were delivered, will precede the notes to each extract. For criticisms on Demosthenes the learner is referred to Cicero and Quinctilian. Some opinions on his merits as an orator are given below. Cicero speaks as follows about him: In Demosthenes "Tantum studium fuisse, tantúsque labor dicitur, ut primùm impedimenta naturæ diligentiâ industriâque superaret: cúmque ita balbus esset, ut ejus ipsius artis, cui studeret, primam literam non posset dicere, perfecit meditando, ut nemo planiùs eo locutus putaretur: deinde cum spiritus ejus esset angustior, tantum continendâ animâ in dicendo est assecutus, ut unâ continuatione verborum (id quod ejus scripta declarant) binæ ei contentiones vocis et remissiones continerentur: qui etiam (ut memoriæ proditum est) conjectis in os calculis, summâ voce versus multos uno spiritu pronuntiare consuescebat; neque id consistens in loco, sed inambulans, atque adscensu ingrediens arduo." [De Orator. Lib. I. 61.] Valerius Maximus says, "Commemorato ejus nomine, maximæ eloquentiæ consummatio animo oboritur audientium." [VIII. 7.] The judgment of Quinctilian follows, and may conclude our notices of its subject. "Sequitur oratorum ingens manus, cum decem simul Athenis ætas una tulerit: quorum longè princeps Demosthenes, ac pænè lex orandi fuit: tanta vis in eo, tam densa omnia, ita quibusdam nervis intenta sunt, tam nihil otiosum, is dicendi modus, ut nec quid desit in eo, nec quid redundet invenias." [Inst. Orat. Lib. X. 1.]

2. *ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΤΑ*—] That is, *The First Oration of* Demosthenes *against* Philip; commonly known as the First Philippic.

The student in entering upon the study of Demosthenes, should be informed, that the difficulties in the way of understanding him arise not from the words he uses, for these are generally words of common occurrence, but from the order of their collocation, and the exquisite structure of his sentences; an art in which our orator excelled all others. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, in his treatise *Περὶ τῆς λεκτικῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος*, c. 51; *Ὁ τοσαύτης δόξης ἠξιωμένος ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ λόγοις, ὅσης οὐδεὶς τῶν πρότερον, αἰώνια συντάττόμενος ἔργα, καὶ τῷ πάντα βασανίζοντι χρόνῳ παραδιδοὺς, οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτυχόντος ἔγραφεν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἐν τοῖς νοήμασιν οἰκονομίας πολλὴν ἐποιεῖτο δόσιν, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἁρμονίας. The man who has been thought worthy of greater fame for his eloquence than any of his predecessors, wrote down nothing carelessly, composing works for eternity, and transmitting them to time, which tests every thing. But in just the same way as he bestowed great care on the disposition of his arguments, so also he paid attention to the harmony of words in his sentences.* See further, the treatise from which this extract is made; in which the admirable powers of Demosthenes are set forth. See also two octavo volumes, published at Edinburgh, in 1774, with the title "Of the Origin and Progress of Language"; and, especially the Second Dissertation appended to the second volume, on the Composition of the Ancients; and particularly on that of Demosthenes.

3. *ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ*] *τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μέγας ἐγεννήθη. The king of the Macedonians; from whom and Olympias, Alexander the Great was born.* So great was the fame of these orations, that Cicero preferred entitling his orations against Anthony *Philippics* to naming them after their object. An unfortunate end awaited both orators; Demosthenes destroying himself to avoid the fate threatened at the hands of Antipater; and Cicero perishing more cruelly by command of the successful oppressors of Rome.

On the Argument.

4. *ὙΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ*—] *The Argument.* Libanius the Sophist, who was born at Antioch of a noble family, and flourished about the middle of the fourth century after Christ, is the author of this Argument. He began his literary career late in life. He wrote a number of works, and among others, Arguments to the Orations of Demosthenes. The Attic was his favorite dialect, but he did not attain its highest graces.

5. *καὶ εἰσηγεῖται, πῶς ἂν ἄριστα τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖεν.*] *and gives them advice as to the best way of preparing themselves for the war.* *προσενεχθεῖεν* is by syncope for *προσενεχθείησαν*, 3 pl. 1 aor. opt. pass. of *προσφέρω*, *offer*. See above, at p. 153. n. 5. In the middle this verb has the secondary meaning of *prepare one's self;* and in the aorist passive is often taken in a middle sense. See above, at p. 7. n. 10.

6. *πολιτικήν,*] Construe, *consisting of citizens,* — *πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἐπικαίρων χρείας ἕτοιμος ὑπάρξει, shall be ready on occasional emergencies.*
7. *παραμεμιγμένων δέ·*] *but mingled with citizens ; πολίταις* being understood.
8. *μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς βοηθείας·*] *and not to make their excursions from the city. βοηθείας ποιεῖσθαι* is used by Æschines in the sense of *supplying aid.*
9. *ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀναστρέφεσθαι,*] *but to be on duty in or near Macedonia.*
10. *τοὺς ἐτησίας*] that is, *τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους.* "Caniculæ exortum diebus octo fermè Aquilones antecedunt, quos Prodromos vocant. Post biduum autem exortus, iidem Aquilones constantiùs perflant, diebus quadraginta, quos Etesias vocant." Pliny, Book II. 47. Aristotle, in his treatise *Περὶ Κόσμου,* says, the Etesian winds blow from the north and south. As Athens was to the south, and Macedon to the north, these winds, in the summer, when they blow from the north, would be unfavorable to one sailing from Athens to Macedonia; but favorable for a voyage in the contrary direction. In the winter season, though the southerly winds prevailed, all navigation was more dangerous. WOLF.

ON THE ORATION.

1. *Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προυτίθετο — λέγειν,*] *If, on* 166
the one hand, it were proposed to speak about any new thing. προυτίθετο is Attic for *προετίθετο.*
2. *ἐπισχὼν*] *refraining.* See above, at p. 3. n. 7. The particle *ἂν* is to be construed with *ἦγον* below. This particle is often used in the beginning of a sentence as the indication of an optative or subjunctive following ; or of an indicative in the sense of either of these modes. In such cases it is not infrequently repeated near the close of the sentence; as here *ἐπισχὼν ἄν, ἕως οἱ πλεῖστοι, κ. τ. λ. — ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἦγον.*
3. *οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο,*] *the greatest number of those, who have been accustomed to speak, had declared their opinion,* as is indicated by the middle voice. The orator alludes to the law of Solon, by which those who had passed the age of fifty had been privileged to give their opinions first ; and then such other citizens as wished were allowed to speak in turn. This law was not in force at that time. See *ΑΙΣΧΙΝΟΥ κατὰ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ λόγος,* near the beginning. Demosthenes seems to recognise the justice of the law, even when he is breaking it. But he gives sufficient reasons for so doing.
4. *τότ' ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην,*] Construe, *then even I myself would have attempted,* — *ἃ γιγνώσκω, λέγειν,* that is, *λέγειν τὰ πράγματα, ἃ γιγνώσκω εἶναι βέλτιστα, to mention the things, which I know to be best.*
5. *Ἐπειδὴ δέ, περὶ ὧν —*] that is, *περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, περὶ ὧν —.* See above, at p. 86. n. 4. Construe, *but since it happens, even now, that we are considering about the things, about which these men have formerly spoken frequently, ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστάς, εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν, I imagine, that though I have stood up first, I shall probably meet with indulgence.* On the constructions

ἡγοῦμαι ἀναστάς, ἡγοῦμαι ἀναστὰς τυγχάνειν, and ἂν τυγχάνειν, see above, at p. 94. n. 4.

6. συνεβούλευσαν — βουλεύεσθαι,] συμβουλεύειν, in the active, signifies *give counsel* or *advice*; συμβουλεύεσθαι in the middle has the force of *procure advice, consult, take counsel together*. βουλεύεσθαι has the meaning of *consult together*, and sometimes that of *deliberate*. Compare λογίζεσθαι, ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, κ. τ. λ.

7. ἀθυμητέον,] supply ἐστὶν ὑμῖν.

8. φαύλως ἔχειν] See above, at p. 86. n. 1.

9. Ἔπειτα ἐνθυμητέον,] supply ἐστὶν ὑμῖν. Construe: *Afterwards you must consider*, καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι, *both you who have heard from others*, καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμιμνησκομένοις, *and you know from your own recollections*, —.

10. ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολύς,] that is, ἐξ οὗ χρόνου οὐκ ἔστι πολὺς χρόνος, *it is not long since*.

11. ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων,] *in behalf of the rights of Greece*.

12. ἧς ἐκρατεῖτε] See above, at p. 3. n. 3.

13. καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει τούτου,] The orator refers to Philip of Macedon; who had assailed the independence of Greece, and made hostile demonstrations upon Attica, having forced the pass of Thermopylæ. JUVENCIUS. Notice with how much contempt Demosthenes speaks of Philip. He usually designates him by the word ἄνθρωπος. Scarcely once does he call him king. MOUNTENEY.

14. καὶ τὸ — τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει,] καὶ τὸ, — that is, σκοπῶν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, κ. τ. λ., *and viewing also the following circumstance*, viz. *that all these strong places are lost to the state*.

167 1. οἰκεῖον — κύκλῳ,] κύκλῳ, *all around*; οἰκεῖον, *in alliance with us*.

2. κατέστραπται] perf. pass. with the sense of the middle. See above, at p. 95. n. 1.

3. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν,] *you also were willing to be of such an opinion now*, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πρότερον, *whereas*, you were *not* willing *formerly*.

4. συνελόντι δ' [ἁπλῶς] εἰπεῖν,] This expression is equivalent to ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν τὸν λόγον ἁπλῶς εἴπω. WOLF. Translate: *that I may speak simply, comprehending every circumstance*. But Reiske considers the word ἁπλῶς to have crept into the text from the margin.

5. ἣν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι·] *if you choose to be your own masters*, —.

6. τὰ κατεῤῥαθυμημένα] Διὰ ῥᾳθυμίας προειμένα ὑφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀπολωλότα. WOLF. ἀναλήψεσθε, *will recover*. POPKIN.

168 1. ἔνι,] for ἔνεστι, as ἔπι for ἔπεστι. But ἐπὶ is a preposition.

2. κατέπτηχε μέντοι ταῦτα πάντα νῦν,] Construe: *Now, indeed, all these things are hidden through fear*. οὐκ ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφήν, *since they have no scope*. κατέπτηχε is perf. act. of καταπτήσσω, *to amaze, strike with wonder, act under the influence of fear*.

3. οἷ — ἀσελγείας] *to what a pitch of arrogance*, —

4. καὶ οὐχ οἷός τε ἐστὶν, ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται, μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων·] *and, though in possession of the places which he hath subdued, is incapable of remaining upon them, — cannot be contented with them*; [See above, at p. 5. n. 6.] ἀλλ' αἰεί τι προσπεριβάλλεται, *but is perpetually throwing around himself something additional*, — that is, *is constantly enlarging his conquests all around*. For προσπεριβάλλεται

refers to ἃ κατέστραπται above. But, on the force of the preposition πρὸς in composition, see above, at p. 97. n. 2. See also above, at p. 167. n. 2.

5. περιστοιχίζεται.] ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν κυνηγετῶν· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐκδρομὰς τῶν θηρίων, ὀρθὰ ξύλα ἱστᾶσιν ἃ καλοῦσι στοίχους, ἢ στόχους, καταπεταννύντες αὐτῶν δίκτυα, ἵνα, ἐὰν αὐτοὺς ἐκφύγῃ τὰ θηρία, εἰς τὰ δίκτυα ἐμπέσῃ. SCHOLIAST. Perhaps it may be well to take no notice of this gloss, and translate περιστοιχίζεται, simply *surrounds.* Stephens took the side of the Scholiast. But Reiske made no account of him, and speaks in no measured terms of the whole race. "The Scholiasts," says he, "for the most part trifle, and I always avoid having any thing to do with creatures so foolish, whose stupidity one is at a loss whether most to laugh at or pity." He declares, that, "if it had been for him to decide, he would have allowed no scholia to be inserted in his edition; most of them being empty, futile, stupid, trifling, and puerile." See his Preface to the Scholia on Demosthenes. This language, however, is too severe. For what Virgil said of Ennius is true of the Scholiasts; that "ex illorum stercore aurum sæpè colligendum esse."

6. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἴομαι — τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι.—] *for truly I am of opinion, that the disgrace arising from their conduct,* &c.

7. περιϊόντες αὐτοῦ] *going about here,* — κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν· *throughout the forum.* Longinus notices the aptness of these interrogations and inquiries, in his Treatise on the Sublime, § 18. See p. 312.

8. Γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν —] γὰρ is here again used with reference to something elegantly suppressed. "But, indeed, something new is said. *For could any thing be newer.*" See above, at p. 62. n. 1.

9. ὅπως βούλεσθε, διοικήσαισθε.] *you would manage as you wish.* That is, you would reduce Macedonia to a state of dependence. The orator is careful only to hint his meaning in ambiguous and obscure language. An accurate translator will be careful not to set in too strong a light what derives force and dignity from obscurity. JUVENCIUS.

10. ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε,] *but as you now behave,* —ἀπηρτημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις, *being in suspense,* or *undecided, both in your preparations and sentiments.*

1. Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ —] Construe: μὲν οὖν παύομαι λέγων, ὡς δεῖ 169
ἅπαντας ὑπάρχειν ἐθέλοντας ἑτοίμως ποιεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα, *On the one hand then I give over mentioning, that it is necessary for all to be willing readily to execute the things which are suitable,* ὡς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, *since you know and are convinced of it.*

2. ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν —] The order is: ἣν ἡγοῦμαι ἂν ἀλλάξαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων. The particle ἂν here gives the force of the potential to the infinitive.

3. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ καὶ τήμερον εἰπόντες, μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν·] *for those, who tell you to proceed instantly, and this very day, by no means speak most to the purpose.*

4. ἀλλ' ὃς ἂν δείξῃ,] that is, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος λέγει μάλιστα εἰς δέον, ὃς ἂν δείξῃ, κ. τ. λ. Translate λέγει μάλιστα εἰς δέον, *speaks most to the purpose.*

5. τέως ἂν ἢ διαλυσώμεθα, πεισθέντες, τὸν πόλεμον, —] *until either, being persuaded, we shall finish the war, or prove victorious over our enemies.*

6. *οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ*] that is, *διὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ*. Translate, ***no longer for the future.***

☞ The remainder of this oration is not less beautiful than the portion given in the text. The limits originally set to this work, however, will not allow further extracts. This Philippic was pronounced 352 years B. C., when the author was about thirty years of age.

170 1. *ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Α'.*] That is, THE FIRST OLYNTHIAC OF DEMOSTHENES.

OLYNTHUS, a city of Thrace, was situated on the peninsula of Pallene, at the head of the Toronaic gulf. This city had had frequent quarrels with Amyntas, the father of Philip, the Macedonian sovereign. It had opposed the succession of Philip to the throne. He nevertheless did not give way to his anger immediately, but, on the contrary, sought to lull his destined victims into a fatal repose; proceeding all the more slowly in his attempts to revenge himself, because vengeance was surer the longer he delayed. At length he laid siege to Olynthus, and in so doing called forth the three Olynthiac Orations of Demosthenes. In the first of them, the orator argues in favor of making a league with the Olynthians. In the others he refers to the alliance as concluded, and urges the necessity of fulfilling its conditions. One who has become acquainted with the powers of Demosthenes needs no further assurance as to the result. By Libanius, Ulpian, and some others, this oration is called the Second Olynthiac. And the oration beginning *ΑΝΤΙ πολλῶν ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρημάτων, κ. τ. λ.*, is commonly reckoned the first. The Argument of Libanius to his first oration, which is quite full and satisfactory, is a sort of preface to all the Olynthiacs, and is accordingly inserted below.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ὀλύνθος ἦν πόλις ἐπὶ Θράκης· Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ ταύτῃ τῶν ἐνοικούντων τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ· ἡ δὲ Χαλκὶς Ἀθηναίων ἄποικος. Πολλοὶ δὲ πόλεμοι καὶ ἔνδοξοι τῆς Ὀλύνθου· Ἀθηναίοις τε γὰρ ἐπολέμησεν ἄρχουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ παλαιὸν, καὶ αὖθις Λακεδαιμονίοις· χρόνῳ τε εἰς δύναμιν προῆλθε μεγάλην, καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν πόλεων ὑπερεῖχεν· (ά) ἦν γὰρ ἐπὶ Θράκης πολύ τι γένος Χαλκιδικόν. Φιλίππῳ δὲ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ συμμαχίαν οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ποιησάμενοι, καὶ πολεμοῦντες μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοκαταρχὰς, (β') καὶ, τοῦτο μὲν, Ἀνθεμοῦντα παρὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος εἰληφότες, πόλιν ἀμφισβητήσιμον Μακεδόσι καὶ Ὀλυνθίοις, τοῦτο δὲ, Ποτίδαιαν, ἣν Ἀθηναίων ἐχόντων ἐκπολιορκήσας ὁ Φίλιππος Ὀλυνθίοις παρέδωκεν, (γ') ὕστερον ὑποπτεύειν ἤρξαντο τὸν βασιλέα, ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ ταχεῖαν καὶ πολλὴν τὴν αὔξησιν, οὐ πιστὴν δὲ τὴν γνώμην· ἀποδημοῦντα δὲ τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν, πέμψαντες πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, κατελύσαντο τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, ποιοῦντες τοῦτο (δ') παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς Φίλιππον· (έ) συνετέθειντο γὰρ καὶ κοινῇ πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, κἂν ἄλλο τι δόξῃ, (ς') κοινῇ σπείσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος, πάλαι μὲν προφάσεως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δεόμενος, τότε δὲ ταύτην λαβὼν, ὡς τὰς συνθήκας παραβεβηκόσι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν ἐσπεισμένοις, πολέμον ἐπήνεγκεν. Οἱ δὲ πεπόμφασι πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας περὶ βοηθείας· οἷς ὁ Δημοσθένης συναγορεύει, βοηθεῖν κελεύων

τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις· καὶ φησὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθίων σωτηρίαν ἀσφάλειαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἶναι· σωζομένων γὰρ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, οὐδέποτε ἥξειν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Φίλιππον. * * *

Notes on the Arguments.

I. (α´.) ἦν γὰρ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης πολύ τι γένος Χαλκιδικόν.] *for a considerable number of people of Chalcidian extraction dwelt in Thrace.*

(β´.) καί, τοῦτο μέν,—τοῦτο δέ,] *and in the first place,—in the next place.* See above, at p. 6. n. 4.

(γ´.) ὕστερον ὑποπτεύειν ἤρξαντο τὸν βασιλέα,] *afterwards began to suspect the king.* About ἤρξαντο, see above, at p. 46. n. 1.

(δ´.) παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας] *contrary to the treaty,*—such being the force of the preposition παρά.

(ε´.) συνετέθειντο] *had covenanted.* The active, συντίθημι, has the meaning of *compose.* The middle, συντίθεμαι, that of *agree.* See above, at p. 116. n. 1.

(ϛ´.) κοινῇ σπείσασθαι.] On this verb, and the participle, a little below, see above, at p. 116. n. 1.

II. 2. Προσήκαντο μὲν τὴν πρεσβείαν—] *The Athenians have admitted the embassy of the Olynthians, and have determined to assist them.* Such is the state of the case when the orator begins to speak.

3. καὶ δεδιόσιν,] understand ἐκείνοις with δεδιόσιν, and translate, *to them being fearful,*—παρελθὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης, *Demosthenes stepping forth.*

4. ἀσθενεῖς εἶναι καθ' ἑαυτούς.] *were by themselves weak.*

Notes on the Oration.

5. ΕΠΙ πολλῶν μὲν ἄν τις ἰδεῖν,—δοκεῖ μοι,—] *Methinks that one, indeed, may perceive on many emergencies,* &c. With ἐπὶ πολλῶν supply παθημάτων, or something equivalent.—τις δοκεῖ μοι ἂν ἰδεῖν. The particle ἂν has in this sentence a potential force.

6. τὸ γὰρ—] *for the* circumstance—τοὺς [ἀνθρώπους] πολεμήσοντας Φιλίππῳ—*that the men who are on the eve of a war with Philip,* γεγενῆσθαι κεκτημένους καὶ ὅμορον χώραν καὶ τινα δύναμιν, *are in possession both of a contiguous territory and a considerable force.* The article agrees with γεγενῆσθαι, before which τοὺς πολεμήσοντας is an accusative.

7. Δεῖ τοίνυν,—αὐτούς,—] The pronoun seems to belong to ἡμᾶς understood. On the meanings of αὐτός, see Buttmann's Syntax, § 127.

8. χείρους—τῶν ὑπαρχόντων·] that is, τῆς τύχης, τοῦ καιροῦ, τῆς θείας εὐεργεσίας. We must make use of the opportunities and kindness of fortune. The liberality of the gods is to be welcomed and made the most of. Wolf. This neuter plural of ὑπάρχω is used for the divinity, or fortune, or any other person or thing, who is looked upon in the light of a cause of affairs being in such a condition as they may happen to be in. When, in the second Olynthiac, Demosthenes had declared that the gods and fortune favored the Athenians, he exhorted them not to be false to themselves, μὴ χείρους εἶναι δόξωμεν περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, *not*

to appear less careful of ourselves than are the gods, from whom we have these aids, or more simply, *more careless than we ought to be in the present condition of affairs.*

9. ὡς ἔστι τῶν αἰσχρῶν,] *since it is*, or *since it would be* of the number *of things* which are *base*, — ὡς ἔστι is equivalent to ὡς ἂν εἴη. See above, at p. 122. n. 6.

10. φαίνεσθαι προϊεμένους,] *to be plainly giving up.* See above, at p. 46. n. 1. Stephens, at the word προΐεμαι, quotes this passage, with the remark, that προΐεσθαί τι is used without the dative in the sense of *lose*, or *allow to escape;* noticing the use of the genitive here. See H. Stephens, Thes. I. 1670.

11. Τὸ μὲν οὖν, — τὴν Φιλίππου ῥώμην διεξιέναι,] *to commemorate the strength and power of Philip.* Which were not originally great, but had now been increased by his ambition and watchfulness; and might afford a good lesson to the Athenians in the arts of increasing their influence and consideration. Wolf.

171 1. αἰσχύνην ὠφλήκατε.] A figure which Demosthenes is very fond of using; it has a primary reference to debtors, or to those who lose their suits in court. The verb ὄφλω, or ὀφλισκάνω, signifies, *be liable to.* The phrase αἰσχύνην ὀφλισκάνειν, then, may be translated, *expose one's self to disgrace.*

2. Ὧν οὖν — τούτων οὐχὶ νῦν ὁρῶ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ λέγειν.] Equivalent to οὐχ ὁρῶ νῦν καιρὸν τοῦ ταῦτα λέγειν. Reiske. τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένοις, *to those who manage the affairs of the state with reference to his interests.*

3. ἃ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἔνι,] ἔνι for ἔνεστι. See above, at p. 168. n. 1.

4. Τὸ δὲ πάνθ', ὅσα —] In the order, which follows, the participle is replaced by the verb, on account of the relative pronoun: τὸ διεξιέναι πάντα, ὅσα Φίλιππος ἔπραξε πώποτε, καὶ ἐλέγχειν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἅπασι τούτοις, συμβαίνει καὶ δεῖσθαι λόγου βραχέος, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν εἰρῆσθαι, ἕνεκα δυοῖν. A hyperbolical proposition, to be referred only to the ἐπίορκα καὶ ἄπιστα ἔργα, of which the orator enumerates not more than three; these indeed were of great importance; the deception of the Athenians, Olynthians, and Thessalians. Wolf.

5. τοῦ τ' ἐκεῖνον, — φαῦλον φαίνεσθαι· —] that is, τε [ἕνεκα] τοῦ ἐκεῖνον φαίνεσθαι, — *both that he may appear* in his true colors *as a bad man.*

6. καὶ τοῦ τοὺς ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους, —] that is, καὶ [ἕνεκα] τοῦ τοὺς ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους τὸν Φίλιππον, ὥς τινα ἄμαχον, ἰδεῖν, ὅτι ἐξελήλυθε διὰ πάντα, οἷς παρακρουόμενος πρότερον, νῦν ηὐξήθη μέγας, καὶ τὰ πράγματ' αὐτῷ ἥκει πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν τελευτήν, *and, in order that those who regard Philip with stupid admiration, as some invincible personage, may see that he has exhausted all those means, by which overreaching people formerly, he has now become powerful; and that his success draws near its end.*

7. εὑρίσκω, τὴν —] Construe as follows this passage, whose difficulty has been made the subject of remark by Wolf: εὑρίσκω [τὸν Φίλιππον] μὲν προσαγόμενον τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐήθειαν τοκατἀρχὰς, ὅτε τινὲς ἀπήλαυνον ἐνθένδε Ὀλυνθίους βουλομένους διαλεχθῆναι, τούτῳ, — *I find Philip, on the one hand, first taking advantage of our simplicity, (when certain persons were driving away from this place Olynthian deputies, who wanted to confer with us,)* — taking advan-

tage of our simplicity *by this* circumstance, — τῷ, *by the* circumstance, — viz. [ἐκεῖνον] φάσκειν, *that he said*, &c., καὶ τῷ, *and also by this*, τὸ [ἐκεῖνον] κατασκευάσαι ἐκεῖνό ποτε θρυλλούμενον ἀπόῤῥητον, viz. *his having hatched that once much-talked-of secret*, on purpose to gull the Athenians. κατασκευάσαι is here a very expressive word; inasmuch as Philip effected, by cunning artifices, and the clandestine machinations of friends whom he had at Athens, that faith should be accorded to that secret article, formerly quite notorious, and made the subject of frequent remark by the common people. κατασκευάζειν is *to hatch, to contrive, to put together*. Reiske. When Philip had declared Amphipolis a free city, the Athenians, who were desirous of recovering it, sent ambassadors to Philip to solicit his assistance for that purpose; and on this condition promised to make him master of Pydna. But, lest the people of Pydna, who were averse to Philip's government, should take the alarm, the whole negotiation was transacted secretly in the senate, without being referred as usual to the assembly of the people. Leland. See further Suidas, at τί ἐστι τὸ, κ. τ. λ. Vol. III. p. 467, edition of Kuster, and the note there. — With τὴν δ' Ὀλυνθίων φιλίαν understand εὑρίσκω ἐκεῖνον προσαγόμενον, as above, and translate, *and, on the other hand, I find him enticing the alliance of the Olynthians*, — τῷ ἐξελεῖν, κ. τ. λ.

1. τὰ τελευταῖα,] This phrase is here used adverbially, and is 172
to be translated, *at last*. Compare τὰ πρῶτα, *at first, once*, and τὰ λοιπὰ, *for the future, afterwards*, which occur a little below.

Line 3. Μαγνησίαν] Philip had made himself master of this city, when he marched into Thessaly against the tyrants. The Thessalians remonstrated against this proceeding, but suffered themselves to be amused by his assurances, that he would give it up, while he really determined to keep possession of it. Tourreil.

2. πόλεμον — πολεμήσειν] See above, at p. 31. n. 11.

Line 16. δεδουλωμένοι] When Philip had dispossessed the tyrants of Thessaly, he began to set himself up in their place; but not by open force. He was so complete a master of dissimulation, appeared so gentle, so affable, so humane, so amiable, even to the conquered, that the Thessalians gave themselves up to him with an entire confidence, which he knew how to take advantage of. Tourreil.

3. βίᾳ καθέξειν αὐτὸν τὰ πράγματα,] *will retain his possessions by force*, τῷ — προειληφέναι, *by having seized beforehand.*

4. ἀνεχαίτισε] This word signifies primarily, *throw back the mane*, being derived from ἀνὰ, *back*, and χαίτη, *hair, mane*; the secondary meanings are, *resist control, shake off authority, overturn the established order of things*. Leland says, "It gives us the idea of a generous steed, tossing his mane, impatient of the bit, and casting his rider to the ground; which at once expresses the subjection of the states conquered by Philip, their impatience of his government, their bold effort to gain their liberty, and the downfall of their master. On the power of the aorist here, see above, at p. 19. n. 6. See also, Buttmann's Syntax, § 137. n. 5, where the sentence in which ἀνεχαίτισε occurs is quoted, and thus translated, *a slight mistake often disturbs and destroys all again.*

5. *εἰς μὲν ἅπαξ*] Here seems to be wanting *προχωρεῖ*, or something equivalent. Reiske. *Only for once, indeed,* or *at first, do they succeed.*

6. *ἂν τύχῃ*·] *if it should so happen, perhaps.*

7. *τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φωρᾶται,*] *but in time are detected.* Popkin.

8. *περὶ αὑτὰ*] *and perish of themselves.* Reiske says the verb is figurative, having a primary reference to the wasting away of snow.

173 1. *οὕτως ἀρέσκει μοι*·] Wolf wishes to understand *μάλιστα* in this clause, to correspond with the superlatives *τάχιστα* and *κάλλιστα,* which follow *ὅπως*.

Line 8. *Παγασὰς*] A city of Thessaly, which Philip had made himself master of five years before. Tourreil.

2. *ἐξεληλυθότων ἡμῶν ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν*·] *we having come out worthily of the state, and engaged in these undertakings.*

3. *τοῦτο συναμφότερον*·] that is, *ἥ τε Μακεδονικὴ καὶ ἡ Ὀλυνθιακὴ δύναμις.* Wolf.

4. *ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν ἐβοήθησε*·] Against Pitholaus and Lycophron, who, aided by their sister Thebe, slew their relative Alexander, and had the fame of tyrannicides; but not long after seized upon the same government. Wolf.

174 1. *τοῦτο ἐζήλωκε*] *τοῦτο* designates the phrase which follows: *καὶ παθεῖν τι κινδυνεύων.* For the attainment of fame, he shapes all his exertions, and is ready to undergo any hardships and make any sacrifices.

2. *οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις,—*] Under the word *ἔργα* are embraced *fields, crops, vines, gardens, and, in general, the means of supporting life.* *τὰ ἴδια* has reference to the *household,* embracing the handicraft one exercises, and the domestic pleasures and arrangements. Reiske.

3. *οὐδ' ὅσ' ἂν πορίσωσιν—*] The order is: *οὔτ' ἔχοντες [δύναμιν] διαθέσθαι ταῦθ' ὅσ' ἂν πορίσωσιν [ἑαυτοῖς] οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται.*

4. *πεζέταιροι,*] Literally, *fellow-soldiers; really, mercenary soldiers, who served on foot.* Reiske. A term invented for the encouragement of this body, and to reconcile them to all the severities of their duty. Tourreil.

5. *συγκεκροτημένοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου*·] *δεινοὶ πολεμισταί.* These words seem here to refer not so much to fortitude and military skill exclusively, as to concord and each party's readiness to serve the other, in conjunction with them. Wolf.

6. *τινὸς ἤκουον,*] For the government of *τινὸς*, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII. 9. About *οὐδαμῶς οἷόν τε*, see above, at p. 5. n. 6.

7. *οἷος ἔμπειρος—*] *τοιοῦτος οἷος,* that is, *εἴ τις ἔμπειρός ἐστι πολέμου.* Wolf says *οἷος* has the effect of an elegant pleonasm. Reiske thinks, that it is an interpolation, which has crept into the text by some mistake, arising from its similarity to the last syllable of *αὐτοῖς*.

Line 27. *κορδακισμοὺς*] Certain *lascivious dances,* so called from the name of a satyr, said to have invented them. Tourreil. Tourreil further says, that though this description of the dissolute manners of Philip and his court may seem exaggerated, yet the accounts of it transmitted in Athenæus are still more heightened.

175 1. *Καλλίαν ἐκεῖνον τὸν δημόσιον,*] *that public slave, Callias.* There

were slaves who were the property of the state, and who were consecrated to its pleasures, and to public services, sacred and profane. Callias had been one of them, and had probably obtained his liberty, and withdrawn from Athens to the court and camp of Philip. AUGER. Ulpian calls him, one of those public slaves, who attended the Athenian generals in the field. They chose slaves for this business, so that if there was occasion for their evidence on any public inquiry into the conduct of the war, they might be put to the torture, from which free citizens were exempted. Suidas says, *δημοσίους ἔλεγον τοὺς τῆς πόλεως δούλους.* And Æschines: *ἄνθρωπον δημόσιον, οἰκέτην τῆς πόλεως.* WOLF.

2. *νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν·*] *At present, however,* [*τὸ κατορθοῦν, his being successful*] — *his prosperity* [*obscures them*] *throws them in the dark.*

3. *εἰ δέ τι πταίσειε,*] *but if he should be unsuccessful in any thing.* See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

4. *δείξειν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν,*] supply *ὥραν*, *will shortly show.*

5. *κἂν ῥῆγμα, κἂν στρέμμα, κἂν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ᾖ·*] *whether it be a fracture, or whether it be a sprain, or any thing else about us, that is unsound.*

6. *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'*] See above, at p. 60. n. 3; and at p. 153. n. 2.

7. *οὐκ ἔνι δ' —*] *οὐκ ἔνι* [*ἔνεστι*] *δ' αὐτὸν ἀργοῦντα ἐπιτάττειν οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις ποιεῖν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μὴ* [*ἔνεστι*] *δὴ* [*ἐπιτάττειν*] *τοῖς θεοῖς γε* [*ποιεῖν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.*] *but it is not allowable* for a person, *while he himself remains inactive, to be commanding even his friends to do any thing in his behalf,* — it is *not surely* allowable for him *at least* to be commanding *the gods* to do any thing for him. Compare Sallust, in the oration of Cato. *μήτι γε δὴ, not to say then, much less then.* See Buttmann's Syntax, § 150.

1. *ἡμῶν μελλόντων, καὶ ψηφιζομένων, καὶ πυνθανομένων περιγίνεται·*] 176 *will overcome us delaying, and voting, and investigating.* *περὶ*, in composition, denotes excellence, and governs the genitive by a force similar to that of the comparative degree.

2. *ὑμῖν ἐξὸν,*] The absolute case of participles from impersonal verbs is always the nominative. See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXIII., Obs. 3.

3. *τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἀνηλίσκετε εἰσφέροντες,*] *you were spending in contributions your own proper resources.* *εἰσφέρειν* is for the most part said of pecuniary contributions. See Reiske's Index Græcitatis Demosth. The construction of *τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν* is not an uncommon one. Compare it with the construction which occurs below, *ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν κτημάτων*, which has the same force as *ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κτημάτων.*

4. *καὶ καθ' ἕνα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει·*] *and each one of them in his turn.* — *ἐν μέρει* and *κατὰ μέρος*, have sometimes the signification of *singly*, sometimes, as here, *by turns.*

5. *ὁ χρόνος ἅπας διελήλυθεν.*] *the time is quite gone.* See above, at p. 27. n. 4.

6. *Εἶθ' οὕτως ἀγνωμόνως ἔχετε,*] *Are you then so stupid,* — See above, at p. 86. n. 1.

7. *ἀλλ' οὔτ' εὔλογον, οὔτ' ἔχον ἐστὶ φύσιν τοῦτό γε·*] Literally, *but this is neither reasonable, nor having nature*; that is, *but this is both unreasonable and unnatural.* The use of the participle in this

construction is thus noticed by Viger, Ch. V. § vii. R. 15. With many accusatives it [ἔχω] is frequently joined. Such a construction, however, as that in Demosthenes (referring to this place) is very rare.

8. *πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾷον — πέφυκε.*] *for it is in the nature of things that it should be much easier*, &c. The elegance of this use of the perfect active of φύω is commented upon by Hoogeveen. It signifies, *as by nature, am thus accustomed*, or something of the sort.

9. *Αὐτῶν οὖν ὑμῶν ἔργον τοῦτ' ἤδη.*] Supply *ἐστὶ*, and translate, *it is then your business at present.*

10. *τῶν πραγμάτων κρατήσητε·*] See above, at p. 3. n. 3.

177 1. *τὰς προφάσεις δ' ἀφελεῖν, καὶ τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐλλείμματα.*] *and to remove the pretexts* formerly alleged, *and the* former *delinquencies on your part.* By *ἐλλείμματα*, some here understand *arrears;* but erroneously. It means simply *deficiencies, faults, causes of complaint.* Auger's translation is equivalent to what follows; *to take away from your soldiers every pretext, and every cause of complaint.*

2. *οἱ δὲ κίνδυνοι τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἴδιοι·*] Supply *εἰσὶ*, and translate, *but dangers belong to the captains.*

3. *ἐκεῖ δέ,*] *but there*, that is, *in their own enterprises.* It stands in opposition to *ἐνταῦθα μὲν*, above. *κίνδυνοι μὲν* [*εἰσὶ*] *ἐλάττονες, τὰ δὲ λήμματα* [*ἐστὶ*] *τῶν ἐφεστηκότων, κ. τ. λ.*, *the hazards, on the one hand, are less; and, on the other, the prizes are the property of the captains*, &c.

4. *δόντες λόγον,*] *having granted them liberty of speech.*

5. *εἰσεφέρετε κατὰ συμμορίας·*] *contributed by classes.* Each of the ten tribes elected one hundred and twenty of the richer citizens, out of their own body, who were obliged to perform the public duties, and to raise supplies for the exigencies of the state, out of their private fortunes. The twelve hundred persons thus chosen were divided into two parts, and each of these into ten classes, called *συμμορίαι*. These were again subdivided into two parts according to the estates of those who composed them. And thus out of the first ten classes were appointed the three hundred, that is, such a number of the wealthy citizens, who were on all occasions to supply the commonwealth with money, and, with the rest of the twelve hundred, to perform all extraordinary duties in their turns. It seems, however, that in the time of Demosthenes these classes sought pretences to avoid their duty, and contended for the power of throwing the whole weight of public business on each other. LELAND.

6. *οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτους, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκείνους.*] *some to these, others to those.* *ὡς* is Attic for *πρός*.

7. *Δεῖ δὴ ταῦτα ἐπανέντας,—*] *It behoves you, then, departing from this course, and acting for yourselves, to make the right of speaking, and of taking part in the deliberations, and of acting, common to all.*

8. *Εἰ δέ, τοῖς μέν,—*] Reiske gives the following as the somewhat softened sense of this passage; *τοῖς μὲν ὑμῶν ἀποδώσετε μόνον τὸ ἐπιτάττειν, ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν τυραννικήν.* Eubulus, Aristophon, Hyperides, and Lycurgus governed every thing with an absolute power in the assemblies; the conduct of military

affairs was entirely engrossed by Diopithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares. Thus the administration of affairs was shared among a few men, as it were by lot ; so that the popular government degenerated into an oligarchy. See Plutarch, Life of Phocion. TOURREIL.

1. μὴ ἃ ἂν ὁ δεῖνα, ἢ ὁ δεῖνα εἴπῃ.] *not the words of this or of that* 178
man. δεῖνα is used with the article prefixed in place of the name of any person who might have been mentioned. See H. STEPHENS. For its different forms, see Fisk's Grammar, p. 58.

☞ This oration was delivered 349 B. C., when the author was about thirty-three years of age.

1. *ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Β΄.*] That is, THE SECOND 179
OLYNTHIAC OF DEMOSTHENES. It is commonly called the Third. The three Olynthiacs seem to have been all delivered in the same year, and in the order here followed.

NOTES ON THE ARGUMENT.

2. οἶδε γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἄλλοι πού τινες,—] *for he knew that the Athenians, as well as others, were, on the one hand, anxious about their own interests, but, on the other hand, were less solicitous on the subject of punishing their enemies.* That is, Demosthenes had noticed it as a trait not only of the Athenians, but of men generally, that they did not trouble themselves about checking their enemies, unless they had fears about the safety of their own interests.

3. — τῆς περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν χρημάτων συμβουλῆς φανερώτερον ἅπτεται,] *more openly touched upon the plan of appropriating the theatrical fund;* that is, more openly than in that oration which Libanius, the author of this argument, reckons the first of the Olynthiacs. The Athenians had a great passion for the theatre. Disputes for places gave rise to the payment of entrance-money ; and, when the poorer citizens complained of being cut off from their favorite pastime, Pericles had procured the passage of a law appropriating a sum of money originally intended as a public resource in case of any invasion of Attica, to defraying the expense of their entertainments ; but in time of peace only. In the course of time the people considered this fund their inalienable property ; and, in the year in which the Olynthiac orations were pronounced, Eubulus, a popular leader, of politics opposed to those of Demosthenes, carried a proposition to constitute it a capital offence, to make the motion to restore the theatrical fund to the military or any other public service. See further, LELAND ; also Potter's Grecian Antiquities, Book I. Chs. 14 and 26 ; and, finally, Cleveland's Antiquities, Part III. Ch. 5.

4. ἵνα ἄδεια ᾖ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν τὰ βέλτιστα.] *in order that there might be no fear* to any one *about proposing* what seemed *best.*

5. καὶ στρατεύεσθαι σώμασιν οἰκείοις·] *and to make a campaign in person.*

NOTES ON THE ORATION.

6. *ΟΥΧΙ* ταὐτὰ —] The order is : οὐχὶ παρίσταταί μοι γιγνώσκειν ταὐτά. The translation : *It is not in my power to form the same*

judgment. The learner will be careful to notice the difference between ταῦτα, *these things*, and ταὐτά, *the same things.*

7. Οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο —] The order is: οὖν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες δοκοῦσί μοι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἁμαρτάνειν, παριστάντες ὑμῖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, οὐχὶ τὴν οὖσαν, περὶ ἧς βουλεύεσθε, for ἢ ὅτι οὐ παριστᾶσι. The translation: *Those, therefore, that keep saying such things seem to me to be in an error throughout, in not bringing up the real question about which you are deliberating.* τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, οὐχὶ τὴν οὖσαν, is equivalent to οὐ τὴν ἀληθῆ, περὶ ἧς βουλεύεσθε· literally, *bring up a question, which is not the real one you are deliberating about.* The real one was, that Olynthus should be effectually assisted; passing by this, the popular orators had inveighed against Philip, and tried to arouse the people to direct hostilities against him. Wolf.

180 1. ἐπ' ἐμοῦ] *in my time.*

2. τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν προλαβεῖν εἶναι ἡμῖν τὴν πρώτην,] *that it is enough for us first to secure this.* With τὴν πρώτην understand ὁδὸν, and translate, *at first.*

3. τότε καὶ περὶ —] τότε ἐξέσται σκοπεῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ, — *then it will be lawful for us to consider also the* question, [κατὰ] τίνα τρόπον τις τιμωρήσεται ἐκεῖνον.

4. ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς —] ἐκ τοῦ ἐνίους δημηγορεῖν πρὸς χάριν, *from the* circumstance, *that certain persons harangued the people* with a view *to favor.*

5. μὴν μὲν ἦν Μαιμακτηριών·] *it was the month of October*, according to Corsinius. On the Grecian year, see Potter, Book II. Ch. 26; Cleveland, Part VII. Ch. 1; and the notes on this oration; for there is much difference of opinion about the correspondence of the Attic to the Roman calendar.

Line 28. τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐτῶν] This expresses their zeal, and their apprehensions of the danger; for by the laws of Athens a citizen was exempted from military service at the age of forty, except on some very urgent occasion. Leland.

6. τάλαντα ἑξήκοντα] See above, at p. 86. n. 12.

7. Ἑκατομβαιὼν, Μεταγειτνιὼν, Βοηδρομιών·] supply ἦν. *July, August, September*, according to Corsinius. See also Reiske, Ind. V. XII. p. 932. These would be the first months of the next year; for the learner will observe, that the Attic year commenced on that new moon whose full moon immediately succeeded the summer solstice. Leland.

8. μετὰ τὰ Μυστήρια,] *after the Mysteries*, that is, *the Mysteries of Ceres*, generally called *the Eleusinian.* On this subject, consult Potter, B. II. Chs. 20 and 26.

Line 32. Χαρίδημον] That is, the worst of all your generals; a foreigner, a soldier of fortune, who had sometimes fought against you, sometimes betrayed your cause, and who, on many occasions, had proved himself unworthy of the confidence you reposed in him. Leland.

181 1. θεάσασθε —] θεάσασθε, [καθ'] ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε ἐστρατηγηκότες ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου [κατὰ] πάντα, *see, how you will have become, to all intents and purposes, generals, in the service of Philip.*

2. οὔτε Φίλιππος ἐθάῤῥει τούτους,] The translations of this passage vary. One of them is: *and neither Philip dared to attack*

them nor they Philip. The better one is : *and Philip put no confidence in them, and they none in Philip.* For the Olynthians were at that time allies of Philip, and fought with him against the Athenians. His ambition and deceitfulness disgusted them afterwards, and they made a separate peace with the Athenians. Philip at once seized upon so good a pretext for attacking them.

3. *ἐπράξαμεν ἡμεῖς*] supply *πρὸς ἐκείνους.*

4. *καὶ δυσχερές,*] that is, *καὶ ταῦτα πάνυ τι δυσχερές.* The sense is : somewhat of an impediment, and besides something very unpleasant.

5. *πόλιν μεγάλην—*] *πόλιν μεγάλην διηλλαγμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐφορμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς, for a powerful state, being reconciled to us, to be ready to oppose his advantages ;* that is, to attack him, and frustrate his plans, when otherwise every thing was in his favor, and his undertakings would have proved successful.

6. *ὅπως δήποτε.*] *in some way or other.*

Line 25. *Θηβαίων*] The Thebans had a mortal hatred to the Athenians, as they had favored Lacedæmon after the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, and had lately taken part with the Phocians against them in the Sacred War. TOURREIL. Their hostility was of even older date than this. For at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, they declared in council, that Athens ought to be wholly destroyed, and Attica made a sheep-pasture. MOUNTENEY.

7. *μηδενὸς δ' ἐμποδὼν ὄντος Φιλίππῳ,*] Construe : *and no obstacle being in the way of Philip, καταστρεψαμένῳ τὰ παρόντα, ἐπικλῖναι πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ πράγματα, he having overcome those which had obstructed him, to prevent him from turning his attention to these things. εἶναι* or *γενέσθαι ἐμποδὼν* is a phrase to which corresponds *εἶναι ἐκποδών.* Translate them, *to be in the way, to be out of the way.* See above, at p. 107. n. 1, and at p. 3. n. 7.

8. *εἰς τοῦτο ἀναβάλλεται—*] *ποιήσειν τὰ δέοντα, to such a degree procrastinates the discharge of his duty.* Notice here the construction with the future and without the article, which, indeed, is frequent in Demosthenes, when he uses infinitives in place of nouns. One might almost doubt whether *ποιήσων* were not the true reading, rather than *ποιήσειν.* More usual constructions would be : *ἀναβάλλεται, ἢ ἀναβαλεῖται, τὸ ποιεῖν, ἢ τὸ ποιῆσαι, τὰ δέοντα, τουτέστι, τὴν ποίησιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τῶν δεόντων.* WOLF.

9. *ἐξὸν ἀκούειν—*] *when he can hear.* See above, at p. 176. n. 2.

1. *Νομοθέτας καθίστατε·*] Magistrates intrusted by the people 182
with the regulation of their laws. They were chosen by lot, to the number of 1001, that their votes might not be equal. Every citizen, at certain times, and in certain assemblies, had usually a right to complain of any law. The president of the assembly proposed the complaint to the people ; five advocates were allowed to plead in defence of the law ; and, after hearing them, the people referred the affair to the nomothetæ. TOURREIL.

2. *ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς νομοθέταις, —*] Construe : *but by means of these magistrates, μὴ θῆσθε νόμον μηδένα, enact no law.* The preposition *ἐν* frequently denotes the cause, manner, or instrument. *Θεῖναι νόμον* is said of a legislator who imposes a law upon others ; *θέσθαι νόμον* is said of a people who enact a law for their own government ; or of a lawgiver who procures the passage of a

law, by which he is himself to be governed; or of one who votes for the enactment of a law by which he is himself to be bound. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 135. n. 3.

3. περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν,] See above, at p. 179. n. 3. With σαφῶς οὑτωσὶ, understand καὶ λέγω, *and thus openly I speak.* οὑτωσὶ is Attic for οὕτως.

4. στρατιωτικὰ] understand χρήματα, and translate *military funds.*

5. τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας] *those who refuse to serve in the army.* ἀτακτεῖν, *to remain at home, when one's services are required in the field, to neglect one's duty as a soldier.* REISKE.

6. τὰ πράγματα·] In this place these words signify *the state.*

7. τοῖς τότε θεῖσιν] understand τοὺς νόμους, and translate, *to them who then proposed the laws.*

183 1. ἤ, περὶ ὧν γράφει, διαπράξασθαι,] that is, τὰ πράγματα, περὶ ὧν, κ. τ. λ. In place of γράφει, Wolf proposes γραφῇ, 2 a. subj. pass.; so that the translation would be, *for the accomplishment of those things, concerning which the decrees were passed.*

Line 17. ταύτης — τῆς χώρας] that is, the country of Chalcis, where Philip took two-and-thirty cities, before he laid siege to Olynthus. TOURREIL.

2. Οὐχ, οὓς, εἰ πολεμήσαιεν,] Construe, changing the order, thus: οὐχ οὗτοι, οὓς, εἰ πολεμήσαιεν, ἑτοίμως ὑπισχνούμεθα σώσειν, νῦν πολεμοῦνται; οὐκ ἐχθρός; *Are not those engaged in a war, whom we promised to be ready to assist, if they should be so engaged? Is he not an enemy?*

Line 21. οὐ βάρβαρος;] This was a term of reproach which the Greeks applied to all other nations; nor were the Macedonians excepted. TOURREIL.

3. ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐάσαντες,] that is, γίγνεσθαι, καὶ οὐ κωλύσαντες αὐτά. REISKE. Construe: καὶ μονονουχὶ συγκατασκευάσαντες αὐτῷ, τότε ζητήσομεν τοὺς αἰτίους τούτων, οἵτινές εἰσι; [that is, τίνες εἰσὶ οἱ αἴτιοι τούτων;] *and only not assisting him, shall we then ask who are the authors of these measures?* μονονουχὶ, *only not, almost.*

Line 28. διὰ πάντας τοὺς φεύγοντας] The orator did not foresee, that, ten years afterward, he himself would be guilty of this very crime. TOURREIL.

184 1. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.] literally, *with good fortune;* more freely, *with the assistance of the gods,* that is, *if the gods are propitious.* A common phrase with the Greek writers.

2. πλὴν εἰ, δέον εὔξασθαι, παραλείπει·] that is, τὸ εὔξασθαι, *unless, when he ought to pray* for your prosperity, *he neglect* that duty. δέον is taken absolutely. See above, at p. 176. n. 2.

3. εὔξασθαι μὲν γάρ, —] The order is: μὲν γάρ, — ῥᾴδιον [ἐστὶν,] ἀθροίσαντα ἐν ὀλίγῳ εἰς ταὐτὸ πάνθ', ὅσα τις βούλεται, εὔξασθαι. The translation: *for on the one hand* it is *easy for one, having in a moment collected every thing he wishes for into the same* [petition], *to pray.* The particle γάρ refers to something suppressed. But anybody can thus pray, *for* —.

4. ἔχει — ἐᾷν,] that is, ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν ἐᾷν, *can leave.*

5. εἴ τῳ ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων] *if ever to any one of mortals.* τῳ is used for τινι, in the Attic dialect.

Line 22. Κορινθίους,] This alludes to an expedition that the Athenians had made about an age before. Some time after the

Persian War, when the Greeks began to quarrel among themselves, Corinth and Megara had some dispute about their boundaries. The better to support their quarrel, the Megareans quitted the Lacedæmonians, and entered into an alliance with Athens. But, as this state was then engaged both in Egypt and Egina, the Corinthians imagined they would not be able to give any assistance, and therefore invaded the territories of Megara. But the Athenians came immediately to the assistance of their allies, although they were obliged to commit the defence of their city to their old men and boys, and the Corinthians were repulsed. TOURREIL.

Line 22. *Μεγαρεάς,*] This war happened twelve years after that mentioned in the preceding note. The Megareans, after having put to the sword an Athenian garrison, that was stationed in their territory, joined with Lacedæmon, and even with Corinth, their mortal enemy, against whom Athens had espoused their quarrel. This state, incensed at the ingratitude of their revolt, determined to reduce them to reason. They issued out a mandate, directing the Megareans to abstain from cultivating a piece of ground consecrated to Ceres and Proserpine; and, on their refusing to comply, published an edict, to exclude them from all commerce in Attica, and bound their generals by an oath to invade their territories once every year. TOURREIL.

6. *ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων*] *in the times of our ancestors.* See above, at p. 180. n. 1.

1. *τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐμαυτῷ,*] The orator refers to another Demos- 185
thenes, who was an illustrious general in the time of the Peloponnesian War.

2. *προπέποται*] *προπίνειν*, literally signifies, *to drink first*, secondarily, *to make a present on occasion of drinking;* hence, *to betray.* Translate, *προπέποται — τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα, the republic is sold and betrayed.* See Reiske's Index Græc. Demosthen. With *τῆς ἡδονῆς, κ. τ. λ.*, supply *ἕνεκα*. *τοιαυτὶ* is an Atticism.

3. *τις ἂν — εἰπεῖν ἔχοι,*] With *ἔχω* understand *τὴν δύναμιν*, as above, at p. 184. n. 4. Translate, *who can enumerate.*

4. *τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξαν —*] See above, at p. 3. n. 3, and at p. 46. n. 1. In Wolf's edition it is 65. But this reading is found in other copies, and is confirmed by the parallel passage in the oration on regulating the commonwealth. The orator computes from the death of Pausanias, when the supreme command was given to the Athenians, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Add to this the 27 years of that war, during which time the Athenians maintained their power, though not with consent, and the whole will be 72 years complete, and part of the 73d year. Agreeably to this last calculation, Demosthenes says, in the Third Philippic, that the Athenians commanded in Greece 73 years. These two accounts are thus easily reconciled by distinguishing the times of the voluntary and the involuntary obedience of the Greeks. TOURREIL.

5. *ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις —*] *on account of their deeds.* *Ἐπὶ — τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν*, that is, *ὄντες ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων, while they were* OVER, that is, *while they superintended the affairs of Greece.*

1. *εἰς περιουσίαν*] *for their own advantage.* *πρὸς τὸ χρηματίζεσθαι* 186

ἐξ αὐτῆς, καὶ πλούσιοι γίγνεσθαι. Reiske. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 134. 4.

2. *ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν—*] that is, *τῶν ὄντων νῦν, under these worthy men now;* spoken ironically.

3. *ἀρά*] *ἆρα*, with the circumflex accent, is an interrogative particle, meaning *whether*. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 149. Reiske inserted *ἢ* before *καὶ* in this clause; *so, or even in any way like?* in order that there might be no anticlimax.

4. *Ἀλλ' ὅσης ἅπαντες ὁρᾶτε ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι,*] The order is: *ἀλλ' ἐπειλημμένοι* [*τοσαύτης*] *ἐρημίας ὅσης ἅπαντες ὁρᾶτε.* The translation: *But after having attained to such a freedom from rivalship, as you all perceive.* *ἐπειλημμένοι* is a perfect passive in the sense of the middle, *having got for ourselves.* See above, at p. 167. n. 2; it governs *ἐρημίας* in the genitive; see Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII. 5. On the construction of *ὅσης*, see above, at p. 86. n. 4; and Buttmann's Syntax, § 143. 4. *ἐρημία*, literally signifies, *a desert, solitude;* secondarily, and here, it seems to denote *the absence of rivals.* For, as is well known, there had been a long rivalry between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. But the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea had crushed the power of the latter.

Line 11. *Θηβαίων δ' ἀσχόλων ὄντων,*] *the Thebans being engaged* in the Phocian War.

5. *ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν*] See above, at p. 176. n. 2.

Line 18. *εἰρήνης οὔσης,*] Ulpian and Wolf understand this of the peace, by which the Athenians consented that the people of Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and other revolters, should all continue free. But it seems more natural to apply it to some prior events; as the taking of Pydna and Potidæa, and other cities of Thrace, that were then subject to Athens, and which Philip made himself master of, after he had concluded a peace with the Athenians, in the second year of his reign. Tourreil.

6. *ὦ τὰν*] Some grammarians take *τὰν* here for *ἔταν*, and that for *ἔτα*, from *ἔτης*. But Buttmann prefers to consider it as an old pronominal form. Translate *ὦ τὰν, O thou! O ye!* or *good sir.* Its use is not infrequent in Attic writers. See H. Stephens, Thesaur. Gr. Lin. Vol. I. c. 1282. d.

7. *Τὰς ἐπάλξεις, ἃς κονιῶμεν;*] *the ramparts which we whitewashed?*

Line 24. *καὶ κρήνας; καὶ λήρους;*] *and fountains? and fooleries?*

8. *εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι·*] *have built*, or *caused to be built, for themselves;* a perf. pass. in a middle signification. See above, at p. 167. n. 2.

9. *γέγονε, — ηὔξηται.*] See above, at p. 27. n. 4.

187 1. *δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευομένων ἦν,*] *was master of the magistrates.* *πολιτεύεσθαι, to perform public duties according to law, to be engaged in the management of public affairs.*

2. *καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἦν,*] *ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἄλλων, and every one of the rest was contented.*

3. *ἀγαπῶντες ἐὰν μεταδιδῶσι*] *contented if they distribute among you, if they give you* WITH *others;* such being the force of *μετὰ* in composition. See n. 2, above; also at p. 131. n. 6. Compare *μεταλαβεῖν*, a little above, *to take with others, to partake of.* Translate *περιῃρημένοι χρήματα, quite stripped of your wealth; stripped,* as it were, *all around.*

4. *ἐὰν — ὑμῖν, — βοΐδια*] *or if they should send you some lean and old cattle.* See Reiske's Ind. Gr. Demosth.

5. *τῶν ὑμετέρων*] supply *ἀντί. χάριν προσοφείλετε, you are moreover thankful for what is your own.*

6. *ὁποῖ' ἄττα*] *of what sort soever.* *ἄττα*, for *τινα*, or *ἅτινα*.

7. *τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ἔχειν.*] *they must necessarily have a disposition akin to them.* See above, at p. 129. n. 6.

8. *τῶν πεποιηκότων αὐτὰ γενέσθαι·*] *than to those who were the authors of these measures.* Reiske prefers *ἢ ἑκάστῳ τῶν πεποιηκότων ἐκεῖνα γενέσθαι, than to each one of those who were the causes of these things which I have mentioned turning out as I have said.* Instead of *γενέσθαι*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives *ἑκάστῳ*. Reiske retains both, inserting *ἢ* before *ἑκάστῳ*, which may be supposed to have been omitted, coming as it would after *βλάβη*. But the change is unnecessary.

9. *ἀπαλλαγέντες τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν,*—] that is, *ἀλλαγέντες ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν, departing from those customs.*

10. *ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν ἀγαθῶν*—] that is, *ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔξω*, directed *towards* the acquisition of *external advantages.*

11. *καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λημμάτων ἀπαλλαγείητε,*] *and would forego such profits,* —

12. *Οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν λέγεις;*] that is, *οὐκοῦν σὺ λέγεις, δεῖν ἡμᾶς, δίκην ξένων, μισθὸν παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος φέρειν; Do you then say, that we ought, like mercenary soldiers, to realize wages from our country? μισθοφορά, receiving the pay of a mercenary soldier,* whose condition was despised. Reiske.

1. *Καὶ παραχρῆμά γε τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἁπάντων,*] Understand *φημὶ* 188
δεῖν εἶναι· and at once, indeed, without hesitation, without subterfuges, in plain words, I say, that the pay of all the citizens ought to be the same; or I say, that it is right that each citizen should receive the same pay. Reiske.

2. *οἴκοι μένων εἶ βελτίων,*] *remaining at home, you are better off, ἠλλαγμένος ἀπὸ τοῦ ποιεῖν τι αἰσχρὸν δι' ἔνδειαν ἀνάγκῃ, being free from the necessity of doing any base action involuntarily, through need.*

3. *τὰ νῦν;*] understand *συμβαίνει*. If times like these come round, you will be a brave man, and good citizen, if you yourself take the field in person, enrolled and practised, instead of sending a substitute, when, having been enrolled, you find yourself unpractised in military exercises. Reiske.

4. *ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει*] The reference is to *ἀτάκτως* which precedes. Now each one receives, he says, his theatre-money, without any regularity of distribution, sometimes more, sometimes less; or some persons receive larger portions, and others smaller; in one month the fund is productive, in the next nothing is realized from it. But according to the disposition which I advise to make, each person will receive some sure benefit from it every month; and all will have equal shares, and no one more than another. Reiske.

5. *τὴν αὐτὴν,*] agree with *τάξιν*, not antecedent, but following. The construction is: *ἤγαγον τὴν πόλιν εἰς τάξιν, ποιήσας* [that is, *διὰ τοῦ ποιῆσαι*] *τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν τοῦ λαβεῖν, τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι, κ. τ. λ.* Reiske. Translate, *ἤγαγον, I have tried to lead.*

6. ἔχοι,] understand ποιεῖν, *can do.* Reiske. See above, at p. 185. n. 3.

7. οὐδ' αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀργεῖν —] *nor that we ourselves should be indolent, lazy, and at a loss* what to do, to such a degree as only *to learn this by hearsay*, viz. *that the mercenaries of a certain general are victorious.* About τοῦ δεῖνος, see above, at p. 178. n. 1.

189 1. ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΣΘ —] That is, *From* The Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown. It is frequently entitled ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος, *for Ctesiphon*; as the oration of Æschines, to which this of Demosthenes is opposed, was entitled κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος, *against Ctesiphon.* For, *Cum esset lex Athenis*, ne quis populi scitum faceret, ut quisquam coronâ donaretur in magistratu, priusquam rationes retulisset: *et altera lex*, eos, qui à populo donarentur, in concione donari debere, qui à senatu, in senatu: *Demosthenes curator muris reficiendis fuit, eosque refecit pecuniâ suâ. De hoc igitur Ctesipho scitum fecit, nullis ab ipso rationibus relatis, ut coronâ aureâ donaretur; eaque donatio fieret in theatro, populo convocato, qui locus non est concionis legitimæ: atque ita prædicaretur*, eum donari virtutis ergo benevolentiæque, quam erga populum Atheniensem haberet. *Hunc igitur Ctesiphontem in judicium adduxit Æschines, quòd contra leges scripsisset, ut et rationibus non relatis coronâ donaretur, et ut in theatro; et quòd de virtute ejus et benevolentiâ falsa scripsisset, quoniam Demosthenes nec vir bonus esset, nec benè meritus de civitate.* Cicero, Lib. de opt. gen. Oratorum. c. 7. The interest of the contest had slight reference to a crown made of two olive branches, but seemed to be derived from a connexion with the liberties and laws of the state. It was a universal custom in Greece, and one especially observed at Athens, to decree by public authority crowns, in which were interwoven golden bands, to the benefactors of the state; thus was the gratitude of the people shown. And, in order to give publicity to such decrees, they were proposed in the popular assembly, or during the celebration of the solemn festivals, such as the Panathenaic or Dionysiac; or in some congress of all the Greeks, held in some common or authorized place. Taylor.

These two orations have charmed the learned much, and one of them, John Taylor, has not hesitated to say, that the whole compass of literature contains no compositions of more polished elegance, of more perfect grace, or of more noble eloquence; none better set off by their ornaments, or more elevated by the dignity of their sentiments. (Preface to Æschines against Ctesiphon.) The Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown, from which only a short extract is here given, with the hope of inciting the student to the perusal of the whole, Taylor especially admires and commends. See his preface to Demosthenes on the Crown.

2. Ὁ Σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, —] Whilst commemorating his own services to the Athenian commonwealth, which was necessary in order to repel the charges advanced by Æschines, Demosthenes, in the middle of his oration, called for the reading of a decree proposed by him, with the design of producing a friendly feeling and alliance between the Thebans and Athenians. After his request had been complied with, the orator proceeded to say:

"Here was the foundation laid; here was the first establishment of our interest in Thebes. Hitherto the traitors had been too successful, and all was animosity, aversion, and suspicion between the cities. But by this decree that danger, which hung lowering over our state, was in an instant dissipated like a vapor. And surely it was the duty of an honest citizen, if he had any better measures to propose, to have declared them publicly, not to have cavilled now." LELAND. And then he goes on to say, *Ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, κ. τ. λ.* *Συκοφάντης* was at Athens the appellation of one who informed of the violation of the law against exporting figs from Attica. See Potter, B. I. Ch. 21. As such accusations were often false, and never justifiable, the word came in the course of time to signify *a cheat, a common informer, a calumniator*. Still later it seems to have denoted *one who flattered the powerful by slandering their enemies*. And with this signification has come down to us as an English word, — *sycophant, a malicious parasite*. Demosthenes himself thus describes the sycophant: *τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ συκοφάντης, αἰτιάσασθαι μὲν πάντα, ἐξελέγξαι δὲ μηδέν.* [*ΛΟΓ. πρὸς ΕΥΒΟΥΛ.*] Vol. II. p. 1309. 11. Reiske. Which description is quite in place here.

3. *καὶ δίδωσιν αὑτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι,—*] *and renders himself responsible to those who have been persuaded by his advice, to Fortune, to occasional emergencies, — to any one who chooses* to inquire into his conduct.

4. *Ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς,*] That is, when there were exertions made for an alliance with the Thebans against Philip, — *καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων, and for honest advice.*

5. *Ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε,*] Construe: *and I am even so extravagant, — I even go so far beyond bounds, that, — ποιοῦμαι ὑπερβολὴν, I am extravagant.* About *ποιεῖσθαι*, see above, at p. 130. n. 4.

6. *Εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ τι τις νῦν ἑώρακεν,*] *For, if any one now sees any thing*, —. See above, at p. 29. n. 4; at p. 32. n. 11; and at p. 93. n. 3.

7. *οὐ τῶν φαινομένων — κ. τ. λ.*] that is, *οὐκ* [*ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν*] *ἑλέσθαι τὰ κράτιστα τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων;* which may be thus translated: *ought he not, amongst all the projects which are real and possible, to have chosen the most useful?*

8. *τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι;*] *which are to come.* *μέλλω* takes with it the infinitive of either the present, future, or aorist. See Viger. Ch. V. § viii. Rules 4 and 5.

9. *λόγος,*] This word here signifies *plan, way, manner of acting; a scheme devised by close and acute reasoning.* REISKE.

1. *τουτουσί;*] *τούτους.* The reference is to the Athenians. 190

2. *μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει.*] *and do not find fault with the issue.* See above, at p. 189. n. 2.

3. *ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς, ἢ χειμών,*] Reiske thinks *ἢ χειμὼν* either a scholium on *σκηπτὸς*, or a various reading of it.

Line 19. *ναύκληρον,*] This word signifies *the owner of a vessel*, while *κυβερνήτης* means *the pilot.* NEGRIS.

Line 22. *τῶν σκευῶν,*] By this word we are to understand the *whole rigging*; viz. masts, yards, sails, and, in short, all that belongs to the equipping of a vessel. NEGRIS.

191 1. *ἆρ' οἴεσθε ἔτι νῦν ἂν στῆναι,*—] *Do you imagine that now you still would have stood, — assembled, — breathed?*

2. *Πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει. Τότε δὲ*—] *One day, and two, and three, are oftentimes great contributors in the business of saving a state. But then —!* The orator would say, tell me what would have happened, what would have been the result. This figure is usually called aposiopesis. He checks himself, saying *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄξιον,* but is really vexed and ashamed, to mention things which the benevolence of some divinity would not allow them to experience. For *ἅ γε μηδὲ πεῖραν,* read *ἅ γε μηδ' εἰς πεῖραν· not even for being in danger from,* or *experiencing,* or *tasting.* Reiske. *εὔνοιά τινος θεῶν, καὶ τὸ τὴν πόλιν προβαλέσθαι ταυτὴν τὴν συμμαχίαν, the kindness of some god, and the state's having fortified itself with this alliance;* that is, with that of the Thebans.

3. *τὰ πολλὰ,*] These words have their full force here, and are equivalent to *ταῦτα πάντα, καίτοι πολλὰ ὄντα, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐστί μοι εἰρημένα·* all these things, many as they are, concern you; this whole oration, although so prolix, is intended for you. Reiske.

4. *τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι·*] *ἐξήτασαι πεποιηκώς, you are found to have done this,* or *it is evident that you did this.* Wolf.

Line 23. *Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ, καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ,*] These two men had undoubtedly taken advantage of the defeat at Chæronea to accuse, each in his own town, those of the Athenian party, who were the innocent cause of this disaster. Negris.

5. *οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ*] *those professedly enemies.* Hostile in every thing, displeased beyond the hope of reconciliation. Reiske's Ind. Gr.

6. *καὶ ὅτῳ συνενηνόχασιν*—] *and whom the same conjunctures profit, as favor the enemies of the state.* *συνενηνόχασιν* is 3 pl. perf. ind. m. from *συμφέρω, contribute;* and has the force of the present in this place. See above, at p. 189. n. 6. *ἔνι* for *ἔνεστι.*

192 Line 2. *τὰ ῥήγματα, καὶ τὰ σπάσματα,*] *fractures and dislocations.* Demosthenes very ingeniously compares Æschines to the pains which, after a limb has been broken or sprained, are felt on the approach of any disease; as if he were an evil disposition inherent in the body of the state, and which shows itself in every disease which attacks it, that is, in every public calamity. Negris.

1. *Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων,*] *For now, on the one hand, the state seems only to have failed in its undertakings.*

2. *περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὁντινοῦν οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι,*] See above, at p. 63. n. 2. *ὅντιν'* is the reading of Reiske. Dunbar and others have *ὁντινοῦν.*

3. *τίς ἂν οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ·*] *who would not have spit upon thee? μὴ γὰρ δὴ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ, for, indeed,* I do *not say upon the state, nor upon me:* that is, for truly I do not choose to suppose that any would have spit upon the state, or upon me.

4. *εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματα, εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ, περιέστη,*] Markland says, *νυνὶ* does not here refer to time, but signifies *in this case, on this supposition,* that is, *on the supposition that we had betrayed the state without a battle, or any resistance.* He would translate the clause, *if, on the one hand, matters had come to the pass, to which, in this*

case, they would have come; correcting to εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστησεν ἄν. But Dr. Popkin dissents from the opinion of Markland, and says, νυνὶ denotes *the present state of things*, and translates, *if matters had come to the state in which they now are,—if Philip had been made general and master of all.* The question extends to πεποιημένοι, or ᾑρημένης. See the following note.

5. τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι —] The order is; ἕτεροι δὲ χωρὶς ἡμῶν πεποιημένοι ἦσαν τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτα γενέσθαι. The translation: *if others without us had engaged in a contest to prevent these things?* πεποιημένοι ἦσαν is a perfect passive in a middle sense. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 136. 3. See also above, at p. 186. n. 4.

6. καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον — Λακεδαιμονίων,] *and by the Lacedæmonians, who had become powerful even before these.*

7. μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος — προεστάναι;] This sentence contains a fine idiomatic construction, but would be more easily understood, if taken in thus: μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι βούλεται λαβεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἔχειν, τὸ κελευόμενον ποιούσῃ, καὶ ἐώσῃ ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι, *there would, with many thanks, and willingly, have been granted to the state whatever she pleased to accept, as well as the possession of her own* territories; *as long as she did what she was desired, and allowed another to put himself at the head of the Greeks.* Doubtless the words as spoken by Demosthenes would have a finer effect, though to us less intelligible. Indeed, if Cicero's opinion of our orator is correct, no one should hastily find fault with the style of Demosthenes. He says, "Non enim jam quærimus, quid sit Atticè, sed quid sit optimè dicere: ex quo intelligitur, quoniam Græcorum Oratorum præstantissimi sunt ii, qui fuerunt Athenis, eorum autem princeps facilè Demosthenes; hunc si quis imitetur, eum et Atticè dicturum et optimè." De opt. gen. Orat. 4. So that Reiske seems to have found fault without reason, in commenting on this passage. He thinks the idea contained in the text, as it stands, not pertinent to the occasion, and proposes a sentence of which the following is a translation: *If the state had been willing to do what was desired, and to yield the hegemony of Greece to another, it would have been permitted to her, it would have been granted and conceded, not only to retain her own possessions, but also to acquire whatever she wished, at her pleasure.* The critic notices the use of many participles in the same sentence, as betraying careless writers into ridiculous absurdities. His remarks on this passage are not usually thought just; his sagacity and acuteness have done much for Greek literature, but his taste is not always correct.

1. ἀλλ' —] ἀλλὰ διετετέλεκε πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρω- 193
τείων, *but the city has continually encountered danger, fighting for preëminence, for honor, and for glory.* Negris.

2. Κυρσίλον] Cyrsilus (called Lycidas by Herodotus, B. IX. 5.), a senator, who was stoned to death, for having advised his fellow-citizens to listen to the propositions of Mardonius. Negris. (See Cicero de Offic. Book III. 11.) The history of Themistocles is sufficiently well known.

3. τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης —] Reiske would insert ἀπὸ before τῆς εἱμαρμένης. The reference is to death from any fatal necessity,

such as a wound, disease, drowning, lightning, and other things of the kind. *καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον*, denotes death by old age, or in accordance with the usual laws of nature, where neither disease nor external violence has any influence.

194 1. *Εἰ γὰρ, ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα*] Reiske inserted *οὐχ* after *εἰ γὰρ*, referring *τουδὶ*, which is Attic for *τοῦδε*, equivalent to *τούτου*, to Æschines. Taylor understands it to denote Demosthenes himself. But the reference really is to Ctesiphon, and the common reading, without the negative, is the right one. Translate, *For if you shall condemn this man, implying that I have not managed the affairs of the state in the best manner*, &c. Toup notices, that *μὴ* would have been the proper negative particle for Reiske to have inserted, and not *οὐχ*. About *καταψηφιεῖσθε*, see above, at p. 146. n. 7.

2. *τὸν — κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι*] *who have undergone that danger.* *τὸν* is taken here emphatically, referring to the fatal battle of Chæronéa. Quinctilian aptly remarks: "Demosthenes, jurando per interfectos in Marathone et Salamine, id agit, ut minore invidia cladis apud Chæroneam acceptæ laboret." Orat. Inst. L. IX. c. 2.

3. *Οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι*—] This is the fine passage, the *ΣΧΗΜΑ ΟΜΟΤΙΚΟΝ*, on whose beauty and sublimity Longinus remarks, in his treatise *Περὶ ὕψους*, § XVI.; see p. 312. It has also been deservedly praised by many others.

☞ In regard to the issue of this suit, it is sufficient to say, that he who always prevailed in the assembly, gained in this instance a complete victory; and that Æschines went into exile. Taylor. The vanquished orator betook himself to Rhodes, and there taught rhetoric. To which Cicero alludes in these words: "Actio, inquam, in dicendo una dominatur: sine hac summus Orator esse in numero nullo potest: mediocris, hac instructus, summos sæpè superare. Huic primas dedisse Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum; huic secundas; huic tertias. Quo mihi meliùs etiam illud ab Æschine dictum videri solet: qui cùm propter ignominiam judicii cessisset Athenis, et se Rhodum contulisset, rogatus à Rhodiis, legisse fertur orationem illam egregiam, quam in Ctesiphontem contra Demosthenem dixerat: qua perlectâ, petitum est ab eo postridie, ut legeret illam etiam, quæ erat contra à Demosthene pro Ctesiphonte edita. Quam quùm suavissimâ et maximâ voce legisset, admirantibus omnibus: *Quanto*, inquit, *magis admiraremini, si audissetis ipsum.*" De Orat. Lib. III. 56. See further, what Taylor and Reiske have written and collected about these orations.

NOTES

ON THE

PHILOSOPHICAL EXTRACTS.

I. NOTES ON XENOPHON.

1. E Xenophonte.] For a biographical notice of Xenophon, see above, at p. 45. n. 1. 197

2. *ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΞΕΝΟΦ—*] That is, *From* The Memorabilia of Xenophon. This work contains a vindication of Socrates from the charges brought against him by his accusers, on which he was tried, condemned, and put to death. Socrates was born at Alopece, a borough of Attica, about 469 years before Christ. His father's employment was that of a statuary; his name was Sophroniscus; his mother, Phænarete, was a midwife. Having been defrauded of his inheritance by the treachery of a relation, he labored at the profession of his father; but only did enough to bring him in a bare subsistence, devoting the rest of his time to the study of philosophy, under the patronage of Crito, a rich Athenian. He served his country with the highest credit as a soldier, and in various civil capacities. He made it the great business of his life to correct the gross absurdities and defects which he could not fail to perceive in the systems of religion, morality, philosophy, and politics current in his day; and, as the most effectual means of accomplishing this object, he courted the intimacy of such youths, as, from their talents, wealth, or position in society, seemed likely to become influential men; resolutely avoiding any accession of wealth, which the gratitude of his hearers might have brought him in. He rather conversed, and asked questions, than lectured. He usually began his conversation with any one whom he wished to convince, by gaining his assent to some seemingly unimportant or incontrovertible proposition, and then, by a series of questions to which only one answer could be given, led him on to the conclusions he desired to establish. It was not until after his fortieth year, that he attracted much attention as a teacher.

He then taught that the divine attributes might be inferred from the works of creation; he maintained the omnipotence, omnipresence, and providence of God; and, from the existence of conscience in the human breast, he inferred the moral agency of man, and the immutable distinction between virtue and vice. He

believed in an intimate connexion between the human soul and God. His faith in the divine nature of the reason of man was what principally distinguished him from all contemporary teachers, and allies him to recent philosophers. His life and doctrines were too high and pure to pass unquestioned in so corrupt an age as his. He was brought to trial accordingly on the charge of disbelief in the gods of the state, and of corrupting the young men. He defended himself only with the design of saving his adversaries from the guilt of his murder; and, when condemned, drank the fatal hemlock, rather than preserve his life by a secret escape from prison. He was then in the seventieth year of his age. He wrote no books. The writings of his pupils, Plato and Xenophon, are the principal sources of our information about him. Of the two, Xenophon is generally thought the better authority. See further Encyclopædia Metropolitana, Art. *Grecian Philosophy*.

In the Memorabilia, Xenophon relates such particulars of the life and conversation of his master as occurred to his memory, and were adapted to do away the false impressions current in the city which had put him to death. Excepting that this desire seems to have been the main motive in the composition of the work, it is not unlike, in plan, to Boswell's Life of Johnson. If the title is to be translated into English, *Memoirs* is the word which comes nearest to the meaning of the original.

3. *τίσι ποτὲ*—] Be careful to give *ποτὲ* its full meaning, *by what arguments they ever convinced*. ERNESTI.

4. *οἱ γραψάμενοι Σωκράτην*,] *the accusers of Socrates*. *γράφεσθαί τινα*, *to accuse any one*; whence *γραφὴ*, *an accusation*. *Σωκράτην Μέλιτος μὲν ἐγράψατο, Ἄνυτος δὲ εἰσήγαγε, Λύκων δὲ ἐδίωκε, κατεδίκασαν δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔδησαν δὲ οἱ ἕνδεκα, ἀπέκτεινε δὲ ὁ ὑπηρέτης.* Max. Tyr. Diss. 9. 2; also, 39. 5. *ὡς ἄξιος εἴη θανάτου τῇ πόλει·* *that he deserved to be put to death by the city*. Compare below, at p. 207. l. 20., *τιμῆς ἄξιος εἶναι τῇ πόλει*, and at p. 208. l. 9., *μεγάλης ἄξιος ἦν τιμῆς τῇ πόλει;* This comment is the more necessary, because Dawes has denied the intelligibility of *ἀγαθῶν ἄξιος ὑμῖν*. See Dawes, Misc. Crit. pp. 209, 254, in the margin; Leipzig edition. The trial of Socrates took place before the court of Heliæa, which took cognizance of offences against religion and morality. Five hundred judges, at least, are supposed to have taken part in it.

5. *τοιάδε τις ἦν*:] The Greeks elegantly express by the word *τις* something like *almost*. The particle *δὲ* is not superfluous, but denotes, *the following*, or *this*; translate, *was almost like the following*, or *something of this kind*. ERNESTI.

6. *ΑΔΙΚΕΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ*,—] This was the regular formula for indictments.

198 1. *Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὡς*—] The accusation against Socrates was twofold. The first part charged him with not believing in the gods which the state believed in, and with introducing new divinities; the other charge was, that of corrupting the youth. Xenophon defends him against the first article in the first chapter, and indicates so much by the use of the word *πρῶτον*. In the second chapter he refutes the second article of complaint. In the remainder of the work he shows what all the actions and teachings

of Socrates were, what opinions he held about virtue and vice, the course of his life, and the manner of his death. So much for the general plan of the work. HINDENBURG. ὡς is used for ὅτι.

2. θύων τε γὰρ φανερὸς ἦν,] *for he both openly sacrificed.* Δῆλος, φανερὸς, and other like words, are joined with participles of any tense, and are to be resolved by the translator into the construction of the accusative with the infinitive, or of ὡς or ὅτι with the indicative. Compare δῆλός ἐστι παρανομήσας, which may be resolved into δῆλόν ἐστιν αὐτὸν παρανομῆσαι, and translate, *it is certain that he has transgressed the law.* Demosthenes on the Crown. Compare also, a little below, καὶ μαντικῇ [τέχνῃ] χρώμενος οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν, *and it was not concealed that he used divination.* See above, at p. 58. n. 2. — οἴκοι, that is, ἐν αὐλῇ. ERNESTI.

Line 6. δαιμόνιον] Schleiermacher, in his translation of Plato, asserts, that this word is always used as an adjective, and ought never to be considered as a substantive, in any passage of Xenophon, Plato, or their contemporaries. Compare Cicero de Divinatione, I. 54, "Esse divinum quiddam, quod dæmonion appellat, cui semper pareat." SCHNEIDER. Receiving the word as an adjective we are authorized in understanding σημεῖον for it to agree with. Or we may refer it to that portion of the nature of Socrates, whose divinity he seems to have recognised, his reason. Melitus took advantage of the ambiguity of the word, to make its use by Socrates the ground of charging him with introducing *new gods.*

3. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστά] *from which circumstance especially.* The conjunction is thus inserted after the relative by an Attic usage. SCHNEIDER.

4. μαντικὴν νομίζοντες.] With μαντικὴν, supply τέχνην, and translate, *believing in divination.*

5. οἰωνοῖς τε χρῶνται, καὶ φήμαις, καὶ συμβόλοις, καὶ θυσίαις.] By οἰωνοῖς is denoted divination from the flight of birds, *auguries.* Under φήμαις are comprehended all sorts of *voices*, whether referred to the gods, to men, or to animals. Miraculous voices heard from heaven, lucky or unlucky words uttered by mortals, and cries of the brute creation, were regarded as intimations of future good or ill. The full sense of συμβόλοις would include all the means of divination here enumerated. In this passage, however, its meaning is perhaps restricted to σύμβολα μετέωρα, or *signs in the heavens*, such as thunder, lightning, eclipses, &c. With its wider interpretation, it would embrace amongst other things, the appearance of the bees settling upon the lips of Plato, of which Cicero makes mention; De Divinatione, I. 36. By θυσίαις are denoted the omens derived from consulting the entrails of a sacrificed victim, from the appearance of the victim when brought to the altar, from the ease or difficulty with which its life was terminated, and the appearance of the flame and smoke of the fire, in which parts thereof were usually burned.

6. οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας] We may refer these words to men, or animals, or both. For, from the chance meeting of various other creatures, as well as human beings, intimations of the future were gathered. "If a Roman met an Ethiopian, a dwarf, or a deformed man, he returned home immediately, and went no more abroad that day. The meeting of a serpent, a wolf, a fox, a dog, &c.,

presaged ill luck. To meet a lion, ants, or bees, was a good omen." PACKARD. A hare crossing one's path was an omen of ill success. — Translate *τὰ συμφέροντα*, *what is for the interest.*

7. *ὁμολογήσειεν,*] See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

8. *καὶ ψευδόμενος ἐφαίνετο.*] See above, at p. 95. n. 1.

9. *ὅτι οὐκ ἂν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευεν ἀληθεύσειν·*] *that he would not have made any predictions, unless he believed that he should speak what would prove true.* Notice, that here again, the particle *ἂν* gives to the indicative a potential force, and requires the verb of the succeeding clause to retain the indicative form ; a common usage in the Greek authors.

10. *ταῦτα δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλῳ πιστεύσειεν, ἢ θεῷ;*] Understand *κατὰ* with *ταῦτα*. Translate, *as to these matters, who would repose confidence in any one else than God.* See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

11. *Ἀλλὰ μὴν* —] *Besides, indeed, he used to do the following things to his friends.* The circumstances now to be enumerated form another proof of his belief in the gods. Translate, *τὰ ἀναγκαῖα*, *things which must be done.* Ernesti says, things whose issue is certain, because it is necessary; as opposed to those things whose results are obscure and uncertain. The particle *γὰρ* is used with reference to some suppressed clause. See above, at p. 141. n. 8.

12. *μαντευσομένους*] Leunclavius refers these words to the custom of *consulting oracles.* Simpson, to the idea of consulting the gods in any way ; *μαντεύεσθαι* being equivalent in signification to *μαντικῇ χρῆσθαι.* Translate the words, *to use divination, to consult the gods.*

199 1. *Καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας — Τεκτονικὸν μὲν γάρ, κ. τ. λ.*] The idea is, that divination was to be used with reference to those concerns of which the reason of man cannot anticipate the result ; such as whether the building of cities or houses will contribute to the happiness of a people or family ; and not to be used to learn, how to build cities or houses; *ταῦτα γὰρ ἀνθρώπου γνώμῃ αἱρετέα*, *for these things can be acquired even by the unaided faculties of men.* Dr. Popkin chooses to construct *Τεκτονικὸν, κ. τ. λ.*, as a parenthesis. Translate, *to become a good architect*, &c.

2. *Τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις,*] The construction is: *τὰ μέγιστα ἐκείνων, ἃ ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶ, the greatest of those things which are in these matters* ; what is referred to, appears from what follows. Compare at MEM. III. vi. 2. *καλὸν — τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις.*

3. *στερήσεται τῆς πόλεως.*] See above, at p. 99. n. 4. In Athens it was dangerous for a man to marry into a powerful family, owing to the circumstance, that banishment was frequently made the punishment of such public men as were unsuccessful in the execution of their projects ; and when inflicted, was often shared by all the relatives of the unfortunate politician or general.

4. *δαιμονᾷν*] Insanity is here denoted. The words, *δαιμονίζεσθαι, δαιμόνιον ἔχειν, δαιμονᾷν*, and *κακοδαιμονᾷν* often signify, *to be insane.* SIMPSON.

5. *μαθοῦσι διακρίνειν·*] The dative is here used, where the accusative would seem the more natural construction; the participle being attracted from its concord with *ἀνθρώπους*, understood before *διακρίνειν*, into the case of *ἀνθρώποις.* See Buttmann's Syntax, § 142. 2. and § 144. n. 5. See also Fisk's Syntax, R. VI. Exc. 1.

6. *ἐπερωτῴη,*] Attic for *ἐπερωτάοι, -ῷ.* See above, at p. 155. n. 2.

7. *στήσαντας*] The 1 aor. part. of *στάω, ἵστημι, weigh.*

8. *διὰ μαντικῆς*] See Cicero de Divinatione, Book I. 1.

9. *ἵλεῳ,*] Nom. pl. of the Attic *ἵλεως.* The common form would be *ἵλαοι.* Translate the word, *propitious.* See above, at p. 92. n. 1, at the end.

10. *ᾔει,*] This form is the proper 3 sing. imperf. ind. of *εἶμι, go.* In place of which the grammarians usually give *ᾔει.* — About *πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς,* see above, at p. 111. n. 1, and at p. 112. n. 1.

Line 31. *φανερὸς ἦν,*] equivalent to *ἦν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, was to be seen in public.*

1. *ὡς τὸ πολὺ,*] *for the most part, almost all the time.* 200

2. *ᾗπερ*] that is, *ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐν ᾗπερ, in the way in which ; as.*

3. *τίσιν ἀνάγκαις*] literally, *necessities ;* better, *laws of nature.* The Romans denoted the same by *necessitas.* Ernesti.

4. *Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει,*] *And in the first place he considered about them.* The text, however, varies considerably at this place. Eusebius gives *περὶ* before *αὐτῶν,* whilst some, amongst whom is Schneider, omit it.

5. *ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων φροντίζειν·*] *come to meditation about such things.*

6. *Ἐθαύμαζε δὲ, εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστιν,*] *he wondered that it was not plain to them.*

7. *ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τούτων λέγειν*] Construe: *since even those who pride themselves most in their conversation upon these subjects, οὐ ταὐτὰ δοξάζειν ἀλλήλοις, do not hold the same opinions with one another, ἀλλὰ — διακεῖσθαι, but are affected,* &c.

Line 20. *Τῶν τε γὰρ*] The particle *τε* indicates that the sense is continued to the next sentence. Popkin.

8. *καὶ ξύλα τὰ τυχόντα*] *any pieces of wood,* implying the greatest superstition in their worshippers. About *τυχόντα, common, any that come in the way,* see above, at p. 158. n. 3.

Line 28. *ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος·*] Fill out the sentence as follows: *τοῖς δὲ δοκεῖν ἄπειρα κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὰ ὄντα εἶναι.*

1. *ᾗ τῶν τοιούτων ἕκαστα γίγνεται ;*] *in what way,* or *how.* 201

2. *Αὐτὸς δὲ—*] An exact statement of the various questions which come under the notice of the ethical philosopher.

3. *παραγνῶναι τοὺς δικαστάς·*] *that the judges should have decided contrary to right. ᾔδεσαν* is the pluperfect from *εἴδω, know,* with the force of the imperfect. *θαυμαστὸν εἰ μὴ — ἐνεθυμήθησαν, it is surprising, that they did not comprehend.* See above, at p. 200. n. 6.

4. *Βουλεύσας γάρ ποτε,*] Thrasylus and Erasinides, two Athenian generals, were accused of suffering some shipwrecked citizens to perish, after a sea-fight in which they had been victorious; and also of neglecting to recover the bodies of the dead for burial. They and seven other generals were tried before the assembly of the people, in which Socrates then presided. The law demanded, that the decision should be taken separately about each ; but the people were so enraged against them, that they were determined to condemn the whole nine at one vote. Socrates would not put the question to the vote in this illegal manner, though threatened by men of some consideration, and assailed by the reproaches of

the multitude. See the Hellenics of Xenophon, Book I. See above, at p. 136. n. 7.

5. τοὺς ἀμφὶ Θράσυλον καὶ Ἐρασινίδην,] that is, *Thrasylus and Erasinides with their colleagues.* οἱ ἀμφί τινα and οἱ περί τινα are often applied to single individuals, see Græv. Lect. Hesiod. c. 9; but properly to him who is named and his companions. See the Acts of the Apostles, XIII. 13, where οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον designates Barnabas, Paul, and Mark; among whom Paul is named, as the most conspicuous. In like manner, since Erasinides was the first accused and imprisoned, as Xenophon states, and since Thrasylus was probably conspicuous for some other reason, these two generals are named in preference to the others.

6. οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιψηφίσαι,] *refused to put the vote*, such being the signification of ἐπιψηφίζω in the active. See above, at p. 100. n. 2. See also Demosthenes, Vol. II. p. 269, and note at p. 348, Taylor's edition. Vol. III. p. 260, Reiske's edition.

7. περὶ πλείονος ἐποιήσατο] *made it of more importance, thought more of.* See above, at p. 130. n. 4. Dr. Popkin erased μὲν after περί.

8. καὶ φυλάξασθαι τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας.] *and secure himself against those who threatened him.* The active, φυλάσσω, signifies *guard against*; the middle, φυλάσσομαι, *guard one's self against.*

202 1. ὃν τρόπον] supply κατὰ, and translate, *after the manner in which*, or *as.*

2. ὥστε πάνυ μικρὰ κεκτημένος, πάνυ ῥᾳδίως ἔχειν ἀρκοῦντα.] *so that possessing very little, he very easily had enough.* Notice, that ὡς and ὥστε are construed with the infinitive, preceded by a nominative, in Attic writers. See Viger. de Idiotism., p. 198, ed. of Zeune, C. V. s. 3. r. 2.

3. ἀλλ' ἔπαυσε μὲν τούτων πολλούς,] *but he made many leave off these things.* παύω signifies, *cause to cease*; παύομαι, *cease, leave off.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII. 10.

4. ἀλλὰ τῷ φανερὸς εἶναι—] The order is: ἀλλὰ τῷ εἶναι φανερὸς ὢν τοιοῦτος. The translation: *but by his plainly being such a person.*

203 1. ὑπερορᾶν ἐποίει τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων τοὺς συνόντας,] *made his followers despise the established laws.* καθεστώτων is for καθεστηκότων, from καθίστημι, *establish.*

2. τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἀπὸ κυάμου καθίστασθαι,] *for the magistrates of the city, on the one hand, to be appointed by lot*; literally, *from the bean.* Beans were used in the election of such magistrates as were chosen by lot at Athens. Whence Thucydides calls the senate Βουλὴν ἀπὸ κυάμου, and the senators Βουλευτὰς ἀπὸ κυάμου. See Potter, B. I. ch. 18. SIMPSON. These are thought by some to have been what Pythagoras referred to, when he directed his followers to abstain from beans; meaning thereby, *refraining from political life and connexions.* See Sigonius, de Rep. Atheniens. Lib. II. c. 3, on the method of choosing with beans. ZEUNE.

3. τῆς καθεστώσης πολιτείας,] *the present condition of the state.* καθεστώσης, N. καθεστὼς, καθεστῶσα, καθεστὼς, G. καθεστῶτος, καθεστώσης, καθεστῶτος, for καθεστηκὼς, -υῖα, -ὸς, κ. τ. λ. See above, at n. 1.

4. *εἰδότας*] *since they know*, perf. m. part. of *εἴδω*. *διὰ δὲ τοῦ πείθειν*, *but by persuasion*. *τὰ αὐτά*, — Benwell, Schneider. POPKIN.

5. *ᾔδεσαν δὲ*] *but they knew*; from *εἴδω*.

6. *Σωκράτην — ζῶντα*,] *that Socrates lived*, *αὐταρκέστατα*, *most contentedly*; to be taken adverbially.

1. *ὀρέξασθαι τῆς ὁμιλίας αὐτοῦ*·] *sought his intimacy*. See above, 204
at p. 151. n. 6.

2. *ἑλέσθαι ἂν αὐτώ*] Translate *αὐτώ*, *from choice*, Compare Virgil's

> Ipsæ lacte domum referent distenta capellæ
> Ubera —. ECL. IV. 21.

3. *εὐθὺς ἀποπηδήσαντε Σωκράτους*,] *immediately*, *leaving Socrates*, — literally, *springing away from Socrates*.

4. *Σωκράτους ὠρεχθήτην*.] *had sought the intimacy of Socrates*. This 1 aor. is to be taken in a middle sense. See above, at p. 7. n. 10.

5. *συνήστην*,] 3 dual, imperf. ind., for *συνήτην*, from *σύνειμι*, *be with*, *associate with*. See above, at p. 126. n. 1.

6. *ἐκείνου δ' ἀπαλλαγέντε*,] that is, *ἀλλαγέντε δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνου*, *having left him*. This participle is n. dual, 2 aor. pass., in the sense of the middle, from *ἀπαλλάσσω*, *remove*, *send away*; *ἀπαλλάσσομαι*, *depart*, *leave*. See above, at p. 7. n. 10.

7. *ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ δυνατῶν κολακεύειν ἀνθρώπων διαθρυπτόμενος*,] *being corrupted by many men skilled in flattery*.

1. *οὐ μὴν τά γε ἄλλα οὕτω κρίνεται*.] *surely men do not judge so*, — 205
at least in other cases.

2. *συνδιατρίβων τῳ*] *living with any one*. *τῳ* is Attic for *τινι*.

3. *ἀλλ' οἵ γε πατέρες αὐτοὶ συνόντες τοῖς υἱέσι*,] *γε* is a particle of limitation, and signifies, *at least*. Translate, *but at least parents themselves, being with their children*, — The old reading was *αὐτοῖς*, instead of *αὐτοί*. Ernesti made the correction.

4. *προπηλακίζειν*] *insult*, *treat with contempt*. The original meaning of the word has reference to *throwing one into the mud*, or *spattering one with mud*.

1. *μόνους δὲ φάσκειν αὐτὸν* —] The order is: *αὐτὸν δὲ φάσκειν* 206
τοὺς εἰδότας τὰ δέοντα, καὶ δυναμένους ἑρμηνεῦσαι, μόνους εἶναι ἀξίους τιμῆς. The translation: *and, that he used to say, that those who knew what was necessary to be done, and were capable of explaining the same, were alone worthy of honor*. See below, l. 9, and at p. 211. n. 6.

2. *πρὸς ἑαυτόν*.] *in comparison with him*.

3. *Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος*, —] *work*, *labor*, *is no reproach*, or *disgrace*, *but idleness*, *laziness*, *is a disgrace*. The quotation is from Hesiod, *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι*, 311. The enemies of Socrates accused him of teaching his disciples, that *no work was a disgrace*; which, indeed, would not have been a bad doctrine, if *work* were always defined as he understood it. The poet probably intended it in the other sense, though the verse is susceptible of either translation.

1. *Ὅντινα μὲν βασιλῆα* —] Quoted from the Iliad, B. II. 188. 207
ἐρητύσασκε is Ionic for *ἠρήτυσε*, from *ἐρητύω*, *check*, *restrain*. Compare below *ἐλάσασκε*, for *ἤλασε*, from *ἐλαύνω*, *drive*; and *ὁμοκλήσασκε*, for *ὡμόκλησε*, from *ὁμοκλάω*, *chide*, *scold*. About *Δαιμόνι'*, see above, at p. 27. n. 12. *Ὃν δ' αὖ δήμου* — κ. τ. λ. This and the following

lines are quoted from the Iliad, B. II. 198 ; six lines being omitted between this and the preceding quotation. See Clarke's note.

2. *ἐπαινοίη*] Attic for *ἐπαινέοι, -οῖ*. See above, at p. 162. n. 2.

3. *τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες.*] See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

4. *Ἀλλὰ μὴν*] These particles are used when an assertion is made ; each retaining its separate force. Translate them, *but certainly, but at least.* See Hoogeveen, p. 42.

5. *ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰτίαν*—] That is, he not only was innocent, *but was never even accused of any one of the things which have been mentioned.*

208 1. *Πῶς οὖν ἔνοχος ἂν εἴη τῇ γραφῇ,*] *How then could he be obnoxious to the accusation ?* See above, at p. 197. n. 4.

2. *φανερὸς ἦν θεραπεύων τοὺς θεούς*—] See above, at p. 198. n. 2.

3. *τούτων μὲν παύων,*] See above, at p. 202. n. 3.

4. *Καὶ εὔχετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἁπλῶς τἀγαθὰ διδόναι,*] Allusion is here made to the prayer of an anonymous poet, cited by Plato, in the Alcibiades, II.

> *Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ καὶ εὐχομένοις καὶ ἀνεύκτοις*
> *Ἄμμι δίδου, τὰ δὲ δεινὰ καὶ εὐχομένοις ἀπαλέξειν.*

Compare Milton's Paradise Lost, Book V. l. 205.

> " *Hail, universal Lord, be bounteous still,*
> *To give us only good.*"

ἁπλῶς τ' ἀγαθὰ διδόναι. Anon.

5. *ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας,*] When we assign or suggest some reason in the mind of another person why he does any thing, it is usually done by means of the conjunction *ὡς*, *because*, or *ὥσπερ*, *as if*, and an accusative or genitive absolute. Buttmann ; see Syntax, § 145. n. 5. See also Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXIII., Obs. 4. Compare the Memorabilia, Book II. iii. 3. The reason for preferring the accusative to the genitive in this passage probably is, the case of *θεούς* in the line above. See above, at p. 94. n. 5.

6. *πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα*—] We may consider these words as used with reference to *θύματα* understood, or as equivalent to *πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας*. For the Greeks frequently neglect the gender of the preceding substantive, and use the neuter, where another gender would seem more natural. Compare the usage of the Latin writers in this respect.

Line 25. *μάλιστα*] The common reading was *μάλα*, in place of which Schneider reads *μάλιστα*, from some Parisian MSS. The correction is undoubtedly right, the old text resulting from a contraction in the writing of the superlative. Benwell.

209 1. *Καδδύναμιν*—] Hesiod, *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι*, 336. *Καδδύναμιν*, for *κατὰ δύναμιν*, *according to one's power, means, or ability ; as much as one can ; one's best.*

2. *καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειε τοσαύτης δαπάνης.*] *and would not have occasion for so great an outlay.* *ἀπορήσειε* is Attic for *ἀπορήσαι*. See above, at p. 27, n. 11.

3. *ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ', εἴ τις*—] *insomuch that I am not sure, if any one could earn so little by his labor, as not to obtain a competency for Socrates.*

4. *ᾔει,*] *was wont to go.* The imperfect of *εἶμι*, go. See above, at p. 199. n. 10. *διψῴη* is Attic for *διψάοι, διψῷ*.

5. *τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσέα,—*] See the Odyssey, Book X. 281. Also, Horace, Book I. Ep. 2.

6. *καὶ ἀποσχόμενον τοῦ—ἅπτεσθαι,*] *and refraining from touching.* Notice, that *ἀπέχομαι*, middle, has the force of *ἔχω ἐμαυτὸν ἀπό.* About *ἅπτεσθαι*, see above, at p. 39. n. 8.

1. *θύοντα τοῖς θεοῖς,*] *μηχανώμενον* is commonly added. It is not 210
found in Voss's MS. nor translated by Bessarion; and is here omitted. Schneider substituted [*οὔτ' εὐχόμενον,*].

2. *ἔστιν οὕς τινας ἀνθρώπων τεθαύμακας ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ;*] *What men have you been in the habit of admiring for their excellence?* See above, at p. 27. n. 4; and at p. 32. n. 11.

3. *Διθυράμβῳ*] See above, at p. 3. n. 10.

4. *Τῶν δὲ ἀτεκμάρτως ἐχόντων,*] Construe: *But of those things which give no hint, ὅτου* [*οὔτινος*] *ἕνεκά ἐστι, for what they are made.* See above, at p. 86. n. 1. Line 15. *γίγνεται*, Benwell. Schneider reads, *γεγένηται.*

5. *Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι—*] Socrates here enters upon a demonstration of the existence and providence of God, from the wonderful construction of the human frame. He attempts by this method of reasoning to convert Aristodemus *the little* from his atheism, or rather from his contempt of the gods.

1. *οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ τόδε προνοίας ἔργῳ ἐοικέναι,*] Construe, *and does* 211
not this also appear to you to resemble an operation of Providence, viz. *since the sight is delicate, τὸ θυρῶσαι αὐτὴν βλεφάροις, the fortifying it with eyelids in the manner of doors, ἃ ἀναπετάννυται, κ. τ. λ., which open, when there is any occasion for using it, συγκλείεται δέ, κ. τ. λ., and close during sleep? ὡς δ' ἂν μηδὲ ἄνεμοι, κ. τ. λ., and that not even the winds may hurt it, ἐμφῦσαι βλεφαρίδας ἠθμόν, the making eyelashes to grow by way of a strainer,* or *sieve, τε ἀπογεισῶσαι τὰ* [*μέρη*] *ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμμάτων ὀφρύσι,* [See the Iliad, Book I. 528.] *and the guarding the parts over the eyes with eyebrows in the manner of eaves, so that not even the sweat,* &c. Two comments seem necessary. 1. There is no need of resorting to the supposition of an Enallage here, with Ernesti, and taking *θυρῶσαι, ἐμφῦσαι, ἀπογεισῶσαι*, and, a little below, *καταθεῖναι, ἀποστρέψαι, ἀπενεγκεῖν*, as passive. If we understand *τὸ* with each infinitive, the construction is simple enough. 2. The verbs *ἀναπετάννυται* and *συγκλείεται* are in the middle voice. *ἀναπετάννυμι*, active, signifies, *open*; the middle means *open*, in the intransitive sense of the word: *συγκλείω*, active, signifies *shut*; the middle means *shut*, or *close*, in the intransitive sense. Compare Cicero, de Nat. Deor., Book II. 57.

2. *καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν ὀδόντας—οἵους τέμνειν εἶναι,*] Construe, *and that the front teeth are adapted to cutting,—τοὺς δὲ γομφίους οἵους, κ. τ. λ., and that the grinders, receiving* the food *from them, are adapted to chewing* it. See above, at p. 5. n. 6.

3. *ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἀποχωροῦντα δυσχερῆ,*] supply *ἐστὶ*, and translate, *and since what passes off is offensive.*

4. *ᾗ δυνατὸν προσωτάτω*] *as far removed as possible.* The dative feminine pronoun *ᾗ* Viger notices as having occasionally the power of *ὡς*. Compare the Memorabilia, Book II. i. 9. See Stephens. See also above, at p. 86. n. 2.

5. *Τὸ δὲ ἐμφῦσαι—*] that is, *καὶ τόδε οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἐοικέναι ἔργῳ προνοίας, τὸ μὲν ἐμφῦσαι, κ. τ. λ.* These are the words of Socrates;

to whom Aristodemus replies: *Αμέλει καὶ ταῦτα ἔοικε μηχανήμασί τινος βουλευσαμένου ζῶα εἶναι.* *Doubtless these also resemble*, or *seem to be, the contrivances of some one who had determined that there should be animals.*

6. *Αμέλει*] Properly the imperative of *ἀμελέω*, and literally signifying, *be without care*, or *do not trouble yourself;* as an adverb, it means *certainly, doubtless.*

7. *Μὰ Δί', οὐ —*] *No, by Jupiter*, or *certainly not*, said Aristodemus. Socrates had been plying him with questions about the order, beauty, and harmony of the universe, and finally asked him whether he attributed all to an unintelligent cause. Aristodemus said, *No; certainly not.* But yet I do not come over to your ground; *οὐ γὰρ ὁρῶ τοὺς κυρίους [τοῦ κόσμου]*, *for I do not see the rulers of the world.* When *μὰ* stands without an affirmative *ναὶ*, it serves merely as a negative. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 149. 1. The particle *γὰρ* is used with reference to something suppressed.

8. *Οὐδὲ γὰρ*] An elegant ellipsis for *οὐ καλῶς λέγεις· οὐδὲ γὰρ, κ. τ. λ.* ZEUNE. *σεαυτοῦ*, Mss. BENWELL. Schneider reads *ἑαυτοῦ*.

212 1. *Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη,*] that is, *Σωκράτης ἔφη.* *Then, said Socrates, ought you, in proportion to the greatness of that being who deigns to provide for you, so much the more to honor him.* With *τιμητέον αὐτὸ*, supply *ἐστὶ σοι.* The verb *θεραπεύειν* is predicable both of gods and of men; of the former, when they watch over and protect us; of the latter, when they worship, and sacrifice, and pray to the gods. ERNESTI.

2 *ἀμελοίην*] See above, at p. 94. n. 2. *Επειτ' οὐκ*, Socrates here speaks.

3. *οἵαν, — ἀρθροῦν τε τὴν φωνὴν,*] *adapted both to articulating the voice, —.* On the difference of signification between *οἷος* and *οἷός τε*, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXIX., under Obs. 3. See above, at p. 5. n. 6, and at p. 211. n. 2.

213 1. *Ω 'γαθὲ, ἔφη, —*] This vocative is a usual form of address, having, like *δαιμόνιε*, lost much of its original signification; it may best be translated, *Sir*, or *my good Sir.* Compare above, at p. 27. n. 12. Some consider it equivalent to, *I beg you*, or *come.* See Plat. Gorg. p. 491. l. 25. Edit. Serran. Steph.

2. *καὶ ἅμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτούς.*] Socrates uses these words of the gods; as is shown by the word *αὐτούς*. Dunbar wished to refer them to the Supreme Being.

3. *Εμοὶ μὲν —*] Xenophon here speaks in his own person; declaring his conviction, that the ideas of Socrates about the omnipresence of the gods would naturally make men better. Which, in the opinion of Gesner, is so true, that even revelation cannot supply a stronger motive for goodness.

Line 29. *εἶεν·*] See above, at p. 86. n. 1.

214 1. *ὡσαύτως*] *in like manner;* that is, in like manner with Hesiod and Epicharmus, whom Xenophon has just been quoting. The middle *ἀποφαίνεται* signifies *declares his opinion, pronounces.*

2. *εἴτε τὴν δι' ἀρετῆς ὁδὸν τρέψονται ἐπὶ τὸν βίον,*] Govern *τὴν ὁδὸν* by *εἰς* or *κατὰ* understood. Translate, literally, *whether they will turn themselves to the road through virtue towards life, —.*

3. *ἐξελθόντα*] agrees with *Ἡρακλέα*, above.

4. *ἀποροῦντα, ὁποτέραν*—] understand again *εἰς*, or *κατά*. Translate, *at a loss into which of the roads he should turn.* The old editions have *ποτέραν*. Schneider and others have *ὁποτέραν*.

5. *Καὶ φανῆναι*] The construction of the accusative with the infinitive follows. About the middle signification of *φανῆναι*, see above, at p. 7. n. 10.

6. *τὸ μὲν σῶμα*] With this and the following accusatives, supply *κατά*.

7. *τεθραμμένην—εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἁπαλότητα,*] *pampered into a corpulent and enervated habit of body.*

8. *κεκαλλωπισμένην—τὸ—χρῶμα, ὥστε*—] *having her complexion so improved, as plainly to appear possessed of a greater share of red and white, than it had in reality.*

9. *τὸ δὲ σχῆμα,*] that is, *κεκαλλωπισμένην κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα*, *and so improved by art, in her carriage, as to seem more erect than she naturally was.*

10. *τὰ δὲ ὄμματα ἔχειν ἀναπεπταμένα,*] *and to have staring eyes, eyes opened very wide;* such as indicate cupidity and impudence. Lex. Xen. Some choose to translate this participle as if from *ἀνίπτημι*, *wandering hither and thither.* See Hindenburg.

11. *τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον·*] *in the same way in which she had been going before;* that is, *without quickening her steps*, as her rival had done.

1. *φροντιεῖς·*] An Attic future for *φροντίσεις*. The forms *φρον-* 215
τιῶ, -εῖς, -εῖ, κ. τ. λ., are Attic for *φροντίσω, -σεις, -σει, κ. τ. λ.* Compare *φροντιοῦμαι, -ῇ, -εῖται, κ. τ. λ.*

2. *διέσῃ,*] The future of *δίειμι*. The preposition has its full force; translate, *you shall always be*, or *you shall be all your life.*

3. *τις ὑποψία σπάνεως, ἀφ' ὧν*—] that is, *τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀφ' ὧν—κ. τ. λ., οὐ φόβος* [*ἐστὶ*,] *μὴ ἀγάγω σε πονοῦντα καὶ ταλαιπωροῦντα τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἐπὶ τὸ πορίζεσθαι ταῦτα.* Translate: *But if there should ever be any danger of a scarcity of the things from which, &c., you need not fear that I shall put you in a way of getting them, by laboring and toiling with body and mind.*

4. *ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν*] *ἀλλὰ σὺ χρήσῃ τούτοις, οἷς—κ. τ. λ.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. VI. Exc. 1.

5. *οὐδενὸς ἀπεχόμενος,*] See above, at p. 209. n. 6.

6. *ὑποκοριζόμενοι*] *ὑποκορίζομαι* properly signifies, *act* or *speak like a child;* a secondary meaning is, *flatter by using softened and endearing expressions, disguise what is unpleasant by making a favorable representation of it;* the third signification is, *misrepresent by derogatory appellations;* which is denoted by the participle here.

1. *οἱ θεοὶ διέθεσαν, τὰ ὄντα διηγήσομαι μετ' ἀληθείας*;] Hinden- 216
burg places the comma after *τὰ ὄντα*. Translate, *I will give a true account of the way in which the gods have ordained the things that are.* With *ᾗπερ* supply *ὁδῷ*.

2. *ἵλεως*] Attic for *ἱλάους*. See above, at p. 92. n. 1. With *θεραπευτέον*, supply *ἐστὶ σοι*, and so with the following verbals. Aldus read *ἐθέλοις*, which Toup rejects, restoring *ἐθέλεις*, from the best MSS. and editions.

3. *πρὶν μὲν πεινῆν,*] The learner will notice, that *πεινῆν* is used

for πεινῆν, the contracted form of πεινάειν, *hunger*. Compare διψῆν, *thirst*; ζῆν, *live*; and χρῆσθαι, *use*.

4. καὶ τοῦ θέρους χιόνα περιθέουσα ζητεῖς·] Literally, *and in the summer-time running about you seek snow*, which was used for the purpose of cooling wine. Neander says, the ancients were accustomed to lay up snow and ice in subterranean apartments for this purpose. HINDENBURG.

217 1. τὰ ὑπόβαθρα —] The old translation was, *lectorum fulcra, sustentacula*, equivalent to *legs*, or *supports, to a bedstead*. Hindenburg translated, *carpets upon which effeminate men rested the supports of their couches*. It really denotes *diagonal supports, placed under a bed in such a way as to allow a swinging motion*; in some respects such couches would resemble *cradles*. SCHNEIDER.

2. πιστεύσειε;— ἐπαρκέσειεν; — τολμήσειεν —] See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

3. τοῦ σοῦ θιάσου] *of your company*. Θίασος denotes the procession which attended Bacchus, or a company of dancers and pleasure-seekers. SIMPSON.

218 1. μεθιᾶσι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν.] *neglect what ought to be done*. μεθίημι, in the 3 pl. makes μεθιεῖσι, and μεθιᾶσι.

2. τὸ πεπρωμένον τέλος,] *the end appointed by fate*. See above, at p. 162. n. 1.

3. τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον —] that is, διὰ τὸν αἰώνιον χρόνον.

☞ About Prodicus, see Fabricius, Biblioth. Gr. Vol. I. p. 793. This fable of the Choice of Hercules occurs frequently, both in ancient and modern writers. Of English versions of it there are no less than four. One may be found in Shaftesbury's Characteristics, Vol. II. Another is in the Tatler, No. 97. Shenstone has given it a poetical dress. Bishop Lowth is the author of a poetical paraphrase highly commended, in Spence's Polymetis.

4. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν ἔφη ἀκούειν,] The verb ἀκούω commonly governs the accusative of the sound, and the genitive of that which produces it. Translate, ἔφη ἀκούειν, *said that he heard*. So φημὶ ἀκούειν, *I say that I hear*, φὴς ἀκούειν, *thou sayest that thou hearest*, &c.; the Greeks not expressing the accusative before the infinitive in such constructions. So ὁρᾶν δὲ, *but that he saw*.

5. ὅπως οἷόν τε,] Understand ᾖ, *as far as they could*. See above, at p. 212. n. 3.

219 1. τὸ πλῆθος εἰδότας·] See Cicero de Amicitia, 17.

2. πάλιν τούτους ἀνατίθεσθαι·] *to retract these again*. One reading is τούτοις. The idea is, that men are so careless and indifferent about friends, as to be unable to speak with certainty about whom they esteem such; and, after naming a man as a friend, take back the assertion. An allusion to some game of chance, resembling chess, is generally supposed to be made here.

3. τὰ μὲν συναναλίσκων, τὰ δὲ συμπράττων,] *partly by sharing the expense, and partly by helping to accomplish* what is wished.

4. σφαλλομένους δὲ πλεῖστα ἐπανορθῶν.] *and sustaining to a great extent the tottering*.

5. τούτων — οὐδενὸς λείπεται.] *fails in none of these*. τὰ ὦτα προακούουσι. Here the neuter plural takes a verb in the plural. Compare above, at p. 67. n. 8.

6. *οὐκ ἐξειργάσατο,*] *has not done.* See above, at p. 19. n. 6.

1. *Ἐδόκει δέ μοι —*] *And he seemed to me to set men right in the matter of searching out such friends as it is worth while to acquire, saying such things as the following.* 220

2. *πῶς ἂν ἐπιχειροίημεν σκοπεῖν;*] *in what way should we enter upon the investigation?* See above, at p. 94. n. 2.

3. *ὅστις ἄρχει γαστρός τε,*] See above, at p. 3. n. 3.

4. *Οὐκοῦν τοῦ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀρχομένου*] See above, at p. 3. n. 3.

5. *Τί γάρ;*] An elliptical idiom, of frequent use in dialogues. *What, for* I may question you further, as we have not yet exhausted the subject. See above, at p. 66. n. 6. See Hoogeveen on Viger, C. VIII. s. v. r. 3. n.

6. *Τί δέ;*] *But what* do you think of him — ? See the note above.

7. *Ἀφεκτέον καὶ τούτου,*] *We must keep clear of him also,* said Critobulus.

1. *εὖ δὲ πάσχων ἀνέχεται,*] *does not hesitate to receive benefits.* 221

2. *Ἀνωφελὴς ἂν εἴη καὶ οὗτος.*] that is, *ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος.*

3. *φίλον ποιεῖσθαι;*] *to acquire as a friend;* that translation giving the exact power of the middle voice. See above, at p. 130. n. 4.

4. *ὢν τυγχάνει,*] See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

5. *φιλόνικος πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐλλείπεσθαι εὖ ποιῶν τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας ἑαυτὸν,*] *zealous of not falling short of his benefactors in conferring his favors —.* Gesner substituted *φιλόνικος* in place of the vulgar *φιλόνεικος*, and is followed by Ernesti and Schneider.

6. *τοὺς ὑστέρους εὐεργετήσοντα.*] the same as *τοὺς ὑστέρους εὐεργετήσειν, that he will benefit posterity.* Valckenaer corrected *χρήσεσθαι* for the vulgar *χρῆσθαι,* influenced by the tense of *ποιήσειν* and *εὐεργετήσοντα,* which is approved by Benwell and Schneider.

7. *κατειπεῖν σου πρὸς αὐτὸν,*] *to speak against you to him, — to complain of you to him.* Gesner highly commends the beauty of this passage. The words *κατειπεῖν* and *κατηγορεῖν,* signify *inform against, accuse.* They are here used ironically. See Fraguier on the Irony of Socrates, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. et B. L. Tom. IV. p. 360. 4to.

8. *Ἐὰν δέ σου προσκατηγορήσω,*] *but if I should further accuse you, —.* See above, at p. 97. n. 2.

9. *ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχεις πρὸς αὐτὸν,*] See above, at p. 86. n. 1. See also Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII. 3.

10. *ἆρα μὴ διαβάλλεσθαι δόξεις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ;*] *shall not you think that you are slandered by me?*

1. *οὐκ ἀποκάμνεις μηχανώμενος·*] *never tire of contriving.* 222

2. *σύνθηρον τῶν ἀγαθῶν φίλων.*] literally, *a fellow-hunter of good friends;* which expression contains some traces of Socratic irony.

3. *ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ σοὶ ὂν,*] *as if it did not depend upon yourself.* See above, at p. 85. n. 9. *ὂν* is used absolutely like *ἐνὸν, ἐξὸν.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXIII. Obs. 3.

4. *Ἀσπασίας*] The mistress and wife of Pericles. Socrates regarded her as a teacher in eloquence, cultivated her acquaintance, and valued her society. See Plutarch, Pericles.

5. *τὰς ἀγαθὰς προμνηστρίδας,*] *that good matchmakers, — δεινὰς εἶναι συνάγειν, — have great effect in uniting, —* &c. About *ψευδομένας,* see above, at p. 95. n. 1.

6. *πεισθεὶς ὀρθῶς ἔχειν,*] *persuaded that things are right, ἡγοῦμαι*

οὐκ ἐξεῖναί μοι λέγειν οὐδὲν περὶ σοῦ, *I think that it is not permitted to me to say any thing about you*, ἐπαινοῦντι, *in the way of praise*. Benwell, following Bessarion, points as in our text, omitting the comma which is sometimes put after πεισθείς. The participle agrees with μοι.

7. εἰ δὲ μή φανερὸν οὕτω σοι,] Construe : *but if this so stated be not clear to you*, ἐκ τῶνδε σκέψαι, *reflect further*.

223 1. ἐπαινοίην,] See above, at p. 94. n. 2, and at p. 96. n. 5.

2. ἐπιτρέψειε] See above, at p. 27. n. 11.

3. ἢ εἴ σοι πείσαιμι—] The order is : ἢ εἰ κοινῇ πείσαιμι τὴν πόλιν ἂν ἐπιτρέψαι ἑαυτήν σοι ὡς στρατηγικῷ τε καὶ δικαστικῷ καὶ πολιτικῷ, ψευδόμενος. Translate, *or if I should publicly persuade the state, that it might commit itself unto thee as one skilled in military, judicial, and political affairs, while this was not the fact*. The particle ἂν gives a potential force to the infinitive as well as other moods.

4. ἰδίᾳ] *in private*. It is opposed to κοινῇ, above.

5. —Φασὶν,—ὅτι φωνήεντα—] Aristarchus had learned from Socrates in what way his poor female relatives living with him might be made useful ; after practising on the plan proposed, he returned to Socrates ; and when he had told him, with great pleasure, of the successful operation of his precepts, and declared, that he alone was now accused of idleness, Socrates told him this story about the dogs and sheep. οἶν is the accusative of οἶς, conformably to Attic rules. See Pierson. BENWELL.

6. ὅ τι ἂν μὴ] *except what*.

7. τῷ δὲ κυνὶ,—μεταδίδως οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἔχεις σίτου.] that is, μεταδίδως τῷ κυνὶ σίτου οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἔχεις, *share with the dog the food which you yourself have*. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 143.

8. Ναὶ μὰ Δία·] understand ὀρθῶς ποιεῖ. ERNESTI. See above, at p. 211. n. 7.

224 1. οὕτω καὶ ὅδε—] The friend whom he had persuaded to learn the art of generalship from Dionysodorus. GESNER. Line 16, below, the vulgar reading is ἃ δεῖ. The first word is better omitted, in the opinion of Brodæus. ZEUNE.

225 1. ΚΕΦ. ί.] In this chapter Socrates talks with artists about their several arts. Line 5, For the vulgar γραφικὴ read ἡ γραφική.

2. τά γοῦν κοῖλα—σώματα διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων—ἐκμιμεῖσθε.] *at least, indeed, you represent, by a likeness in colors, objects that are hollow*, &c. οὖν is illative, and γε a particle of limitation ; translate them, *at least, indeed*.

3. Ποιοῦμεν γάρ, ἔφη, οὕτως.] Thus did Zeuxis in Cicero, Invent. II. at the beginning. ERNESTI. γὰρ refers to something suppressed. You say right, *said* he, *for we do so*. See above, at p. 66. n. 6.

4. Τί γάρ ;] See above, at p. 220. n. 5.

5. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν, ἔφη, μιμητὸν εἴη,] Why do you ask that question ? *for how can it be imitated*. See above, at p. 220. n. 5.

6. τό τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ ἐχθρῶς βλέπειν—] The common reading was πώποτε φιλοφ., which Castalio wished to change into τό ποτε, and Stephens into πώποτε το. Ernesti made the correction, which is universally followed.

226 1. διὰ τῶν σχημάτων] *by means of the attitudes*. About ἑστώτων, see above, at p. 151. n. 3.

2. *Επεὶ δὲ ἀπορῶν ὁ Κλείτων —*] *But when Clito being at a loss.* See above, at p. 214. n. 4.

3. *Αρ', ἔφη,*] that is, *ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη.*

4. *Οὐκοῦν τά τε ὑπὸ τῶν σχημάτων κατασπώμενα — ἀπεικάζων,*] Translate, *Do not you in representing those parts in bodies, which by the particular attitudes are drawn down, and those which are drawn up; those which are contracted and those which are dilated; those which are extended, and those which are relaxed,* &c.

5. *Τὸ δὲ — ἀπομιμεῖσθαι,*] *but the imitating,* — &c.

1. *τὸν θωρακοποιὸν*] *the armourer.* 227

2. *οὔτε πολυτελεστέρους*] *nor of a more costly material.* SIMPSON. *πλείονος πωλεῖς; do you sell them for more?* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXV.

3. *εὐρυθμοτέρους*] *better proportioned.*

4. *Τὸν δὲ ῥυθμὸν, ἔφη.*] *Measured movement* was the original signification of *ῥυθμὸς,* which was soon lost in that of *musical and poetical rhythm.* Here *neatness and proportion* are denoted by it. The Lex. Xen. gives *concinnitas et proportio. Excellence* will be a sufficiently accurate translation. Wells and Ernesti wrote *τιμᾷς,* which Benwell rejected, and restored the reading of our text, and is followed by Zeune and Schneider. This is a middle form. Compare Cyrop. II. i. 13, *μείζονος τιμᾶσθαι, to estimate at a higher value.*

5. *Αλλὰ νὴ Δί', ἔφη, ποιῶ·*] *ποιῶ* refers to *ἁρμόττοντας,* not to *ἴσους* or *ὁμοίους.* ERNESTI.

6. *οἱ δὲ ἁρμόττοντες, διειλημμένοι τὸ βάρος,*] that is, *κατὰ τὸ βάρος.* Construe: *but those that suit* well *having their weight* properly *divided, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κλειδῶν καὶ ἐπωμίδων, partly by the collar-bones, and the parts near the shoulders, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὤμων, partly by the shoulders,* &c.

1. *ὀλίγου δεῖν οὐ φορήματι, ἀλλὰ προσθήματι ἐοίκασιν.*] — *μικροῦ* 228 *δεῖν* and *ὀλίγου δεῖν,* are put absolutely for *almost.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXIX. under Obs. 3. Translate, *they are scarcely* felt *as a weight, but only as a* small *appendage.* The ellipsis at *ὀλίγου δεῖν* may be thus supplied, *ὥστε δεῖν ὀλίγου πράγματος.*

2. *καὶ τὰ νῦν ὀρθῶς ἀποδέχῃ.*] *and now you rightly apprehend the matter.* The adverbial *τὰ νῦν,* is probably elliptical for *κατὰ τὰ πράγματα νῦν ὄντα. Αυτὸς — τοῦτο λέγεις, you are right.* Compare Matthew, XXVI. 64. Schneider writes *Αὐτὸ — τοῦτο λέγω.*

3. *Αλλοι μὲν οὖν —*] The order is: *Αλλοι μὲν οὖν παραγενόμενοι αὐτῷ οὕτως ὁμιλοῦντι πρὸς ἄλλους διηγοῦντο.* Translate, *Some, indeed, who were present when he talked thus with others, have given reports* of his conversations. Notice that *διηγοῦντο* is imperfect. See Harris's Hermes, pp. 136, 137. 3d edition.

4. *ἐγὼ δὲ,*] that is, Xenophon himself.

5. *οὐκ ἔμοιγε.*] supply *ἐπῆλθεν* from above. Translate, *at least, it never occurred to me.*

1. *Αλλ' οἶσθά γ', ἔφη,*] *But at least you know, said he,* —. 229

2. *κάλλιστον ἀναπαυτήριον.*] *ἀναπαυτήριον.* This substantive properly denotes *a place of rest;* such a signification according with the analogy of its termination. Compare *κολαστήριον, a place of punishment;* and *κοιμητήριον, a place for sleep.* Sometimes this termination seems to indicate aptness for producing a certain

effect. As here, *ἀναπαυτήριον* signifies *a contributor to rest*, and is beautifully applied to night. HINDENBURG.

3. *ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν ἥλιος — σαφηνίζει,*] Instead of the vulgar *ἐπειδὰν*, which is commonly made to govern the subjunctive, both in this place, and at line 24, as also at p. 230, line 15, *ἐπειδὴ* is the correct reading; it being sanctioned, not only by analogy, but by the best MSS. See Benwell; and Porson's notes on the Anabasis.

4. *Τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ —*] Construe, *δὲ*, *and further*, *ἐπεὶ δεόμεθα τροφῆς*, *since we stand in need of food*, *τὸ ἀναδιδόναι ταύτην*, — *their giving it*, — &c. See p. 210, and frequently afterwards.

5. . . . *φύειν —*] Benwell received *φύειν* in a transitive sense; which is the reading of Brodæus and Schneider. Reiske conjectured *συμφυτεύειν*, and Salgasius *συμφύειν*.

6. *καὶ, ἐπειδὴ — δεόμεθα —*] See above, at n. 3.

7. *ὡς γὰρ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν,*] See above, at p. 167. n. 4.

230 1. *ὧν καιρὸς διελήλυθεν·*] *whose season is past.*

2. *ἔνθα ὧν — ὠφελοίη ;*] See above, at p. 94. n. 2, and at p. 96. n. 5.

3. *γιγνομένοις.*] See above, at p. 211. n. 1.

4. *ὥστε λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς —*] *so that we are imperceptibly placed in either extreme.* An idiomatic expression. So *λανθάνω ἐμὲ καθιστάμενον*, *I unconsciously was*, or *did not perceive that I was.* See above, at p. 87. n. 1.

5. *τί — ἔργον,*] understand *ἄλλο*. SIMPSON.

6. *Οὐ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ', — φανερὸν,*] *γὰρ* is used with reference to something like this suppressed, *τί ἐκεῖνο ἐμποδίζει σε ; why does that trouble you ? γὰρ οὐ καὶ τοῦτο — κ. τ. λ., for is not this also*, &c. See above, at p. 225. n. 3. Schneider received *οἴων* for *ὑῶν* from two MSS. The Attic would be *οἰῶν*. See above, at p. 223. n. 5.

7. *ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ πλείω τῶν φυτῶν.*] *For to me, on the one hand, men seem to derive more advantage from animals than from plants.* *δοκεῖ* occurs by an *ἀνακολούθον* for *δοκοῦσιν*, which is required by *ἄνθρωποι* preceding. See above, at p. 68. n. 5.

8. *τρέφονται γοῦν,*] See above, at p. 225. n. 2.

231 1. *Τὸ δ', ἐπειδὴ —*] Construe, *δὲ*, *and further*, *τὸ προσθεῖναι*, *their having added*, &c. The gods are still the subject of conversation.

2. *καὶ νόμους τιθέμεθα,*] *and we establish laws.* See above, at p. 182. n. 2.

3. *Τὸ — ταύτῃ αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν συνεργεῖν,*] *their assisting us in this.* With *ταύτῃ* understand *μερίδι*, or something of the kind.

4. *ᾗ ἂν ἄριστα*] understand *ὁδῷ* with *ᾗ*.

5. *Σοὶ δ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες,*] Euthydemus alludes to the dæmon of Socrates; on which, see above, at p. 198. l. 6, and note.

232 1. *οὕτως ὑποδεικνύουσιν.*] that is, *ἑαυτοὺς*, *thus reveal themselves to us.*

2. *ὑγιᾶ*] Attic for *ὑγιῆ*. In the Glasgow edition it is printed incorrectly with an iota subscript. Compare the last words of Cyrus, pp. 78 – 82 of this volume.

3. *τάδε δὲ —*] Benwell and Ernesti read, on MSS. authority, *τάδε*, instead of the vulgar *τόδε*.

4. *ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ*—] The order is: *ὅτι οὐδέ ποτε εἷς ἀνθρώπων δοκεῖ μοι ἂν ἀμείβεσθαι τὰς εὐεργεσίας τῶν θεῶν ἀξίαις χάρισιν.*

1. *τιμῴη θεούς.*] See above, at p. 155. n. 2. 233

2. *φανερὸς — οὐ τιμῶν θεούς.*] See above, at p. 198. n. 2.

3. *οὐ γὰρ παρ' ἄλλων*—] The order is: *γάρ τίς γ' ἐλπίζων μείζω παρ' ἄλλων, ἢ παρὰ τῶν δυναμένων ὠφελεῖν τὰ μέγιστα, οὐκ ἂν σωφρονοίη.* See above, at p. 155. n. 2.

4. *Τῶν δὲ Σωκράτην*] Now follows the peroration of this beautiful work of Xenophon. The order is: *πάντες δὲ οἱ ἐφιέμενοι ἀρετῆς τῶν γιγνωσκόντων Σωκράτην, οἷος ἦν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελοῦσι ποθοῦντες ἐκεῖνον μάλιστα πάντων, κ. τ. λ.* Construe, *τῶν γιγνωσκόντων Σωκράτην, οἷος ἦν, of those who knew what manner of person Socrates was.* In the next line translate, *διατελοῦσι ποθοῦντες ἐκεῖνον, continue regretting him.*

1. *τοιοῦτος — οἷος*] *ἄριστός γε καὶ εὐδαιμονέστατος ἀνὴρ ἂν εἴη, such as a most excellent and completely happy man should be.* Compare with this what Plato wrote at the end of the Phædo, at p. 252 of this volume. 234

II. NOTES ON PLATO.

1. E Platone.] Plato, an Athenian by birth, or, as some say, an Æginetan, was born on the seventh of Thargelion, that is, the twenty-first of March, 429 years before Christ. His father, Ariston, was descended from Codrus, the last of the Athenian kings. His mother, Perictione, traced her descent to Dropides, the brother of Solon. Ariston took excellent care of his son's education, providing him with the best instruction in gymnastics, painting, music, poetry, and philosophy. In his twentieth year he became a pupil of Socrates; having previously studied under Cratylus. Before knowing Socrates, he had written an epic poem; but destroyed it, when he saw how far short of the Iliad it fell. His lyric attempts satisfied him little better. And, under the influence of Socrates, he stopped the representation of a tetralogy of plays, which he had composed with the greatest care. For the teacher saw that his pupil was seeking fame, and opened to him other and nobler ways of attaining it. He continued eight years in habits of familiar intercourse with this great philosopher, and was faithful to him to the last, defending him while on trial, and finally offering to contribute with others the means of purchasing his life, by the payment of a fine. 235

After the death of Socrates, Plato, together with other disciples of the same master, fled to Megara; where he studied logic with Euclid. He then travelled into Italy, with the view of becoming acquainted with the doctrines of Pythagoras; and continued his travels thence as far as Cyrene, learning geometry under Theodorus. He then sailed for Egypt, and made himself master of the astrology and theological science of the Egyptian priests. Returning again to Italy, he visited the Pythagoreans, Archytas and Eurytus. On his return to Athens Plato took no part in politics;

but, withdrawing to the Academy, a gymnasium situated in a grove, at a short distance from the city, he there opened a school. From this place his disciples acquired the name of the Academic sect. He is said to have visited Sicily three times, and to have aroused the anger of both the elder and younger Dionysius at different visits, by promulgating doctrines hostile to arbitrary power. To Dion, and many other good men there, his presence was ever welcome. His Sicilian travels did not break up his school, which was intrusted to a disciple in his absence. Among his scholars, who were very numerous, were Hyperides, Isocrates, and Demosthenes. His manner of teaching resembled that of Socrates, being that of conversation. His doctrines, however, were not altogether Socratic, but contained a considerable admixture of Pythagorean notions, and called forth some opposition from the other pupils of his master; indeed, some of them regarded him as the founder of a new and different school of philosophy. It is remarkable, that, whilst Socrates was persecuted to death for his unpopular doctrines, Plato should have enjoyed to so great an extent the love and admiration of his contemporaries. The principal opposition made to him was in the shape of ridicule from Diogenes. There were, however, a few others who tried to injure him, by the circulation of unfounded reports, and by the misconstruction of his words and actions. He died on the anniversary of his birth, at the advanced age of eighty-one years. "Death came upon him like a soft sleep, when he was present at a marriage feast. His body was buried in the Ceramicus, not far from the Academy." His nephew, Speusippus, succeeded him in his school.

Many dialogues, letters, and treatises have come down to us bearing his name. Of the genuineness of some of these there is great question. The Republic, Phædo, and Gorgias, are perhaps the most remarkable of these compositions. The style of Plato has many beauties; but has not escaped the censure of too great striving after the beauties of poetry. Cicero is warm in his praise, calling him, "non intelligendi solum, sed etiam dicendi gravissimum auctorem et magistrum: et longè omnium, quicunque scripserunt aut locuti sunt, et suavitate et gravitate principem: longè omnium in dicendo gravissimum et eloquentissimum: in oratoribus irridendis ipsum oratorem summum: eundem illum non linguæ solùm, verùm etiam animi ac virtutis magistrum." "Philosophorum," Quinctilian says, "ex quibus plurimùm se traxisse eloquentiæ M. Tullius confitetur, quis dubitet Platonem esse præcipuum, sive acumine disserendi, sive eloquendi facultate quâdam divinâ et Homericâ: multum enim supra prosam orationem, et quam pedestrem Græci vocant, surgit; ut mihi non hominis ingenio, sed quodam videatur oraculo Delphico instinctus." [Inst. Orat. X.] By Cicero again he is mentioned thus: "Quasi quidam Deus Philosophorum, Deus ille noster Plato."

2. *ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΡΙΤΩΝ*—] That is, The Crito of Plato, Concerning Duty.

Ficinus gives the following summary of the dialogue. Crito, an intimate friend of Socrates, visited him in prison, when the time appointed for his execution was at hand; and, after repeatedly expressing his wish, that Socrates would avail himself of the

opportunity which offered of escaping from prison, began to urge him to a compliance; matters having been put into such a train by himself and other friends, as would render escape easy. If he neglected this opportunity, Crito argued that he would bring disgrace upon himself and his friends, and be the author of injustice to his family. Socrates declined so doing, until he might be convinced that he should have right on his side. His determination may best be learned from his own words.

3. *Τί τηνικάδε ἀφῖξαι;*] *Why have you come at this time?* Moschopulus, in his collection of Attic words from Philostratus, reads *πηνικάδε*. "*Πηνίκα καὶ ἡνίκα ὥρας δηλωτικά· ὡσαύτως καὶ πηνικάδε· ὡς τὸ, τί πηνικάδε ἀφῖξαι, ὦ Κρίτων, ἢ οὐ πρωῒ ἔτι ἐστί;*" *ἀφῖξαι*, *art thou come.* See above, at p. 27. n. 4, and at p. 29. n. 4.

4. *Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.*] *Very indeed.* See Hoogeveen, Gr. Part. p. 684.

1. *τοῦ τρόπου,*] It is usual to supply *ἕνεκα* here. See Buttmann's 236
Syntax, § 132. 6. (1.) Translate, *in your disposition.*

2. *ἐν τῇ νῦν παρεστώσῃ ξυμφορᾷ,*] *in the present trouble.* See above, at p. 151. n. 3.

3. *ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιλύεται—*] The order is: *ἀλλ' ἡ ἡλικία οὐδὲν ἐπιλύεται αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ*, *but their age does not at all prevent their feeling dissatisfied with their present lot.*

4. *ἣν ἐγὼ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκῶ, ἐν τοῖς βαρύτατα ἂν ἐνέγκαιμι.*] *which I, as it seems to me, should be most troubled about of them all.* After *βαρύτατα ἂν*, supply the participle *φέρουσι*. Forster. This superlative is to be taken adverbially.

5. *τὸ πλοῖον*] About this ship Plato says: *Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πλοῖον, ὥς φασιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ᾧ Θησεὺς — εἰς Κρήτην τοὺς δὶς ἑπτὰ ἐκείνους ᾤχετο ἄγων, καὶ ἔσωσέ τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσώθη. Τῷ οὖν Ἀπόλλωνι εὔξαντο, ὡς λέγεται, τότε, εἰ σωθεῖεν, ἑκάστου ἔτους θεωρίαν ἀπάξειν εἰς Δῆλον· ἣν δὴ ἀεὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐξ ἐκείνου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ πέμπουσιν. Ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἄρξωνται τῆς θεωρίας, νόμος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς, ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καθαρεύειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δημοσίᾳ μηδένα ἀποκτιννύναι, πρὶν ἂν εἰς Δῆλον ἀφίκηται τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ πάλιν δεῦρο. Τοῦτο δ' ἐνίοτε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ γίνεται, ὅταν τύχωσιν οἱ ἄνεμοι ἀπολαβόντες αὐτούς. Ἀρχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς θεωρίας, ἐπειδὰν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος στέψῃ τὴν πρύμναν τοῦ πλοίου. Τοῦτο δ' ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ λέγω, τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς δίκης γεγονός. Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ πολὺς χρόνος ἐγένετο τῷ Σωκράτει ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς δίκης τε καὶ τοῦ θανάτου.* Phædo, near the beginning. See further, Potter, B. II. ch. 9.

6. *τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ·*] See above, at p. 184. n. 1. The Greeks seem to have uttered these words from pleasure, when they received any thing, or when they wished to pray for a friend who had received any thing. Fischer, Ind. Theophr.

7. *ταύτῃ*] that is, *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ*.

8. *καὶ κινδυνεύεις ἐν καιρῷ τινι οὐκ ἐγεῖραί με.*] *and you came near awakening me at an unfortunate time.* Another translation is, *and you seem not to have awakened me at a favorable time.* See H. Stephens.

1. *Ἤματί κεν τριτάτῳ—*] The Iliad, IX. 363. These words 237
were uttered by Achilles to Ulysses, when, after making known his sense of his wrongs at the hands of Agamemnon, he declares

that he shall return home, whither he hopes to arrive in three days. FISCHER. See S. Clarke's note.

2. *οὐδὲ μία ξυμφορά*—] For *οὐδεμία ξυμφορά ἐστιν ἄλλη*, the vulgar reading, Sallier gives, on the authority of the royal Paris MS., *οὐ μία ξυμφορά ἐστιν*, omitting *ἄλλη*, which probably owes the accident of its insertion to the next word. Our text is a conjecture of Forster. Buttmann, Bekker, and Ast, receive Sallier's correction. Translate, *not one sad misfortune alone;* which translation the vulgar reading would bear.

3. *ὡς, οἷός τε ὢν σε σώζειν,*] *as if when I could save you.* See above, at p. 5. n. 6. For *ἀμελήσαιμι*, Fischer gave *ἀμελῆσαι*.

4. *περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι*] See above, at p. 130. n. 4.

5. *ἆρά γε μὴ ἐμοῦ προμηθῇ*—] *are you not then troubling yourself about me and your other friends?* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XVIII. 2.

238 1. *οἱ συκοφάνται*] See above, at p. 189. n. 2.

2. *ἐξὸν σωθῆναι*·] *when you have an opportunity to save yourself.* See above, at p. 7. n. 10.

239 1. *καὶ τὸ σὸν μέρος,*] *and as far as in you* lies: supply *κατὰ* before *μέρος*.

240 1. *Εἰ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον*—] Construe, *If we should resume this argument, which you make use of, about the opinions* of men, *πότερον καλῶς, κ. τ. λ.* I mean, — *whether it was at all times rightly asserted or not, that we ought to pay regard to some opinions, and to others not: ἢ πρὶν μὲν ἐμὲ δεῖν ἀποθνήσκειν, καλῶς ἐλέγετο, or that such an assertion was right, before I was under a necessity of dying, νῦν δὲ κατάδηλος* [*λόγος*] *ἄρα ἐγένετο, κ. τ. λ., and that it* only *just now forsooth became evident, that it was made at random,* merely *for the sake of argument, ἦν δὲ παιδιὰ καὶ φλυαρία ὡς ἀληθῶς, and was in reality childish trifling.* The particle *ὡς* gives a greater force to adverbs. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 149. 1.

2. *εἴτι μοι ἀλλοιότερος φανεῖται,*] Understand *λόγος*, and construe, *whether that argument will appear any thing different* to me, *ἐπειδή γε ὧδε ἔχω, after being brought to this condition, ἢ ὁ αὐτός, or the same* as before; *καὶ ἐάσομεν χαίρειν, κ. τ. λ., and we will reject it, or agree to it.*

3. *ὅσα γε τἀνθρώπεια,*] Understand *ἔχει*, and translate, *at least in all human probability, ἐκτὸς εἶ τοῦ μέλλειν ἀποθνήσκειν αὔριον, you stand in no chance of dying to-morrow.*

241 1. *Φέρε δή, πῶς αὖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλέγετο;*] *But come,* I ask, *again,* — *upon what ground were such things asserted? Γυμναζόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ τοῦτο πράττων,* — *A man who exercises his body, and does that* alone.

2. *ὃς ἂν τυγχάνοι ἰατρὸς ἢ παιδοτρίβης ὤν;*] For some exercised their bodies for the sake of acquiring strength, and others for health It was the duty of the latter to comply with the physician's directions, and of the former to obey the teacher of gymnastics. DACIER.

242 1. *ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ὅμοιος εἶναι καὶ πρότερον.*] The copies vary here. The old editions have *ὅμοιος εἶναι τῷ προτέλους*. Bekker reads, *τῷ καὶ πρότερον*. Ast gives *καὶ πρότερον*, without the article. Retaining our text, which rests on high authority, having been thus quoted by the Alexandrian grammarians as a good example of a peculiar construction, we may translate, *seems to me to be like the former.* See p. 240. l. 2. 3. 16.

2. *μὴ ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτα,*—] Understand *ὅρα*, and construe,

beware, μὴ ταῦτα ᾖ ὡς ἀληθῶς σκέμματα τούτων τῶν πολλῶν τῶν ῥᾳδίως ἀποκτιννύντων, lest these things may really be the notions of the multitude who kill on slight grounds, καὶ ἀναβιωσκομένων γ' ἄν, εἰ οἷοί τε ἦσαν, οὐδενὶ ξὺν νῷ, and would perhaps also recall to life, if they could, alike *without reason.* See Buttmann's Syntax, § 139. 14. See also above, at p. 240. n. 1. Supply also ὅρα with μὴ, l. 30, and p. 230. l. 5.

1. *Σκοπῶμεν, ὦ 'γαθέ,—*] See above, at p. 213. n. 1. 243

2. *ἐλάθομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παίδων οὐδὲν διαφέροντες;*] *we did not think that we are just like boys.* On the construction of λανθάνω, see Fisk's Syntax, R. XXXII., Obs. 2.

1. *Τί δέ;*] See above, at p. 220. n. 6. 244

1. *ἢ πείθειν αὐτὴν, ᾗ τὸ δίκαιον πέφυκε;*] *or to persuade it* to do *what is just.* See above, at p. 154. n. 2. 246

1. *τῷ ἐξουσίαν—*] The order is: *τῷ πεποιηκέναι τῷ Ἀθηναίων βουλομένῳ.* The translation: *by having given power to each Athenian citizen who wishes.* 247

2. *καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων ἐμποδών ἐστιν,*] *and no one of us laws hinders.*

3. *ποιεῖ.*] Fischer, in his first editions, gave ποιεῖς, on the authority of the translation of Ficinus. In the third edition he restored ποιεῖ, which is the reading of Buttmann, Bekker, Ast, and of all the MSS.

4. *ἴσως ἄν μου δικαίως καθάπτοιντο,*] *perhaps they might justly rebuke me.* See above, at p. 39. n. 8.

5. *ὅτι ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ἀθηναίων ἐγὼ αὐτοῖς ὡμολογηκὼς τυγχάνω ταύτην τὴν ὁμολογίαν.*] *that I among the Athenians happen to have promised especially this obedience to them.* See above, at p. 7. n. 5, and at p. 31. n. 11.

1. *ξυνέθου πολιτεύσεσθαι.*] *you agreed to be governed.* See above, at p. 116. n. 1. 248

Line 29. *οὐδὲ ἀπατηθείς,*] These two words were omitted in the earlier editions.

1. *οἱ νόμοι, δηλονότι·*] Stephens thought this word a gloss. Bekker and Ast read δῆλον ὅτι. l. 7. *οὐκ ἐμμενεῖς —;* Buttmann. 249

2. *καὶ ἀναισχυντήσεις διαλεγόμενός τινας λόγους, — οἵουσπερ ἐνθάδε,*] *and will be impudent enough to say such things as these.* Buttmann adopted οἵουσπερ from Eusebius, which is received by Ast.

1. *Τί δέ;*] See above, at p. 220. n. 6. 250

2. *θρέψονται—*] See above, at p. 99. n. 1.

1. *ὥσπερ οἱ κορυβαντιῶντες τῶν αὐλῶν δοκοῦσιν ἀκούειν·*] *as the Corybantes seem to hear the flutes.* The priests and worshippers of Cybele are thus designated. Lucretius describes her worshippers in the three lines which follow: 251

> Tympana tenta tonant palmis, et Cymbala circum
> Concava, raucisonóque minantur Cornua cantu,
> Et Phrygio stimulat numero cava Tibia mentes.
>
> Book II. 618 - 620.

* * * * *

On the argument of Socrates in this piece, Shelley makes the following note; supplying him with a justification of an escape from prison.

"Indeed, your city cannot subsist, because the laws are no

longer of avail. For how can the laws be said to exist, when those who deserve to be nourished in the Prytanea at the public expense, are condemned to suffer the penalties only due to the most atrocious criminals; whilst those against, and to protect from whose injustice, the laws were framed, live in honor and security? I neither overthrow your state, nor infringe your laws. Although you have inflicted an injustice on me, which is sufficient, according to the opinions of the multitude, to authorize me to consider you and me as in a state of warfare; yet, had I the power, so far from inflicting any revenge, I would endeavour to overcome you by benefits. All that I do at present is, that which the peaceful traveller would do, who, caught by robbers in a forest, escapes from them whilst they are engaged in the division of the spoil. And this I do, when it would not only be indifferent, but delightful to me to die, surrounded by my friends, secure of the inheritance of glory, and escaping, after such a life as mine, from the decay of mind and body which must soon begin to be my portion should I live. But I prefer the good which I have it yet in my power to perform.

"Such are the arguments which overturn the sophism placed in the mouth of Socrates by Plato. But there are others which prove that he did well to die." Shelley's Essays, Vol. I. p. 318.

252 1. *Ἡ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ—*] That is, The End of the Life of Socrates, from Phædo; which is also inscribed *ΠΕΡΙ ΨΥΧΗΣ*, On the Soul. This is the celebrated dialogue in which Plato introduces Phædo, relating to Echecrates the views on the immortality of the soul, expressed by Socrates in his prison, on the day when he suffered death by poison. The passage here given forms the conclusion of the dialogue; Phædo is here describing the death of Socrates in the most moving terms. The editor of this collection of extracts expressed great regret that the plan of his work forbade the insertion of the whole dialogue; which he considered worthy of repeated perusals.

2. *νεκρὸν λούειν.*] Frequent mention of this custom is made in Greek authors, especially in the tragic poets. See Potter, Book IV. ch. 3, where he notices, that the same thing was done by others before their deaths, which Plato here relates of Socrates. Forster. See also, Cleveland's Gr. Ant., Part. X. ch. 18.

3. *ὅ τι ἂν σοι ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς ἐν χάριτι μάλιστα ποιοῖμεν;*] *by doing which, we can act most acceptably to you.*

4. *καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν χάριτι ποιήσετε, ἅττ' ἂν ποιῆτε,*] Construe, *whatever you do, you would please me and my friends and yourselves, κἂν μὴ νῦν ὁμολογήσητε, even if you should not now promise.* *ἅττ'* is for *ἅττα*, equivalent to *ἅτινα*. But *ἄττα* is used for *τινά*.

5. *προθυμησόμεθα, ἔφη,*] that is, *ὁ Κρίτων ἔφη.*

6. *Θάπτομεν δὲ τίνα σε τρόπον;*] Compare Cicer. Tusc. I. 43 Heindorf and Bekker read *Θάπτωμεν.*

253 Line 4. *καὶ ἐρωτᾷ δὴ, πῶς με θάπτῃ.*] Such is the text of Heindorf and Bekker, sanctioned by MSS. authority. The common reading, *καὶ ἐρωτᾷ, πῶς δεῖ με θάπτειν*, is a conjecture of Stephens's.

1. *Ὅτι δὲ ἐγὼ πάλαι πολὺν λόγον πεποίημαι,*] *But because I a long time since have discoursed at length.* See above, at p. 130. n. 4; and at p. 167. n. 2.

2. *Ἐγγυήσασθε οὖν με πρὸς Κρίτωνα, ἔφη, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐγγύην, ἣν οὗτος πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἠγγυᾶτο.*] *Be sureties to me then, said he, against Crito, promising the opposite of what he bound himself to before the judges.* See above, at p. 31. n. 11; and at p. 247. n. 5.

3. *δεινὰ ἄττα*] *any unpleasant or dreadful things.* *ἄττα,* with the smooth breathing, is used for *τινά,* and signifies, *any.* See Buttmann, § 72, 2 and 3.

4. *ὡς ἢ προτίθεται Σωκράτη, ἢ ἐκφέρει, ἢ κατορύττει.*] *that he either lays out Socrates, or carries him with a procession to his grave, or buries him.* On the rites of sepulture among the Greeks, see Potter, Book IV. chs. 3 and 4; and Cleveland, Part X. chs. 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22.

5. *ἦ δ' ὅς,*] *but, said he.* *ἦ* for *ἔφη.*

6. *καὶ φάναι τοὐμὸν σῶμα θάπτειν,*] *and to say, that you bury my body,* not me.

1. *ὁ τῶν Ἕνδεκα ὑπηρέτης,*] *the minister of the Eleven.* The Eleven, 254
called also Nomophylaces, were elected from the people, each of the ten tribes choosing one, and a scribe being joined to their number. It was their duty, among other things, to attend to the infliction of capital punishment. See Potter, Book I. c. 13, and Cleveland, Part III. ch. 8. See also above, at p. 197. n. 4.

Line 12. *αὐτὸ ποιήσει.*] *it will do its work.* Our text is the read- 255
ing of Heindorf for *ποιήσεις.*

1. *ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας*] All the ancients have borne witness, that the countenance of Socrates was always the same during his life. See Cicero de Officiis, Book I. 26; and Tusc. Disp. Book III. 15; Arrian, in Diss. Epict. Book I. 25, and III. 5; and other authors in many places. FORSTER. Translate, *regarding him sternly.*

2. *Ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ γε, βίᾳ καὶ αὐτοῦ,*] One of the Basil MSS. reads *ἀλλ' ἐμοῦγε αὐτοῦ βίᾳ καὶ ἀστακτὶ,* which Fischer approves, and gathers the following meaning, *although I was unwilling, the tears rolled in floods* from my eyes.

1. *οὐδένα ὅντινα οὐ κατέκλαυσε τῶν παρόντων,*] *Κατακλαίειν* must 256
here mean, *to move tears, to make weep.* FISCHER. Heindorf reads *κατέκλασε,* from *κατακλάω, break, move to compassion.*

2. *ψύχοιτό τε καὶ πήγνυτο.*] An optative from *πήγνυμι.* Compare *δαινῦτο,* at the Iliad, Book XXIV. 665, and *λελῦτο,* at the Odyssey, Book XVIII. 237. HEINDORF. Stephens said, perhaps *πηγνύοιτο.* See above, at p. 163. n. 1.

3. *τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὀφείλομεν ἀλεκτρυόνα·*] *we owe a cock to Æsculapius.* Perizonius observes, that a cock was sacred to Æsculapius, and so appropriated to him, that he is always represented bearing one upon his hand. See Ælian, Var. Hist. Book V. 17. But by the cock, which Socrates when dying said was due to Æsculapius, the first and patron of physicians, was signified the sacrifice due from a grateful mind to Death, the great healer of all evils, who was now laying hands upon him. See Œuvres de Racine, Tome II. p. 274.

4. *συνέλαβε τὸ στόμα*—] On the services which were rendered to the dying in their last moments by relatives and friends, see Potter, Book IV. ch. 3; and Cleveland, Part X. chs. 17 and 18.

5. *ἀνδρός,*] See above, at p. 234. n. 1.

III. NOTES ON ARISTOTLE.

257 1. Ex Aristotele.] Aristotle, one of the most distinguished philosophers of ancient Greece, was born at Stagira, in Macedonia, B. C. 384. His father, Nicomachus, a reputed descendant of Æsculapius, was physician to king Amyntas, the father of Philip. His mother's name was Phæstias; and she, as well as her husband, was of noble descent. The profession of Nicomachus probably determined the early studies of his son to Natural History, and contributed to the developement of his powers of observation. After the death of his parents he went, at the age of eighteen, to Atarnea, and studied with Proxenus, a friend of his family. Having spent a short time here, he visited Athens, and became a pupil of Plato. In the teaching of rhetoric he appears to have been a rival of Isocrates; and is supposed to have been the author of some philosophical treatises of merit sufficient to attract the notice of Philip of Macedon, and call forth the famous letter to him on the birth of Alexander. After residing twenty years at Athens, he left that city on the death of Plato, and succession of Speusippus to the direction of the Academy, and betook himself to Atarnea again, where his friend Hermias was sovereign. This prince was basely slain by Artaxerxes; and Aristotle having married the niece of Hermias, made Mitylene his home for some time. He was invited thence about the year 343 B. C., to take charge of the education of Alexander, then thirteen years of age. The character of Alexander during the earlier portion of his reign is the only memorial we have of the excellence of the course pursued by his teacher. For five years, Aristotle devoted himself to this task so faithfully, as to secure the approbation of Philip, and the affection of his son. Alexander is said to have been accompanied by his preceptor in some of his campaigns; who, however, soon left him, and repairing to Athens once more, opened a school of philosophy in the Lycæum, a gymnasium a short distance from the city, which had been fitted up by Pericles with walks, fountains, and trees. He delivered his instructions whilst walking about; from which habit, he obtained the name of Peripatetic, a designation which has descended to his followers. The friendship of Alexander continued warm, until during the Asiatic campaign, the discovery of a plot, in which his relative Callisthenes was implicated, brought death to the last, and loss of favor to Aristotle. On the death of that prince, the philosopher was reported to have been concerned in his pretended assassination. Whilst on the one hand, he was assailed with such a charge by the friends of his former pupil, on the other, he became an object of suspicion to the democratic party at Athens, who now hoped to regain their independence. They accordingly were preparing his destruction by charging him with atheism, when he left that city, saying, in allusion to the death of Socrates, that he would spare it the guilt of a second crime against philosophy. He retired to Chalcis in Eubœa, whither he was attended by most of his scholars. In the course of the following year, 322 B. C.,

he died, having taken poison, as was generally supposed, to escape answering to the charges made against him at the Athenian court of Areopagus. Theophrastus was his successor in the Lycæum.

The great body of his works was not published during his lifetime. They first became known, when the Romans began to cultivate philosophy. Many of them are now lost. But some, and those of great value, have come down to our times. These prove him to have been a man of great genius and extensive learning. The conciseness of his style, however, frequently gives rise to obscurity, when the nature of his subjects, for the most part, requires great perspicuity. He wrote on philosophy, ethics, criticism, politics, natural history, and physics; and in all showed himself a master. His notions had gained an ascendency over the minds of men in the sixth century of the Christian era, which was undisputed till the time of Lord Bacon. And now since the recent philosophical movement in Germany, Aristotle seems to be reasserting a claim to some of his former influence.

2. *ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ*—] That is, *From the* Fourth Book of Aristotle's Ethics. Cicero attributed this work to Nicomachus. "Quare," says he, "teneamus Aristotelem et ejus filium Nicomachum: cujus accuratè scripti de Moribus libri, dicuntur illi quidem esse Aristotelis, sed non video cur non potuerit patris similis esse filius." De Finibus, Book V. 5. All the critics and translators, however, are unanimous in attributing it to the father. The error probably arose from its being inscribed or dedicated by Aristotle to his son Nicomachus.

3. *ΚΕΦ. ζ. Περὶ μεγαλοψυχίας, ὅτι περὶ τιμάς ἐστι μάλιστα.*] Chapter 7. *On Magnanimity, that it is especially concerned with Honors.* Aristotle, that he may the better explain what magnanimity is, here considers the character of one who is endowed with the quality. He treats of it in the concrete, rather than in the abstract.

4. *ὁ γὰρ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτὸ ποιῶν, ἠλίθιος·*] Construe, *For he who does this undeservingly, is a fool: τῶν δὲ κατ' ἀρετὴν οὐδεὶς ἠλίθιος, οὐδ' ἀνόητος, but of those who practise virtue, no one is either foolish or weak.*

5. *τὸ κάλλος ἐν μεγάλῳ σώματι·*] See the Cyropædia of Xenophon, Book V., extracted at p. 65 of this volume; and Hutchinson's note on *Τῷ μεγέθει, κ. τ. λ.*

1. *ὁ δὲ μειζόνων, ἢ ἄξιος, οὐ πᾶς χαῦνος·*] The order is: *ὁ δὲ* 258
ἀξιῶν αὑτὸν μειζόνων, ἢ ἄξιός ἐστι, οὐκ ἔστι πᾶς χαῦνος. The translation: *but he who thinks himself worthy of greater things than he deserves, is not wholly a pretender.*

2. *τί γὰρ ἂν ἐποίει, εἰ μὴ τοιούτων ἦν ἄξιος;*] For, if one from pusillanimity judges himself unworthy of great honors of which he is worthy, how mean-spirited then must he be, who is not worthy of them. Zuinger.

3. *Ἐστι δὴ ὁ μεγαλόψυχος τῷ μὲν μεγέθει ἄκρος,*] Construe: *The magnanimous man is, indeed, in the one respect, remarkable for his greatness; τῷ δὲ, ὡς δεῖ, μέσος· but in the other respect, is moderate, as is becoming.* The last clause refers to the estimation in which he holds himself. That is, his mind, engaged about high matters,

is elevated; but at the same time he keeps to the medium, in estimating himself. τοῦ γὰρ κατ' ἀξίαν ἑαυτὸν ἀξιοῖ, *for he thinks himself worthy of that which he really merits:* οἱ δ' ὑπερβάλλουσι, καὶ ἐλλείπουσιν, *but others*, that is, the vain man and the mean-spirited man, *think of themselves, the one too highly, and the other too lowly.*

4. περὶ ἓν μάλιστα ἂν εἴη·] *he would be interested in one thing especially.* The words enclosed in brackets in our text are wanting in some MSS. Translate them, *but what this is, must be gathered from its worth.* Construe as follows: ἡ δὲ ἀξία λέγεται πρὸς τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθά, *but this worth is so called with reference to external good;* μέγιστον δὲ τοῦτ' ἂν θείημεν, ὃ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπονέμομεν, καὶ οὗ μάλιστα ἐφίενται οἱ ἐν ἀξιώματι, *and we ought to reckon that the greatest good, which we attribute to the gods, and which those in high esteem especially seek*, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις ἆθλον, *and which is the reward for the most brilliant achievements.*

5. Καὶ ἄνευ δὲ λόγου φαίνονται οἱ μεγαλόψυχοι περὶ τιμὴν εἶναι·] *and without any reasoning the magnanimous are evidently interested about honor;* that is, there is no need of any argument to show, that high-minded men are most interested in the pursuit of honor.

Line 22. οὐ μὴν τόν γε μεγαλόψυχον.] Understand πρὸς before τόν.

6. ὡς ἀληθῶς] See above, at p. 240. n. 1.

7. καὶ δόξειε δ' ἂν εἶναι μεγαλοψύχου τὸ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἀρετῇ μέγα·] *and whatever is great in each virtue would seem the proper quality of a magnanimous man.*

Line 29. οὐθέν] Another form of οὐδέν, which last is the most ancient and most purely Attic.

259 1. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀποδέξεταί γε, τῷ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς μείζω αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν.] *but nevertheless he will receive it, since they have nothing greater to bestow upon him.* See above, at p. 153. n. 2. The dative τῷ is here equivalent to διὰ τό.

2. παρὰ τῶν τυχόντων,] See above, at p. 158. n. 3.

3. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τιμὴν οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς μέγιστον ὄν·] *for he is not interested in honor as being the greatest good.*

4. ΚΕΦ. η'. Τίνες αἱ κατὰ μεγαλοψυχίαν πράξεις.] Chapter 8. *What actions are in accordance with magnanimity.*

5. Διὸ καὶ ὑπερόπται δοκοῦσιν εἶναι.] *wherefore also, they seem to be contemners;* that is, the magnanimous seem proud. The author alludes to the train of reasoning at the conclusion of the preceding chapter.

6. τὸ δ' ἀγαθῷ ὑπερέχον πᾶν, ἐντιμότερον.] *but whatever excels in that which is good, is more honorable.* Διὸ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μεγαλοψυχοτέρους ποιεῖ, *wherefore also such things render men more high-minded.*

260 Line 9. ἐμμελῶς] *becomingly.* Literally, this adverb signifies *harmoniously.* Themes, ἐν, *in*, and μέλος, *a song.*

1. μικροκίνδυνος,] *rash, one who exposes himself to danger on trifling occasions.* Some copies read πυκνοκίνδυνος. φιλοκίνδυνος signifies *daring, fond of danger;* and μεγαλοκίνδυνος, *enterprising, ready to undergo great dangers.*

2. Καὶ ἀντευεργετικὸς πλειόνων·] *and recompenses with more* than he received.

3. οὕτω γὰρ προσοφλήσει ὁ ὑπάρξας,] *for thus he who had first begun* kind offices, *will owe something more*, καὶ ἔσται εὖ πεπονθώς,

and will feel himself to *have been well treated*. See above, at p. 97. n. 2.

4. *ὧν δ' ἂν πάθωσιν, οὔ·*] that is, *ἀφ' ὧν, κ. τ. λ.*, *but* do *not* remember *those by whom they have been* well *treated*.

5. *Διὸ καὶ τὴν Θέτιν*—] See the Iliad, Book I. 396, 504.

6. *οὐδ' οἱ Λάκωνες*—] When the Thebans invaded Lacedæmon, the Lacedæmonians asked assistance from the Athenians; and, that they might obtain their request, reminded them, not of their own acts of good will towards the Athenians, but of those of the Athenians towards themselves. Zuinger.

1. *καταφρονητικοῦ γάρ·*] The MSS. of Victorius and Turnebus 261
give a much better reading; *παῤῥησιαστὴς γὰρ διὰ τὸ καταφρονητικὸς εἶναι· καταφρονητικὸς δὲ, διὰ τὸ παῤῥησιαστικὸς καὶ ἀληθευτικὸς εἶναι.* Which may be thus translated: *he is open and free in his language, because he is inclined to despise others*; and *he is inclined to despise, because he is independent and truthful*; *πλὴν ὅσα μὴ δι' εἰρωνείαν, unless when he speaks ironically. εἴρωνα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς, but uses irony only to the many. Καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον μὴ δύνασθαι ζῆν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς φίλον, and that he cannot live for any man but a friend.* The word *quizzing* expresses exactly what is meant by *εἰρωνεία*.

2. *σπουδάζοντος γὰρ οὕτως ἔχειν περὶ ταῦτα.*] *for it belongs to a man bestowing too much care upon* them, *to feel so about them.*

1. *ΚΕΦ. θ'. Περὶ, κ. τ. λ.*] Chapter 9. *On the small-souled* 262
man, and the vain man.

2. *ὠρέγετο γὰρ ἂν, ὧν ἄξιος ἦν,*] *for otherwise he would seek those things of which he was worthy.* See above, at p. 151. n. 6.

3. *ἀφίστανται δὲ καὶ τῶν πράξεων*—] *and they refrain from*—; *ἀφίστανται* being equivalent to *ἵστανται ἀπό*.

1. *ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΒΙΒ. Η'. ΚΕΦ. α'. Ὅτι περὶ φιλίας, κ. τ. λ.*] *From* 263
Book VII. Chapter 1. *That it is to be considered concerning friendship; and the praise of it.*

2. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, περὶ φιλίας ἕποιτ' ἂν διελθεῖν·*] *And after these things*, that is, the subjects discussed in the former books, *the next thing would be to discourse on friendship.*

3. *Καὶ νέοις δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀναμάρτητον·*—] *And* friendship aids *the young in avoiding mistakes, and the old in securing attention, and gives assistance in performing those things which weakness would prevent* them from doing. Govern *τὸ ἐλλεῖπον* by *πρὸς* understood.

4. —*Σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω,*—] The Iliad, Book X. 224, *and two going together.* See Clarke's note.

1. *Καὶ τῶν δικαίων τὸ μάλιστα φιλικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ.*] Aspasius thus 264
explains these words. As there are many kinds of rights, as, for instance, political, parental, and that of a master over his slaves, so that which is the highest kind of right, civil or political right, being based on equality for the most part, has the most to do with friendship.

1. *ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ*—] That is, *From* 265
Aristotle's Art of Rhetoric, Book II. Chapter 12. *On the Feelings and Habits of Young Men.* In this chapter, and in those which follow, as far as the end of the seventeenth, Aristotle discourses on the sentiments which are peculiar to the different ages and conditions of men, so far as they had fallen under his obser-

vation. For the habits and feelings of his auditors being known to the orator, he can then the more easily direct them to the point he wishes.

2. *Τὰ δὲ ἤθη ποῖοί τινες, καὶ τὰ πάθη, κ. τ. λ.*] *And after these things let us discuss what different individuals are, in respect to customs, and feelings, and habits, according to their ages and fortunes.* The copies vary much at this place; so that it is very uncertain what is the true reading. In some, we find *κατὰ* instead of *καὶ* before *τὰ πάθη*. In some, we find *καὶ* instead of *κατὰ* before *τὰς ἡλικίας*. Our reading is approved by Gesner. Buhle gives, *Τὰ δὲ ἤθη ποῖοί τινες, κατὰ τὰ πάθη, καὶ τὰς ἕξεις, καὶ τὰς, κ. τ. λ.*, which is a more intelligible sentence. Translate, *And after these things let us discuss the ways of men with reference to their feelings, habits, ages, and fortunes.* About *ποῖός τις*, see above, at p. 197. n. 5.

3. *καὶ ποῖα προαιροῦνται ἕκαστοι, καὶ ποίων πρακτικοί.*] *and what each prefers, and what each is capable of doing.*

4. *τὰ ἤθη εἰσὶν ἐπιθυμητικοὶ, καὶ οἷοι ποιεῖν, ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσι.*] *are of ardent dispositions, and fit for executing what they desire.*

5. *εὐμετάβολοι δὲ καὶ ἁψίκοροι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας·*] *fickle and fastidious in their desires.* The more exact translation of *ἁψίκοροι* is, *quickly satiated*; it is here used in its secondary meaning of *quickly* or *easily taking disgust; fastidious.*

266 1. *ἥττους εἰσὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ·*] *are slaves to anger;* literally, *are inferior to anger;* that is, *their angry passions conquer them.*

2. *ἄμφω ταῦτα*] that is, *φιλότιμοι καὶ φιλόνικοι.*

3. *Πιττακοῦ ἔχει ἀπόφθεγμα—*] *ὁ Πιττακὸς ἐδίδου τῷ Ἀμφιαράῳ χρήματα, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησε λαβεῖν· ὅθεν ὁ Πιττακὸς λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν, Σὺ δ' οὔπω χρυσῶν ἔρωτος ἐγεύσω, ἢ γὰρ ἂν χεῖρας ἑτοίμους εἶχες λαβεῖν.* Scholiast.

4. *τῇ γὰρ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*] that is, *in their early days.*

5. *οὐ γάρ πω καλὰ—*] *for they do not yet regard any thing else as beautiful, but have learned by rule alone.*

6. *ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου μόνον.*] The author here refers to the custom of so educating young men, as to make them insensible of the merits of any thing new and unusual.

7. *ἀναγκαίων*] *things necessary* for life; *things which one cannot live well, without acquaintance with.*

8. *τὰ καλὰ*] Our author means to say, that young men regard the beauty, the brilliancy, the splendor of their actions, more than their utility. He does not intend to depreciate the *καλά*. On the contrary, he exalts it above the *συμφέροντα*, where he says, that *ἀρετὴ* belongs to it. The useful is a phase, and a lower phase, of the beautiful. The old and the young man may perform the same action; but different qualities thereof, or different aspects of it, influence them.

9. *τῷ γὰρ ἤθει ζῶσι—*] *for they listen to their dispositions or natures, rather than reflection.*

267 1. *τῷ συζῆν,*] See above, at p. 216. n. 3.

2. *παρὰ τὸ Χιλώνειον·*] *contrary to the saying of Chilo;* which was, *μηδὲν ἄγαν.*

3. *διϊσχυρίζονται·*] *contend obstinately.*

4. *τὰ ἀδικήματα ἀδικοῦσιν*] *do wrong.* See above, at p. 31. n. 11.

5. *τοὺς πέλας*] that is, *τοὺς ὄντας πέλας, those who are near; those about them; their neighbours.*

6. *ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπελία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις ἐστί.*] *for wit*, or *pleasantry, is a polite insult.* Jests, jokes, pleasantries are insults stripped of some of their characteristics; unless they are used with moderation, no line can be drawn between them and scurrility. "Maledictio autem nihil habet propositi præter Contumeliam, quæ si petulantiùs jactatur, *convicium*; si facetiùs, *urbanitas* nominatur." Cicero, Oration for M. Cœlius.

7. *οὔτε διαβεβαιοῦνται οὐδέν·*] *they assert nothing positively.*

8. *κακύποπτοί εἰσι*] *are suspicious; fearful of evil; because of their want of confidence* in any one. In some copies we find *ταχύποπτοι*, which is a wrong reading. DONNEGAN.

1. *Βίαντος ὑποθήκην,*] See Cicero de Amicitiâ, ch. 16. 268

2. *τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐπιθυμοῦσι.*] *they desire those things only which are necessary for life.*

3. *τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ.*] See above, at p. 266. n. 4.

4. *ἁπλῶς.*] *but the beautiful is simply good.* *αὐτῷ ἀγαθὸν, good to each one.*

5. *διατελοῦσι γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα λέγοντες·*] See the Speeches of Nestor in the Iliad, Book I., and of Evander, in the Æneid, Book VIII. 560.

> O mihi præteritos referat si Jupiter annos,
> Qualis eram, &c.

1. *πάντα γὰρ οἴονται ἐγγὺς εἶναι αὐτοῖς παθεῖν·*] Construe, *for they think they are just going to suffer every sort of* misery: *τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐλεητικοῦ, and this was*, or *we found to be, the cause of their being prone to pity.* Notice the peculiar power of *ἦν* in this connexion, where it refers us back to the former disposition made of the present topic. *τὸ ἐλεητικὸν* denotes *the being prone to pity.* 269

2. *θρασύτης γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον·*] *for any thing of that kind would be temerity.* In some copies we find *θρασύτητος*, which would give almost the same sense.

1. *περὶ τὰ ἑνὸς δεῖν πεντήκοντα.*] *about forty-nine.* The Greeks use the participle of *δέω* with the number wanting, to express the same that the Latins denote by *unde*, and *duode*. 270

2. *δι' ὅσα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἤθη ποῖα ἄττα συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,*] Aristotle does not propose to discuss the whole matter of the goods of fortune; but those only whose attainment or loss has an effect on the character. Translate, *δι' ὅσα αὐτῶν, by means of which.* About *ἄττα*, see Buttmann, § 77.

3. *Ἡ δὲ εὐγένεια ἐντιμότης τις προγόνων ἐστί·*] Construe, *But nobility of birth is a sort of honor* derived *from ancestors; καὶ καταφρονητικόν [ἐστι] καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς αὐτῶν, and yet it is something which despises even the persons who resemble the ancestors of its own possessors.* The construction changes here between the abstract *ἡ εὐγένεια*, and the concrete, *αὐτῶν*. The meaning is, that the nobility not only despise the low-born and obscure, but even those who have attained distinction, if their elevation is of recent date; and, in fine, all those who are in the places, and hold the rank, which their ancestors occupied.

4. *διὰ τὸ*] The copies vary here. Gesner removes *εἶναι*, and understands *ἐστί*, reading *διότι*, instead of *διὰ τό*.

5. *εὐαλαζόνευτα.*] Are those things which are so distinguished, as to seem to furnish the ground of some pretensions.

6. γενναῖον δέ, κατὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξίστασθαι ἐκ τῆς φύσεως·] *but noble*, when the posterity of the great rival the deeds of their ancestors.

7. πάλιν ἀναδίδωσιν.] *degenerate.* This verb literally signifies *give up*, or *go back*.

8. οἱ ἀπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου,—] Dr. Gregory says, "Parents are often reproduced in their children; at least children are often like their parents, not only in features and form, but also in disposition and character. The Claudian family long in power at Rome, was noted for activity, ferocity, and pride. Among its members were Tiberius, the most cruel of tyrants; as also, Caligula, Claudius, and Agrippina; and it ended after six hundred years with Nero." Line 24. εὐφυᾶ γένη, *families endowed with talents.*

271 1. στάσιμα] Understand γένη, and translate, *families gifted with solid* and *strong minds*, εἰς ἀβελτερίαν καὶ νωθρότητα, *into stupidity and sluggishness.*

2. πάσχοντές τι ὑπὸ τῆς κτήσεως τοῦ πλούτου·] *being somewhat changed or affected by the possession of riches.* The author means, changed for the worse.

3. καὶ σαλάκωνες·] According to one account, *Salacon* was a certain poor man who wished to be thought rich; whence those who take the airs of wealth upon themselves, are named from him. Theophrastus designated by this word a person who bestows great expense where there is little need. But Donnegan gives a different derivation, which see.

4. σόλοικοι,] This word denotes those who use a corrupt and barbarous dialect. The term was first applied to the inhabitants of Soli, an Athenian colony in Cilicia, whose language had degenerated so much from Attic purity, as to have become proverbial for incorrectness. Here Aristotle means those who talk without regard to the proprieties of time and place.

5. τὸ οἴεσθαι] Understand διὰ from the preceding sentence.

6. οἱ δεόμενοι τῶν ἐχόντων.] *who need the aid of the rich.*

7. τὸ οἴεσθαι] that is, σαλάκωνές τέ εἰσι καὶ σόλοικοι διὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι, κ. τ. λ.

8. ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ,] Supply εἰπεῖν. Construe, ἀνοήτου εὐδαίμονος ἦθους, κ. τ. λ., *to speak briefly, wealth produces the manners of a lucky fool.*

272 1. διὰ τὸ ἐφίεσθαι ἔργων,] Because they desire to manage matters for whose administration their power gives them some advantage.

2. Καὶ σεμνότεροι ἢ βαρύτεροι·] *And they are rather dignified than important.* Aristotle distinguishes between two kinds of gravity; the one, a characteristic of wise and good men, he calls σεμνότης, the other, a disagreeable and troublesome quality, he designates as βαρύτης.

3. ἐμφανεστέρους] The dignity and beauty of their lives make them conspicuous, and attract all eyes; and this is the cause why they are modest (μετριάζουσι), and avoid all pretensions.

4. μαλακὴ] *gentle, inoffensive.* εὐσχήμων, *becoming, proper.*

5. μικραδικηταί] And if they ever do wrong, and unjustly assail others, the injuries they do are not trifling and contemptible, but great and answerable to their fortune.

6. Ἡ δ' εὐτυχία—] *but good fortune, in its degree, has the man-*

ners of those conditions which have been mentioned. Line 15. Instead of δοκοῦσαι, some of the copies have δοκοῦσιν. μέγισται is wanting in some editions. Buhle enclosed it in brackets.

7. κατὰ τὸ σῶμα] This is said with reference to health, beauty, &c.

8. Ἓν δ' ἀκολουθεῖ] *But one excellent custom attends upon good fortune;* that is, the favored are more careful worshippers of the gods, and more than others attached to the divinity ; for they trust in them on account of their possessions, believing that they were bestowed by the gods.

1. τὸ αὐτὸν ποιεῖν·] When the orator pretends and invents 273
something which never happened.

2. πρὸς βασιλέα] That is, *against the Persian king.* See Buttmann's Syntax, § 124. n. 3. See the Anabasis throughout.

3. ἐπεχείρησε,] Xerxes did not attempt to subdue Greece until after he had conquered Egypt.

4. οὐ δεῖ τοὺς κληρωτοὺς ἄρχειν·] *it is not proper that those should govern who are chosen by lot.* See above, at p. 203. n. 2.

5. ἢ τῶν πλωτήρων] *or should choose by lot one of the mariners to govern the ship, as if the vessel might be intrusted to him chosen by lot, and not to him who knew how to govern it.*

6. Ὡς ἵππος —] See Horace, Book I. Ep. 10.

1. ὅπερ ῥᾷόν ἐστιν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας.] *which, indeed, is made more* 274
easy by philosophy. Ῥᾴω μὲν οὖν πορίσασθαι τὰ διὰ τῶν λόγων· χρησιμώτερα δέ, κ. τ. λ., *and, indeed, arguments from fables are easier to devise, but in deliberation those from examples are more useful; for generally the future resembles the past.*

NOTES

ON THE

CRITICAL EXTRACTS.

I. NOTES ON ARISTOTLE.

277 1. *ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ*—] From Aristotle's Treatise on the Art of Poetry.

This work has always been esteemed of the highest value among the cultivators of polite literature. It is the production of a great philosopher, who belonged to one of the most cultivated races of men who have ever existed; amongst whom not only poetry but also the fine arts had attained the highest excellence. Whoever then will carefully apply his mind to the study of this treatise, will find that every thought is most elegantly elaborated and most accurately expressed; and that nothing superfluous mars its beauty. But the style of the author is so compressed that there is need of a perpetual commentary for the full apprehension of his meaning. The plan of this collection of extracts forbids the introduction of so much annotation here. Accordingly the intention of interweaving extracts from the best commentators who have labored in this work, was early given up, and its fulfilment must be left to the teacher. The task of the editor will be restricted to the explanation of some of the elliptical and unusual constructions, and to the clearing up of philological difficulties. If any person is disposed to enter more fully into the nature of the composition, he might profitably consult Pye's Translation and Commentary; Twining's Translation and Notes; Dacier's Translation and Notes, and the writings of Batteux, Bossu, and Marmontel. See also, Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Dr. Hurd's Commentary on the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, Dr. Moor's Essay on the End of Tragedy, and Harris's Three Treatises.

2. *ΠΕΡΙ* ποιητικῆς] In the common editions this first chapter is entitled, *Τῶν τεχνῶν διαφοραί, ἐν οἷς ποιοῦνται τὴν μίμησιν.* Buhle entitles it *Πρόθεσις*, and reads *μέλλοι* instead of *μέλλει*. Translate the chapter as follows, supplying *τέχνης* or *μεθόδου* with *ποιητικῆς*. *Let us treat concerning the Art of Poetry in general, and the effect which each species of it produces; and concerning the manner in which its Fables should be constructed, if the poetry is to be exquisite: and also of the number and quality of its constituent parts; and so of whatever other circumstances are incident to the same art:*

beginning, according to a natural order, with the very first principles.

3. *καὶ ἡ διθυραμβοποιητική,*] supply *τέχνη,* and translate, *the art of making dithyrambic verses ;* about which see above, at p. 3. n. 10. See also Horace, Odes, Book IV. ii. 10. With *αὐλητικῆς* and *κιθαριστικῆς* supply the genitive of the same word ; from which *πλείστη* takes its gender. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 132. n. 2 ; Fisk's Syntax, R. XIV. Obs. 5. Dacier observes, that Aristotle uses this expression, *greatest part,* because these arts are not wholly imitative.

1. *πᾶσαι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι μίμησις τὸ σύνολον.*] Supply *κατά.* See above, at p. 7. n. 5. 278

2. *ἢ γὰρ τῷ γένει*] Construe as follows : *γὰρ [διαφέρουσι] ἢ τῷ μιμεῖσθαι ἑτέροις γένει, ἢ τῷ [μιμεῖσθαι] ἕτερα, ἢ τῷ [μιμεῖσθαι] ἑτέρως, καὶ μὴ [κατὰ] τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, for they differ either in imitating with things that are different in kind, or in* imitating *different things, or in* imitating *differently, and not in the same manner ;* that is, they differ with respect to the instruments, the subjects, and the mode of their imitation.

3. *Ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ χρώμασι —*] *For as certain persons who take likenesses,* (*some* of them *through art, and some through* mere *habit,*) *produce various imitations by colors and figures ; and others do it by means of the voice,* &c. Tyrwhitt would prefer *ἕτεροι δὲ τῇ φωνῇ* to our text.

4. *ἐν ῥυθμῷ*] By *rhythm* we are to understand here, *cadence, measured movement,* or *harmonious flow in discourse, from the measure and arrangement of words and members of sentences.* See above, at p. 227. n. 4. Translate *ἐν ῥυθμῷ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ, by means of rhythm, of language, and of harmony.* Compare below, at p. 279. l. 4, *ῥυθμῷ καὶ μέλει καὶ μέτρῳ,* where *μέλος* and *μέτρον* correspond to *ἁρμονία* and *λόγος.* Tyrwhitt.

5. *τυγχάνωσιν οὖσαι τοιαῦται τὴν δύναμιν,*] Supply *κατὰ,* and translate, *happen to be like them* in respect of the imitative *power.*

6. *διὰ τῶν σχηματιζομένων ῥυθμῶν*] *by means of measured pantomime.* Twining conjectures, that *ἔνιοι* is the true reading, instead of *οἱ* before *τῶν ὀρχηστῶν.* Buhle reads *ἢ,* on the authority of a Parisian MS. *Ἡ δὲ ἐποποιΐα μόνον τοῖς λόγοις ψιλοῖς ἢ τοῖς μέτροις, But the Epopee, in prose or in verse alone.* Many critics, however, have translated this sentence differently ; making *ἢ τοῖς μέτροις* merely explanatory. But Hermann says, that *λόγοι ψιλοὶ* mean nothing more nor less than *prose ;* and then proceeds to the discussion of the question whether the authors cited wrote in prose or verse ; which he disposes of so as to favor his notion of the meaning of the word.

7. *εἴθ' ἑνί τινι γένει χρωμένη τῶν μέτρων τυγχάνουσα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν.*] *or, as it happens, has hitherto made use of only one particular sort of measure,* that is, the hexameter.

8. *Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιμεν ὀνομάσαι, κ. τ. λ.*] The particle *γὰρ* refers to something like this suppressed ; we must take the word Epopee in some such loose sense, *for* otherwise *we should have no common name,* &c.

9. *τοὺς Σώφρονος — μίμους —*] About these mimes, see the notes of Pye and Hermann ; where prose is shown to have been their form of composition.

10. συνάπτοντες τῷ μέτρῳ τὸ ποιεῖν,] *annexing to metre the idea of ποιεῖν, call some elegiac poets.* Tyrwhitt.

279 1. ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν μέτρων οὐκ ἤδη καὶ ποιητὴν—] Aristotle had before said, that writers whose works were not of an imitative character, although they wrote in epic or elegiac measures, were improperly named epic or elegiac poets. He now adds, that, if any poet had written works without that character in all kinds of metres, as Chæremon had done, he would not deserve the name of πολυμετροποιός. This sense, which Hermann thinks the true one, can only be attained by restoring the old reading οὐκ ἤδη καὶ ποιητὴν, and writing προΐοιτο in place of ποιοῖτο.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μιμοῦνται, κ. τ. λ.] This second chapter is commonly entitled Ποίους ἀνάγκη μιμεῖσθαι, or *Whom it is proper to imitate.* See above, at p. 278. n. 2.

3. ἤτοι βελτίονας ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς,—] *We must imitate either those who are better than those of our times, or worse, or else such as we.*

Line 16. δῆλον δὲ,] This is the reading of Buhle and Hermann. Tyrwhitt has δῆλον δή.

4. περὶ τοὺς λόγους δὲ καὶ τὴν ψιλομετρίαν·] Ψιλομετρία denotes epic verses, distinguished from and contrasted with lyric. Compare above, at p. 278. n. 6.

5. ὡς Πέρσας καὶ Κύκλωπας,] This is the common reading, and is retained by Buhle. Tyrwhitt proposed ὥσπερ ΑΡΓΑΣ Κύκλωπας, ΚΑΙ Τιμόθεος, καὶ Φιλόξενος, μιμήσαιτο ἄν τις, from which Hermann adopts Ἀργᾶς, but does not change the place of καί.

6. Ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ — διαφορᾷ — διέστηκεν·] See above, at p. 27. n. 4.

7. Ἔτι δὲ—] This third chapter is commonly entitled Πῶς ἐστι μιμεῖσθαι. Construe : Ἔτι δὲ τούτων τρίτη διαφορά, κ. τ. λ. *Moreover there is in these a third difference,* viz. *the manner in which one should imitate each of these subjects.* Καὶ γὰρ μιμεῖσθαί ἐστιν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, *for one may imitate the same object by the same* means, ὁτὲ μὲν [ἐστὶν αὐτῷ αὐτὸν] ἀπαγγέλλοντα [μιμεῖσθαι,] *when he may do it in the way of narration,* (*either by assuming another character, as is the case with Homer; or remaining in his own person without any change;*) *or* he *may do it by representing all the imitating characters employed in action.*

280 1. οἱ Μεγαρεῖς· οἵ τε ἐνταῦθα,] That is, the Megareans in the vicinity of Athens; for there were other Megareans, descended from them, in Sicily, as will be seen below. All of them were of Doric descent. Dacier. About ἀντιποιοῦνται, see above, at p. 151. n. 7. Χιωνίδου is the reading of Buhle and Hermann.

2. ἔνιοι τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ,] that is, Δωριέων.

3. Ἐοίκασι δὲ—] This fourth chapter is commonly inscribed Τὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν γεννήσαντα, καὶ πῶς διέσπασται εἰς διάφορα εἴδη.

4. καὶ τὸ χαίρειν τοῖς μιμήμασι πάντας.] Understand σύμφυτον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, and translate, *that all take delight in imitations is also* natural to man.

281 1. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ κοινωνοῦσιν αὐτοῦ.] Buhle would have preferred the reading, ἐὰν ἐπὶ βραχὺ κοινωνῶσιν αὐτοῦ, but could find no MS. authority. Hermann considers κοινωνοῦσιν as a participle agreeing directly with τοῖς ἄλλοις. Further, he makes ἐπὶ βραχὺ denote a portion of time. His translation, which appears the most likely to be correct, is equivalent to what follows. *There is this cause*

also that it is very pleasant not only to philosophers, to learn, but also to other men in like manner, who, however, give their attention to it for a short time only.

2. *τύχῃ προσωρακῶς,*] See above, at p. 7. n. 5.

3. *καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ·*] See above, at p. 278. n. 4.

4. *ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ πεφυκότες πρὸς αὐτὰ μάλιστα,*] *those having naturally the most original genius for these things.*

5. *ἐκ τῶν αὐτοσχεδιασμάτων.*] *from their extemporaneous productions.*

6. *κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα*—] Understand *τῶν ποιητῶν*, and translate, *according to the peculiar dispositions of the* different *poets.*

7. *Καὶ ἐγένοντο*—] This section characterizes the ancient poets; separating them into the two classes of Heroic and Iambic. Hoogeveen would understand *λέγω* after the negative in the clause, *οὐχ ὅτι εὐ.*

1. *Παραφανείσης*—] Here is contained the statement, that Iam- 282
bic poets came to write comedy just as the Heroic poets became Tragic writers. Moreover, both tragedy and comedy were originally improvisations, the latter originating with the Dithyrambic, the former with the Phallic poets. Tyrwhitt cites Varinus for the signification of *Παραφανείσης* here as follows : *Παραφαίνω, τὸ ἀμυδρῶς δεικνύω. Καθὸ λέγεται τὸ παραφαύειν, τὸ μετρίως φαύειν.*

2. *προαγόντων, ὅσον ἐγίγνετο φανερὸν αὐτῆς.*] *each one bringing forward or adding whatever appeared to be suited to it.* Winstanley conjectured that *αὐτοῖς* was the true reading, instead of *αὐτῆς*. Buhle adopts the reading, influenced by Valla's MS. and Robortelli's approval. Hermann retains our text.

3. *Καὶ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς*—] This section narrates the History of the progress of Tragedy.

4. *καὶ τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ἠλάττωσε,*—] *and diminished the parts* or *songs of the chorus.* Translate, *καὶ τὸν λόγον πρωταγωνιστὴν παρεσκεύασε, and introduced an actor who should play the principal part.* HERMANN. Buhle, however, denies that *λόγον* can refer to a person, and approves Twining's translation, *and made the dialogue the principal part of the tragedy* ; when the chorus had previously been the most important part. This clause is wanting in one MS.

5. *Ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος*—] *And* while it grew into *magnitude from short fables* expressed *in ludicrous diction, it was late in assuming dignity, on account of the transition made from the satirical* and farcical *form*, in which it had at first appeared.

1. *Ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία ἐστὶν,*—] This fifth chapter is commonly enti- 283
tled, *Περὶ Κωμῳδίας· καὶ Ἐποποιΐας καὶ Τραγῳδίας διαφορά.*

2. *ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ἐστι τὸ γελοῖον μόριον·*] *but it is the ridiculous part of what is base*, or mean. Buhle, Reize, and Hermann receive the correction of Batteux, which follows, *ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ, οὗ ἐστι τὸ γελοῖον μόριον.* Translate this reading, *but of the Base, of which the Ridiculous is a part.*

3. *καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὀψέ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν·*] *for it was not until a late period, that the Archon furnished a comic chorus. ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν, but originally this was composed of volunteers.* It was the duty of the Athenian archons to provide for and regulate dramatic representations. See Potter, Book I. ch. 26.

4. *ποιεῖν — ἦρξαν.*] that is, *πρῶτοι ἐποίησαν.* GOULSTON.

5. *πρῶτος ἦρξεν, ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας,*—] *was the first, who having renounced the lampooning exhibition* of individuals, *composed dialogues or fables of general* manners.

6. *Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐποποιΐα*—] There is a great difference of opinion about the true reading as well as sense of this passage. Buhle's text coincides with our reading. Hermann writes *καὶ* instead of *μετὰ* after *μέτρου*, which is probably correct, as it enables us to translate the passage, *Epic poetry then agrees so far with tragic, as to be an imitation of great characters and actions, differing only when we come to the measure and form of* narration. This last difference is that between direct narration, and putting one's thoughts into the mouth of another, as in the dialogue.

7. *Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐν ἑξαμέτροις*—] This sixth chapter is commonly entitled *Περὶ τραγῳδίας, καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς μερῶν*. Aristotle designates Epic poetry by *τῆς ἐν ἑξαμέτροις μιμητικῆς*.

8. *ἀπολαβόντες*—] *assuming the definition of its nature from what has been said above.*

284 1. *Εστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις — δρώντων,*—] The common reading is: *Εστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας, μέγεθος ἐχούσης, ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ, χωρὶς ἑκάστου τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις δρώντων, καὶ οὐ δι' ἐπαγγελίας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν.* Winstanley corrects: *δρώντων, καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας· δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν.* For *χωρὶς ἑκάστου* Tyrwhitt preferred *χωρὶς ἑκάστῳ*. Both Buhle and Hermann adopt this correction. Translate as follows: '*Tragedy then is an imitation of a transaction important and complete, of proper length; in a style set off by different attractions in its different parts; proceeding in the way of action, and not of narration; and by pity and fear accomplishing the refinement of such affections.* Translate, *Λέγω δὲ ἡδυσμένον μὲν λόγον, τὸν ἔχοντα ῥυθμὸν καὶ ἁρμονίαν καὶ μέλος*, *I call that language set off with attractions, which has rhythm*, or *measured movement*, *harmony*, *and melody*. Hermann, following Reize and the conjecture of Victorius, reads *μέτρον*, *measure*, instead of *μέλος*, *melody*.

Line 7. *τὸ δὲ χωρὶς τῶν εἰδῶν*,] Instead of *τῶν εἰδῶν*, Buhle and Hermann read *τοῖς εἴδεσι*, to correspond to their text above, at *χωρὶς ἑκάστῳ*.

2. *καὶ πάλιν ἕτερα διὰ μέλους.*] The allusion is to the singing of the chorus in the Grecian tragedy.

3. *Επεὶ δὲ πράττοντες*—] Here follows an enumeration of the different parts of the tragedy, which Aristotle makes to be six, viz. the Fable, the Manners, the Language, the Sentiments, the Representation, and the Music.

Line 14. *ἔχει πᾶσαν.*] Restore *πᾶσιν*, instead of *πᾶσαν*, and translate, *which has its power evident to all.*

4. *Τούτοις μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν, — ὡσαύτως.*] If we retain the present text, we must understand *τῶν ποιητῶν* as meant by *αὐτῶν*. The text, however, is generally thought corrupt. Hermann reads, *τούτοις μὲν οὖν ἅμα ὀλίγοις αὐτῶν, ὡς εἶπον, κέχρηται τοῖς εἴδεσιν*, making the remark, that the old reading is destitute of sense. He finds MS. authority for *ἅμα ὀλίγοις*, as also for *κέχρηται*, which agrees with *τραγῳδία* understood. His translation is equivalent to, *and* tragedy *always uses these few parts.*

Line 31. *καὶ γὰρ ὄψιν*] Hermann reads *οὐ γὰρ ὄψεις*, being sustained by MS. authority. This and the preceding correction are necessary to prevent Aristotle's being made to talk nonsense. The idea seems to be, that tragedy makes use of these forms, but not conspicuously in every place, nor all of them at once.

1. *οἷον καὶ τῶν γραφέων Ζεῦξις πρὸς Πολύγνωτον πέπονθεν.*] *as also* 285
among painters is the case with Zeuxis compared to Polygnotus.

1. *ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ ῥητορικῆς*—] In tragedy, 286
according to our author, the sentiment holds the third place. To make the best use of this part, a tragic poet must be able to say all that is contained in or adapted to his subject. Pye translates the two adjectives *the familiar and the rhetorical.* Hermann thinks this an error; saying that Aristotle meant such language as political prudence demands. For when the subjects of many tragedies were political, it is no wonder that *πολιτικῶς λέγειν* should have assumed this meaning. And this was the custom of the more ancient poets. The more recent poets, on the contrary, he says, speak rhetorically; that is, without political allusions, or attempting to accomplish any useful object, but only for the sake of discussion. See Aristotle's Rhetoric, Book I. 1.

2. *Εστι δὲ ἦθος μὲν*—] Batteux reads, on the authority of a Parisian MS., *Εστι δὲ ἦθος μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ δηλοῖ τὴν προαίρεσιν, ὁποία τις ἐστίν. Διόπερ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἦθος ἔνιοι τῶν λόγων, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἔστι δῆλον, ὅ τι προαιρεῖται ἢ φεύγει ὁ λέγων*, *Manners are what discover the predilection* of the speaker. *Wherefore some compositions are without manners, in which it is impossible to discover, what are the objects of the speaker's choice or disgust.* Hermann's text coincides with ours as far as *ὁποία τις ἐστίν.* He omits *ἐστίν*, and reads, *εἰ προαιρεῖται ἢ φεύγει.* In the next sentence he has *μηδ' ὅλως ἐστίν*, instead of *οὐκ ἔστι δῆλον.* He understands from the passage, *But manners are what indicate the intention of a man, whether he will choose or avoid certain things. Some pieces, accordingly, are destitute of characteristic manners, in which there appears to be nothing at all which the speaker likes or dislikes.*

3. *τῶν μὲν λόγων ἡ λέξις·*] *the fourth thing in compositions is the diction.* Winstanley, however, thought *λόγων* denoted *diction*, and *λέξις*, *recitation and elocution.*

4. *Τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν, πέμπτον,*] Hermann, after others, reads *τὸ πεμπτόν.* The common reading was *πέντε*, so as to give the construction *τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πέντε* [*ἡδυσμάτων*] *ἡ μελοποιΐα μέγιστον.*

5. *Διωρισμένων δὲ τούτων,*] This seventh chapter is commonly entitled, *Ποίαν τινὰ δεῖ τὴν σύστασιν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων.*

6. *ἢ ὡς ἐπιτοπολύ·*] *or generally.* There is room for these distinctions, because the end may or may not be necessary. That which is not necessary may happen rarely or generally. Winstanley gives instances. It is not a necessary consequence, that a roof will be built, after foundations have been laid, and walls erected; but it is generally the case. It is not a necessary consequence of being refused by a beautiful young lady, that a man should hang himself; this is a rare occurrence.

1. *Μῦθος δ' ἐστὶν εἷς,*—] This eighth chapter is commonly en- 287
titled, *Περὶ Μύθου.*

2. *τῷ γ' ἑνὶ*] A conjectural emendation of Victorius in place

of the vulgar τῷ γένει. Hermann receives the correction with the omission of γ', which he says would have no meaning in this connexion, and whose insertion is to be accounted for by the preceding iota subscript; this letter when written in the line being frequently mistaken for ν or γ. Aristotle means to say, that many things may happen to the same person, which cannot be introduced into a composition without a violation of the principle of unity; for instance, the poets violate this principle, when they say this event happened at one time and that at another. The reference is to those poets whose writings, such as the accounts of Hercules, Theseus, &c., are censured afterwards. HERMANN.

288 1. Φανερὸν δὲ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων,] This ninth chapter is commonly entitled, Τί τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἔργον, καὶ τί διαφέρει ὁ ποιητὴς ἱστορικοῦ. In it the author discusses the following topics. The duty of the poet to consult probability more than truth in his fable: the difference between history and poetry: fables partly and wholly imaginary. Fables full of episodes are characterized as the worst.

289 1. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ —] See above, at p. 60. n. 3.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον—] This section treats of the kind of fables best adapted to rousing terror and pity. The old reading was: *ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται μάλιστα τοιαῦτα, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅταν γένηται παρὰ τὴν δόξαν δι' ἄλληλα.* Reize made the correction, and is followed by Buhle and Hermann. The last, however, says, that the apodosis is wanting; for, asks he, how can it be concluded that because the fable is an imitation of fearful and affecting scenes, such scenes are best wrought out from events which happen contrary to expectation? Nor can δὲ, continues he, in this kind of writing introduce an apodosis. Aristotle had said thus: since tragic imitation is the imitation of fearful and affecting scenes; and since these scenes are best managed, when they happen contrary to expectation, and the more when they result from the mutual conflict of things: care must be taken by the poets to give due attention to each department.

290 1. Ὧν δὲ δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι,—] This thirteenth chapter is commonly entitled, Ὧν δεῖ στοχάζεσθαι, καὶ ἃ δεῖ εὐλαβεῖσθαι συνίσταντας τοὺς μύθους· καὶ πόθεν ἔσται τὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἔργον. It discusses the construction of the fable, and the nature of the scenes and characters best adapted to representation.

2. μὴ ἁπλῆν, ἀλλὰ πεπλεγμένην,] *not simple, but complicated.* These varieties of fable Aristotle discussed in a passage here omitted.

291 1. Ἀνάγκη ἄρα—] Those fables are best in which the end is unfortunate. ἁπλοῦν εἶναι μᾶλλον, ἢ διπλοῦν, —*simple* is here used in opposition, not to *complex*, but to double, that is, fortunate for the good, and unfortunate for the bad. BATTEUX.

2. πρὸ τοῦ μὲν] Elliptical for πρὸ τοῦ μὲν χρόνου, *formerly.*

3. ἂν κατορθωθῶσι·] *if they are well managed.*

4. διὰ τὴν τῶν θεάτρων ἀσθένειαν.] Madius preferred θεατῶν. —l. 28. Buhle has here omitted σύστασις.

5. ἐκεῖ γὰρ,—] *for there,* that is, in comedy, *if any personages have been the greatest enemies, as were Orestes and Ægisthus, they become friends at the end, and leave the stage without the murder of any one at the hands of another.*

1. *Πότερον δὲ βελτίων*—] This twenty-sixth chapter is commonly 292
entitled, *Ὅτι βελτίων ἡ τραγῳδικὴ μίμησις, ἢ ἡ ἐποποιητική.* It contains a comparison of the Epopee with tragedy. In the second line, Buhle and Hermann read *τραγικὴ* for our *τραγῳδική.*

2. *ἡ ἧττον φορτικὴ*] *the least vulgar.* The origin of such a sense of *φορτικὸς* may be ascribed to the low estimation in which porters, or bearers of burdens, were held. Aristotle elsewhere uses the term in the same acceptation. In his treatise on Politics, VIII. 6, he designates by *φορτικὸν*, a *rude, coarse* spectator, as contrasted with one who was cultivated and polite. He also uses *ἡδονὴν φορτικὴν* to denote *coarse, unrefined pleasure;* and *κίνησιν φορτικωτέραν* to express the idea of *a more vulgar dance.* A performance would deserve this epithet, which should please the crowd, and disgust the cultivated portion of the spectators. BUHLE.

3. *ὅτι ἡ ἅπαντα μιμουμένη*] *that the one which represents every thing is in bad taste.*

4. *ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς προσθῇ.*] *for as if the spectators would perceive nothing unless* the actor *should make some additional* explanation, the actors *make many gestures and movements.* See Fisk's Syntax, R. XXI. Obs. 1. Hermann reads *αὐτοῖς* in place of *αὐτός*, referring it to the spectators.

5. *οἷον, οἱ φαῦλοι αὐληταὶ*—] No idea can be annexed to the words *ἂν δίσκον δέῃ μιμεῖσθαι*, in their present form. Reading *Δίσκον*, and taking it as a proper name, the sentence may be thus translated: *just as bad performers on the flute do, who turn round, if it is their business to act Discus; or, if performing Scylla, pull about their leader.* Discus and Scylla were probably the names of two pieces, which were enacted by pantomimic dancers. See Hermann's note.

Line 8. *Ἡ μὲν οὖν — ὑποκριτάς·*] Translate, *Tragedy then stands in such a relation* to Epic poetry, *as good actors sustain to those whom they see to be their inferiors*, because they are of this character, that is, ambitious of representing every thing, whether in good or bad taste to do so. Hermann reads *πρότεροι*, and gives sufficient reasons for understanding it to denote *precedence of merit*, and not *precedence in the order of time.* In explanation of his comparison of the relation of epic and tragic poetry to the relation of bad and good players, Aristotle says below, at line 12, that *as the better actors stand related to the worse, so stands the whole tragic art to the epic.* See Hermann's note.

Line 10. *ὁ Μυνίσκος*] He was an actor of the plays of Æschylus. He is mentioned in the life of Æschylus and in Plutarch. Callipides is noticed also in Plutarch, Xenophon, Athenæus, &c. HERMANN.

6. *Πινδάρου*] Different copies have different names at this place. It is of no consequence whether we read *Πινδάρου, Τυνδάρου*, or *Δαρείου*, if we only understand it to have denoted an actor. Hermann prefers *Τυνδαρίου.*

7. *ὡς δ' οὗτοι ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτούς.*] This sentence is translated at the end of a previous note. Hermann reads *αὑτούς*, which would give *as actors stand related to one another*, &c.; an expression from which we gather almost the same meaning as that given above.

8. *Τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς θεατὰς ἐπιεικεῖς*—] The learner will understand that what follows next is the statement of the opinion of supposed opponents. Translate, *accordingly they say that this*, that is, Epic poetry, *is for cultivated spectators, who have no need of attitudes and gestures; but that tragedy is for the vulgar; and of course inferior, from its being suited to the vulgar.*

Line 16. *Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν,*] Here Aristotle begins his refutation of the opinions of his opponents on this question.

9. *ἐπεί ἐστι περιεργάζεσθαι τοῖς σημείοις καὶ ῥαψῳδοῦντα,*] *since even a Rhapsodist*, that is, a reciter of the verses of Homer, *may overcharge* his recitation *with gestures*. By *σημείοις* we are to understand the same as by *σχήματα* above. TYRWHITT. Translate *διᾴδοντα, one who contends in singing.*

Line 23. *Ἔτι ἡ τραγῳδία*—] The idea is: that the beauties of a tragedy can be learned in reading, just as those of an epic poem can. If then a tragic composition is better than an epic in other respects, it need not be acted. But if it is acted, and acted ill, we must not find fault with the tragedy, but with the actors. HERMANN.

10. *καὶ γὰρ τῷ μέτρῳ ἔξεστι χρῆσθαι·*] This passage does not mean, that a tragedy can be written throughout in hexameter verses; but that, as nothing can be found in the epic which may not be introduced into tragedy, so the heroic measure is not out of place in tragedies, but may in certain places be introduced. HERMANN.

11. *δι' ἧς αἱ ἡδοναὶ συνίστανται ἐναργέστατα.*] *by means of which enjoyment is most evidently produced.*

293 1. *καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναγνώσει, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων.*] *moreover, it may be understood both in the perusal and in the representation.*

2. *Ἔτι ἧττον μία ὁποιαοῦν μίμησις ἡ τῶν ἐποποιῶν.*] *besides any epic imitation whatever has less unity, ἐκ γὰρ ὁποιασοῦν μιμήσεως πλείους τραγῳδίαι γίνονται, for from any epic imitation a number of tragedies can be made.* Buhle would have preferred *ἐποποιῶν* to *ὁποιασοῦν*.

3. *Ὥστε, ἐὰν μὲν ἕνα μῦθον—ὑδαρῆ·*] *So that, if an epic poet should limit himself to one fable, as the tragic poet does, it would appear trifling from its shortness, or if it were spun out to the usual length of the epic, it would be insiped.* The old editions read *βραχία* for *βραχέως*.

4. *ἐὰν δὲ πλείους,*] *But if more, as, for instance, if the fable embraces many different actions, it will no longer be one, or possess unity.*

Line 13. *ὅτι μάλιστα*] *as much as epic poetry can be.* If we give the full force to the words, we make the author contradict what he has previously said.

Line 14. *διαφέρει*] This word does not signify merely *differs;* but rather, *is superior.*

5. *δεῖ γὰρ οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν αὐτὰς,*] that is, *τραγῳδίας*. Construe: *for it is not any sort of pleasure which tragedies must give, ἀλλὰ τὴν εἰρημένην, but such as is mentioned above.* See above, at p. 200. n. 8, and at p. 284. n. 1.

6. *καὶ περὶ ἐπιτιμήσεων καὶ λύσεων,*] *and about criticisms and answers that may be made to criticisms.*

II. NOTES ON DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS.

1. E Dionysio Halicarnasseo.] Dionysius, a learned critic, teacher of eloquence, and historian, was born at Halicarnassus in Caria, the birthplace of Herodotus. About thirty years before the Christian era, he repaired to Rome, where he studied Latin, and engaged in the composition of his Roman Antiquities and History. Of this work he wrote twenty books, of which only eleven have come down to us in an entire state. It covers the period from the foundation of the city till the first Punic War. His residence at Rome, his personal knowledge of the people of that city, and his acquaintance with the compositions of earlier writers, give his work great value in the eyes of the student of history. His style, though not to be compared with that of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, is quite pure, and even elegant and perspicuous, considering the age in which he lived. He also wrote on the structure of language, on the Art of Rhetoric, and various Epistles and Critical Essays, in which he discusses the merits of different historians, orators, and philosophers, with acute and nice judgment. His residence at Rome continued twenty-two years. 295

2. *ΠΕΡΙ ʽΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ*—] That is, About Herodotus, and Thucydides, and Xenophon; From a Letter of Dionysius of Halicarnassus to Cneius Pompey.

1. *ἐξενήνοχεν*] See above, at p. 153, n. 5. 296

2. *καὶ ἅπερ αὐτὸς εἴρηκε·*] For *καὶ ἅπερ*, Sylburgius conjectured that *καθάπερ* was the true reading. Translate, *and so forth.*

3. *Ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγνόντας τὸ προοίμιον — ἀκούειν.*] *insomuch that those who have read the introduction, lose all curiosity about the subject, when they are going to hear* such an account *of Grecian affairs.* The critic, however, seems to be mistaken here; since, in fact, there is nothing which attracts the attention of readers more than the history of a great calamity. See Thucydides, Book I. 23.

4. *βουλόμενος δὲ μὴ ταὐτὰ ἑτέροις γράφειν.*] *but wishing not to write the same thing with other* historians.

1. *καὶ μέχρι τοῦ προελθεῖν δεῖ.*] Understand *χρόνου* with *τοῦ*, or, as we should read, *του*, which is to be taken indefinitely for *τινός*. Translate, *and how long pursue the subject.* 297

2. *ἀφ' ἧς ἤρξατο κακῶς πράττειν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν·*] *from the cause, which first rendered the Grecian affairs unsuccessful.* For *κακῶς*, some copies give *καλῶς*. The context and history certainly require the reception of our text. See Thucydides, Book I. 24–31.

3. *καὶ ταῦτα,*] A phrase to which corresponds our singular, *and that too.* Refer *ὄντα* to Thucydides.

4. *καὶ οὔτε γε φανερῶς,*] It is remarkable, that Dionysius should have considered it a fault in Thucydides, that he related the real causes of things when they were discreditable to his countrymen. Cicero said, "Historici sit, ut nequid falsi dicere audeat, nequid veri non audeat." De Orat. Book II. 15. The critic again censures him, at p. 299. l. 23.

5. καὶ ἄρξασθαί γε] Understand ἔδει from above.

6. Κυνὸς σῆμα] *Cynossema*, that is, *The Dog's Sepulchre*; a name given to a promontory of Thrace on the Hellespont. See Thucydides, Book VIII. 104, 106. It is called by Diodorus and others, Ἑκάβης μνημεῖον, Book XIII. 40. See the Hecuba of Euripides, near the end; and Ovid's Metamorphoses, Book XIII. 569. HUDSON.

298 1. τῶν φυγάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς,] See above, at p. 139. n. 5.

2. λείπεσθαι Θουκυδίδης,] Compare above, at p. 219. n. 5.

3. φησὶν ὁ Πίνδαρος,] See Nem. Od. VII. 78. Dionysius seems to have quoted these words from memory.

299 1. τῷ μὲν,] *to Thucydides; τῷ δὲ, to Herodotus.*

2. πραγματικῆς,] Translate, Μιᾶς δ' ἰδίας ἐπιμνησθήσομαι πραγματικῆς, *I will mention one circumstance affecting the form of the facts,—one appearance given to the facts.* This word denotes *that part of the history which relates to the subject matter; ἡ λεκτικὴ, that part which regards style.*

300 1. Τρίτην] The second merit of style is here omitted, τὸ κυρίαις καὶ κοιναῖς λέξεσι χρῆσθαι, as is evident from other passages of our author's writing. See his Lysias, chs. 3 and 13, and Isocrates, ch. 2.

2. ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἔστω παρὰ τοῦτο.] *But let there be nothing contrary to this,* that is, contrary to perspicuity.

3. Καικιλίῳ] Cæcilius was a Sicilian orator, about whom see Toup on Longinus, near the beginning.

301 1. οἱ τριάκοντα,] See the Oration of Lysias against Eratosthenes, throughout; see above, at p. 129, and the following pages.

302 1. ὥσπερ ἀπόγειος αὖρα, ταχέως σβέννυται.] *like a land-breeze, quickly dies away.* Our critic seems rather harsh upon Xenophon. But "trahit sua quemque voluptas."

III. NOTES ON LONGINUS.

303 1. E LONGINO.] Dionysius Longinus, whom Photius and Suidas call Cassius, was born A. D. 213, and was beheaded in the year A.D. 275. Some accounts make Emesa, in Syria, his birthplace; but Ruhnken makes him out to have been born at Athens. His preceptor was Phronto, a Greek rhetorician, to whom he was very dear; insomuch that the teacher in dying made his pupil his heir. Longinus travelled much, and visited many celebrated Stoics, Academics, and Peripatetics. He adopted the Platonic system of doctrines; and opening a school at Athens, became very famous. One of his designations was *Spirans Bibliotheca*. After teaching a long time at Athens, he journeyed into the East to become the instructer of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, in Grecian learning, and to educate her children. Here he took a share in the government, and was active against the Romans. When Palmyra was subdued by Aurelian, Longinus was beheaded, because he had been the chief minister of the state. In the hour of death he was calm and cheerful; emulating at that time the conduct

of Socrates, whom he had always proposed to himself in life as a pattern of virtue.

Of his works, some of which were on philosophical subjects, none have come down to us except his treatise on the Sublime, which is in a mutilated condition, and a few other fragments. His own style has been called an example of his subject. He seems to have imitated the diction of Plato. And, if he occasionally is verbose, we must remember that he lived in the third century.

2. *ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΛΟΓΓΙΝΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ὝΨΟΥΣ.*] That is, FROM DIONYSIUS LONGINUS ON THE SUBLIME. The skepticism of modern scholars has assailed the genuineness of this composition; attributing it to Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In one MS. it is called the work of Dionysius or Longinus. The conjunction, however, is probably equivalent merely to *otherwise called;* and so falls to the ground this skeptical theory. See Edinburgh Review, Vol. LIV. pp. 59 – 69.

3. —*ΑΚΡΟΤΗΣ καὶ ἐξοχή τις λόγων ἐστὶ τὰ ὕψη·*] The meaning is, *that sublimity is the highest excellence of style.*

4. *καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν περιέλαβον εὐκλείαις τὸν αἰῶνα.*] Toup gives *περιέλαβον* in place of the common *περιέβαλον*. Translate, *and filled all time with their praises.*

5. *τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ·*] Pearce says, that Longinus throughout this Treatise uses the words *τὰ ὑπερφυᾶ, τὰ μεγάλα, τὸ ὑπερτεταμένον, τὰ μεγέθη, τὸ μεγαλοφυές, τὸ θαυμάσιον, ὁ ὄγκος, τὸ βάθος, τὰ διηρμένα, κ. τ. λ.*, synonymously with *τὸ ὕψος* and *τὰ ὕψη*. Those expressions which go beyond the sublime, he calls *μετέωρα, παρατράγῳδα, κ. τ. λ.*

6. *πάντη δέ γε σὺν ἐκπλήξει*—] The order is: *πάντη δέ γε τὸ θαυμάσιον σὺν ἐκπλήξει ἀεὶ κρατεῖ τοῦ πιθανοῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν· εἴγε, κ. τ. λ.* The translation: *the marvellous always works with more surprising force, than that which barely persuades or delights. In most cases, it is wholly in our own power, either to resist or yield to persuasion.* SMITH.

1. *ὕψος δέ που* —] See above, at p. 19. n. 6. 304

2. *θαυμάζουσι γοῦν* —] See above, at p. 225. n. 2.

3. *τῇδέ που*] that is, *ἐν τῇδε τῇ ὁδῷ που, much in the same way,*— *ἐπὶ τῶν διηρμένων, respecting remarkable things.*

4. *ἔχοι τοιαύτην*] The common editions have *τε ταύτην* instead of *τοιαύτην*, for which a Parisian MS. gives our text. Translate, *ἀναπτυσσόμενα δέ, ἄλλως εὑρίσκοιτο χαῦνα, which when exposed are found nothing but inflations.*

1. *ἀδύνατος ἡ κατεξανάστασις·*] *there is no withstanding.* 305

2. *ὅταν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπὸ* —] *for when one and the same opinion is held by all about any performance, by men of different professions, calling, aims, ages, and languages, then,* &c.

3. *ὡς κρίσις καὶ συγκατάθεσις*] *as a judgment and agreement.*

4. *τὸ περὶ τὰς νοήσεις ἁδρεπήβολον,*] *a happy boldness of conception.*

5. *ἥ τε ποιὰ τῶν σχημάτων πλάσις·*] *and a certain adaptation of figures*, which is the third source.

6. *δισσὰ δέ που ταῦτα,*] Supply *σχήματα*.

7. *ἡ γενναία φράσις.*] *a good style;* which is the fourth source.

8. *ἔστιν ἃ παρέλιπεν,*] See above, at p. 32. n. 11, and at p. 210. n. 2.

9. *Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὡς ἕν τι ταῦτ' ἄμφω,—*] Translate, *But, if, on the one hand, he regarded the grand and the pathetic as the same thing, and thought that they always originated and existed together, he is wrong.* The *δὲ* corresponding to *μὲν* is to be sought in the fourteenth line of page 306.

306 1. *Ἀλωάδας*] Otus and Ephialtes, the sons of Neptune and Iphimedia, who were brought up by Aloeus as his own children, are here referred to. They made war against the gods and were slain by Apollo and Diana. See the Odyssey, Book XI. 314.

2. *καὶ οἱονεὶ φοιβάζον τοὺς λόγους.*] *and as it were giving the words the force of inspiration.*—l. 19. The common reading is *ἐνθουσιαστικῶς*, for which Weiske gave *ἐνθουσιαστικοῦ*.

3. *Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ',*] See above, at p. 289. n. 1.

307 1. *ἐν Νεκυίᾳ*] The title of the Eleventh Book of the Odyssey. See the 562d line. See also the Æneid, Book VI. 469, and Heyne's note.

2. *Ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν ἠρκέσθην,*] When Darius saw that his strength was broken, and his power gone, he sent ambassadors to Alexander to ask for peace; offering the Grecian conqueror half of his kingdom and his daughter in marriage. Parmenio, being in favor of closing with these offers, said, "*I should be satisfied, if I were Alexander.*" "*And I, by Jove,*" *said he,* "*were I Parmenio.*"

3. *εἰ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤμην,*] These words and the context as far as *τὸ ἐπ' οὐρανὸν* were supplied by Gabriel de Petrâ. In the MSS. there is a hiatus. Toup having found *τὸ* after *ἠρκέσθην*, in the Vatican MS. read, *Ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν ἠρκέσθην τουτοῖς.*

4. *τῆς Ἐριδος,*] *of Discord.* See the Iliad, Book IV. 443.

5. *Ὡ ἀνόμοιόν γε τὸ Ἡσιόδειον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀχλύος.*] *With which the description of Melancholy by Hesiod possesses little similarity. εἴγε Ἡσιόδου καὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα θετέον, if we may ascribe the shield* of Hercules *to Hesiod.* See The Shield of Hercules, 267.

6. *Ὁ δὲ πῶς*] See the Iliad, Book V. 770.

308 1. *Ἀμφὶ δ' ἐσάλπιγξεν—*] See the Iliad, Book XX. 61, and S. Clarke's note. See also, Book XXI. 388.

2. *Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα φοβερὰ μέν, πλὴν ἄλλως εἰ μὴ κατ' ἀλληγορίαν λαμβάνοιτο, παντάπασιν ἄθεα, καὶ οὐ σώζοντα τὸ πρέπον.*] *But these things, indeed, are awful,* and, *unless one takes them allegorically, impious, and indecorous.*

3. *ἄταλλε δὲ κήτε' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*] *Ὑπάταλλε αὐτῷ, sported around him; by their gambols recognised him as their king.* See the Iliad, Book XIII. 18, Book XIV. 27, and Book XX. 60.

309 1. *ἐχώρησε, κἀξέφηνεν,*] Toup reads and points thus: *Ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ θείου δύναμιν κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐχώρησεν, ἐγνώρισε καὶ ἐξέφηνεν.* Translate this, *when he had worthily conceived, examined, and set forth.* Some MSS. have *ἐχώρησε*, others *ἐγνώρισε*. But Weiske omits *ἐγνώρισε*, so that we can translate, *when he had formed a just conception of the divine power, also gave expression to it.* There is some dispute about the genuineness of this passage.

2. *Γενέσθω φῶς.—*] See the writings of Le Clerc, Huet, Boileau, and others, on the sublimity of this quotation.

3. *ἓν ἔτι τοῦ Ποιητοῦ,*] Homer is referred to.

4. *Ζεῦ πάτερ,*] See the Iliad, Book XVII. 645.

5. *καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο τι*] The idea is: He himself burns with ardor;

and not only are the combatants aroused, but also the mind of the poet rages and is disturbed. See the Iliad, Book XV. 605.

1. Ὁ Κικέρων] A beautiful comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero. 310

2. ὁ μὲν—] Quinctilian says: In eloquendo est aliqua diversitas: densior ille, hic copiosior: ille concludit astrictiùs, hic latiùs pugnat. Institut. Orat. Book X. 1.

3. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμεῖς] That is, *you* Romans, *can decide this point better.*

4. ὑπερτεταμένου] *the highest kind* of sublimity. Pearce took the word as a noun. Toup gave the sense we have adopted.

5. Οὐκοῦν καὶ—] In this section Longinus is advising authors to model their compositions on the writings of the masters in poetry, philosophy, oratory, and history.

1. πρὸς τὰ ἀνειδωλοποιούμενα μέτρα.] *to that standard* of sublimity *the idea of which is before us.* 311

2. τόδε τι] *something of this kind.* Weiske. Toup understood these two words to signify *this or that.*

3. ὑπέχειν — εὐθύνας] This is the reading of almost all the MSS. It is to be translated, *to suppose yourself*, or *to feign, giving in your accounts.* Manutius gives καὶ μὴ παῖξαι, which would require a different translation: *without any joke, seriously.*

4. ἀτελῆ καὶ τυφλὰ ὥσπερ ἀμβλοῦσθαι,] Construe: *imperfect and blind abortions as it were*, πρὸς τὸν τῆς ὑστεροφημίας ὅλως μὴ τελεσφορούμενα χρόνον, *not at all capable of securing fame with posterity.* Pearce and Weiske read ὅλως, Toup, ὅλης.

5. Αὐτόθι μέντοι] Longinus here begins the discussion of Figures, which he makes the third source of sublimity.

6. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ',] See above, at p. 289. n. 1.

1. Οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως ἡμάρτετε,] Our author seems to have quoted from memory at this place. See above, at p. 194. n. 3. 312

2. καὶ ξένων καὶ ὑπερφυῶν ὅρκων ἀξιοπιστίαν,] *and to that faith which is due to unusual and remarkable oaths.*

3. Ἢ βούλεσθε — περιϊόντες] See above, at p. 168. n. 7.

1. Ὅταν γε μὴν —] See above, at p. 85. n. 2. 313

2. —Ἡ φύσις οὐ ταπεινὸν ἡμᾶς ζῶον] Compare with this passage Akenside's *Pleasures of Imagination*, Book I. 170. Dr. Popkin says ἡμᾶς, τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

1. Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι λοιπὸν,] Longinus, before concluding his Treatise, asks what cause there is for the small number of orators who have attained sublimity in their writings. And in the beginning of this section introduces the philosopher, as a mask, under which to put forth some of his own notions on the influence of liberty and democracy in calling out the powers of the orator. We may attribute to Longinus himself the views of the supposed philosopher; and consider his objections as originating in his fears, and not as grounded upon his judgment. Pearce. 314

2. ὡς ἀμέλει] See above, at p. 211. n. 6.

Line 24. πιθαναὶ — πολιτικαὶ, δριμεῖαί τε καὶ εὐτρεχεῖς,] πιθαναὶ describes natures *skilled in persuasion.* πολιτικαὶ denotes *capability of pleading in the forum.* δριμεῖαι may mean either *bitter, severe,* or *pungent, piquant.* εὐτρεχεῖς seems to signify *quick-witted.*

1. κοσμική τις — ἀφορία.] Pearce wished to read κομιδῇ in place 315

of κοσμική. The change is unnecessary. Translate, *so great a dearth of speeches extends through life all over the world.*

2. *Θρέψαι τε γὰρ, φησὶν,* —] Manutius gives the following text: *Θρέψαι τε γὰρ, φασὶν, ἱκανὴ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν μεγαλοφρόνων ἡ ἐλευθερία, καὶ ἐφελκύσαι ἅμα καὶ διωθεῖν τὸ πρόθυμον τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδος καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα φιλοτιμίας. For freedom is, they say, of a nature to nourish the thoughts of the high-souled, and at the same time to draw out and develope the desire of contention, and of gaining fame for excellence.* The copies vary at this place. See Weiske's note.

3. *παιδομαθεῖς εἶναι δουλείας δικαίας,*] *Δουλεία δικαία* denotes a *full, unqualified servitude.*

4. *διόπερ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ κόλακες ἐκβαίνομεν μεγαλοφυεῖς.*] *Hence it is that we* TURN OUT *nothing but arrant flatterers.* TOUP.

5. *καὶ οἷον ἔμφρουρον,*] *and, as it were, confined.* GABRIEL.

6. *κεκονδυλισμένον.*] that is, *checked and beaten with the fist.* Longinus refers to the condition of slaves, who were often struck by their masters. The word signifies metaphorically *one who is subdued and humbled in any way.* PEARCE.

7. *Ἥμισυ γάρ* —] See the Odyssey, Book XVII. 322.

8. *Πυγμαῖοι*] The name of a fabulous race of dwarfs, by some supposed to dwell in India, by others in Ethiopia. See Class. Dict.

316 1. *ἄγοντα καὶ φέροντα,*] See above, at p. 33. n. 3.

2. *καταβυθίζουσιν αὐτάνδρους ἤδη τοὺς βίους·*] *now sink* or *weigh down the men together with their lives* or *souls. Βίους* is sometimes here translated *property.*

3. *Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ κρίσει μέν τις δεκασθεὶς,*] *Ἐπὶ κρίσει δεκασθῆναι* signifies *to be corrupted,* or *bribed, into giving a judgment.* There is some difference of opinion about the text at this place.

4. *τὰ οἰκεῖα μὲν φαίνεσθαι καλὰ* —] The words *τὰ οἰκεῖα* denote the cause *of him from whom he has received a bribe* ; for a corrupt judge makes the cause of his corrupter his own. Longinus, therefore, says well *τὰ οἰκεῖα.* PEARCE.

317 1. *ἕκαστος πρὸς τῆς [ἑαυτοῦ ἡδονῆς] ἠνδραποδισμένοι,*] *Being reduced to slavery, each by his pleasure.* Instead of *ἑαυτοῦ ἡδονῆς,* Ruhnken would here place *τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἐπιθυμίας,* which he supposes some transcriber to have carelessly omitted, and then to have written at the end of the sentence, that he might not leave them out entirely.

2. *κἀδέκαστον*] *and not corrupted by bribes.* It stands for *καὶ ἀδέκαστον.* The old editions read *καθέκαστον. καταρχαιρεσιάζεσθαι,* is properly *to be corrupted at the election of magistrates.*

3. *ἀλλὰ μὴ τῆς ζήλου καὶ τιμῆς ἀξίας ποτὲ ὠφελείας.*] *but never for any advantage which is worthy of emulation and honor.*

NOTES

ON THE

MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS.

I. NOTES ON THEOPHRASTUS.

1. Ex Theophrasto.] This philosopher, the son of a fuller, 321
was born at Eresus, in the island of Lesbos, 371 years before Christ. His real name was Tyrtamus. He studied under Plato at Athens; and afterwards entered the school of Aristotle, whose favorite pupil, and eventually successor, he became. At the recommendation of his teacher, he took the name first of Euphrastus, and afterwards of Theophrastus. When he became the head of the Peripatetic School, two thousand pupils are said to have attended his philosophical lectures. Kings and princes vied with each other in attentions to him during his life; and in death, which found him at the advanced age of eighty-five, he seems to have regretted little but the shortness of time allotted him. He composed about two hundred works on different subjects, — dialectic, moral, metaphysical, and physical; of which, however, the greater part are lost. There have come down to us several treatises on Natural History, and his Characters, or Ethic Portraits. To the care of Theophrastus we are indebted for the preservation of the writings of Aristotle; who, when dying, bequeathed them to his favorite disciple.

2. *ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΗΘΙΚΟΙ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΕΣ.*] that is, The Characters of Theophrastus. Ast, on MS. authority, rejects the adjective.

Line 1. *ΗΔΗ*] The genuineness of this introduction is disputed by recent critics.

3. *ἐπιστήσας τὴν διάνοιαν,*] *When I have turned my attention to the subject.* This way of using language is common in Aristotle.

4. *τί* [*γὰρ*] *δήποτε*] Casaubon, Schneider, and others, reject *γὰρ*, but Ast retains it, referring to the preceding clause for the reason of its insertion. Translate, *how, forsooth, it has ever happened.*

5. *τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν τῶν τρόπων*] *the same set of manners.*

Line 7. *ἐννενήκοντα*] By those who think that Theophrastus lived to be a hundred and five years old, this text is received. It is probably a mistake for *ἑβδομήκοντα*, or else the clause is an interpolation.

1. *Εκθήσω δέ σοι —*] The order is: *Εκθήσω δέ σοι κατὰ γένος,* 322
ὅσα τε γένη τρόπων τυγχάνει προσκείμενα τούτοις, καὶ [*καθ'*] *ὃν τρόπον χρῶνται τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ.* The translation: *And I will explain to you,*

in general, what sort of manners they happen to possess, and what particular mode of economy they observe in the exhibition of them. The words κατὰ γένος seem to be used here as implying a design to discuss various characters as representatives of classes; and not as individuals; which last was done by the comic poets.

2. ποιήσομαι τὸν λόγον] See above, at p. 130. n. 4.

3. ἀπὸ τῶν τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἐζηλωκότων,] *with those who study dissimulation.*

4. καὶ εἰς τίνα τρόπον κατενήνεκται·] *and to what disposition he is inclined.* κατενήνεκται, Attic for κατήνεκται, 3 sing. perf. ind. pass. from κατενέγκω, used for καταφέρω.

5. τὰ ἄλλα δὴ τῶν παθημάτων, ὥσπερ ὑπεθέμην,] *and the other feelings in the way I have proposed.* See above, at p. 284. n. 1.

6. ὡς τύπῳ λαβεῖν,] *to define loosely.* This is a formula for excusing an unstudied definition. Gesner.

7. προσποίησις ἐπὶ χεῖρον] *an affectation for the purpose of deceiving.* The learner will be careful to notice the difference between the irony or *quizzing* of Socrates, and the dissimulation of the character described here.

8. τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος —] Understand ἐστί. Translate, *is such a person as to be capable of approaching his enemies, and speaking to them in such a manner as to disguise his hatred.* See above, at p. 212. n. 3.

9. καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν —] The order is: καὶ προστάξαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐντυγχάνειν κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἐπανελθεῖν. The translation: *and to direct those who wish to converse with him without delay, to call again.*

10. καὶ προσποιήσασθαι —] Construe, *and to pretend that he is but just returned from a journey; that he came home late last evening; and that he is too indisposed in consequence to attend to business.* καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δανειζομένους καὶ ἐρανίζοντας, ὡς οὐ πωλεῖ, *and to those who wish to borrow, or who solicit subscriptions, to pretend that he is getting no money by trade.* This seems the best sense to affix to these words. Most of the commentators think that there is a hiatus here; Ast regards ὡς οὐ πωλεῖ as interpolated in the gap. Gesner considers the answer as designedly unintelligible; and given in order to silence the borrower or beggar.

323 1. δόξει μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι·] *he will seem not to mind it.*

2. Οὐ ταῦτα πρὸς ἐμὲ διεξῄει·] *he did not tell me so.*

3. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένους πάντας,] Construe: *that all having begun with him,* ἐπὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ κατενεχθῆναι, *concluded on his very name.* The meaning is, that the object of these flatteries was agreed upon in this way. Ast reads ἀνενεχθῆναι.

4. ἀφελεῖν κροκίδα·] Gesner notices, that it is a common practice with flatterers to pick off down or shreds from the garments of those in whose good graces they seek to stand high. Ἀφαιρεῖν κροκίδας ἐστὶ τῶν πάντα ποιούντων ἕνεκα κολακείας. Suidas.

324 1. πολιῶν] Supply τριχῶν.

2. Καὶ σκώψαντι πικρῶς —] Casaubon understood πικρῶς to signify *violently.* The later editions all give ψυχρῶς, with which reading we may translate the sentence as follows: *And when his friend has uttered some dull joke, he will laugh at it as excellent, and cram the corner of his robe into his mouth,* &c.

3. *Ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ γυναικείας ἀγορᾶς διακονῆσαι δυνατὸς ἀπνευστί.*] *γυναικεία ἀγορὰ*, which literally signifies the *woman's market*, denotes the place where vases, utensils, and some articles of food (meat, but not fish, being excepted) were sold. FISCHER. Theophrastus means to say, that the flatterer engages in the performance of mean offices, which a friend would disdain; which Plutarch also affirms. *ἀπνευστὶ* means *without stopping to breathe.* About *ἀμέλει*, see above, at p. 211. n. 6.

4. *καὶ παραμένων εἰπεῖν,*—] All the recent editions, except Coray's, show *παρακείμενος*, which seems a much better reading.

5. *Καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς — ἀφελόμενος τὰ προσκεφάλαια, αὐτὸς ὑποστρῶσαι.*] *And snatching away the cushions from the servant, lays them under him* with his own hands.

1. *ΠΕΡΙ ΑΔΟΛΕΣΧΙΑΣ.*] *On Garrulity.* 325

2. *ἐκ Διονυσίων*] When Bacchanalia are mentioned without any express intimation of the time of their celebration, we are to understand those which were observed in the spring. See Potter, Book II. ch. 20.

3. *νέωτα*] *νέωτα, Ἀττικῶς· τὸ μέλλον ἔτος, Ἑλληνικῶς.* MOERIS. Translate, *the next year.*

4. *μεγίστην δᾷδα ἔστησε·*] *offered the largest torch*, or *placed the largest torch upon the altar.* There being need of torches for the nocturnal solemnities, there was some emulation among the Athenians about who should present the largest. GESNER.

5. *Ὠδείου·*] See Potter, Book I. ch. 8.

6. *Μυστήρια, — Ἀπατούρια,*] See Potter, Book II. ch. 20. Dr. Popkin here changed and transposed the text, and made some insertions; borrowing his alterations from Schneider.

7. *παρασείσαντα*] Understand *τὰς χεῖρας*, with this participle. It means *swinging the arms, in running rapidly.*

8. *διαράμενον*] This participle may denote *straddling one's legs apart*, as those do who are running with all their might, and then may be translated, *with long steps*; or it may mean *elevated, raised up*, so as to seem to fly; which would correspond well with the signification of *παρασείσαντα*, preceding. AST. See above, at p. 258. l. 28.

9. *ἔργον γὰρ συναρκεῖσθαι*] *for it is hard work to be complaisant* to; or perhaps, *to bear with*, or *endure.*

10. *ΠΕΡΙ ΑΚΑΙΡΙΑΣ.*] *On Unseasonableness*, or *Mistiming.*

1. *δίκην ὠφληκότα ἐγγύης*] *δίκην ὠφληκὼς ἐγγύης* denotes *one who has become surety for another, and been compelled in his default to satisfy the bond.* See accounts of judicial proceedings at Athens. 326

2. *Δεινὸς — προσάγειν*] *Δεινὸς* properly signifies *terrible.* By a secondary use of the word, it is applied to a person *who excels* in any art. See below, at p. 346. n. 2. But in this author it denotes that one *is accustomed to do something.* As *δεινὸς χρῆσθαι, accustomed to use, uses.* FISCHER.

3. *καὶ παρὼν διαίτῃ,*] *And being present at an arbitration*; whether as a referee, or by chance. AST. *Δίαιτα* has in Demosthenes and Lucian also the signification of *an arbitration.* *συγκρούειν* denotes *embroil.* The blunderer could embroil both parties, by calling the attention of each to his own rights, instead of directing it to those of his opponent.

4. *ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ.*] *On Superstition.*

5. *Ἀμέλει*] See above, at p. 211. n. 6.

6. *περιῤῥανάμενος*] *Περιῤῥαίνεσθαι* signifies to *sprinkle one's self*, or *to purify one's self by sprinkling the body with consecrated water.* This water was consecrated by putting into it a burning torch taken from the altar. See Potter, Book II. ch. 4.

7. *λιπαρῶν λίθων*] See the Book of Genesis, ch. XXVIII. 18, and ch. XXXV. 14. The ancient Greeks were also in the habit of anointing, crowning, and worshipping stones.

8. *ἐκδύσασθαι·*] If we retain this text, we must translate this word, *put it out of the way.* But the later editors agree in adopting the correction of St. Bernard, who furnished *ἐκθύσασθαι, to avert an omen by a sacrifice.* *καθᾶραι* below is an emendation for the old *καθαριεῖν*.

327 1. *λεχώ·*] The common reading was *λέχει*, for which the Palatine MS. gives *λεχώ*, and is now generally followed. The student will bear in mind, that the ancients had a superstitious fear of pollution from attendance upon a woman during her confinement.

2. *τελεσθησόμενος,*] *Τελεῖσθαι* signifies *to be initiated; to be initiated into the Orphic Mysteries.*

3. *καὶ ἱερείας καλέσας, σκίλλῃ ἢ σκύλακι κελεῦσαι αὐτὸν περικαθᾶραι.*] *and having invited priestesses to his house, directs them to purify him by bearing an onion or little dog round him.*

4. *εἰς κόλπον πτύσαι.*] *to spit in his bosom.* This was done by the ancients with a view to averting a bad omen. See Theocritus, Idyll. VI. 39; *Ὡς μὴ βασκανθῶ δὲ, τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν ἔπτυσα κόλπον.* On which verse the Scholiast says: *ποιοῦσι γὰρ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν μάλιστα τοῦτο αἱ γυναῖκες τὸ νεμεσητὸν ἐκτρεπόμεναι.* See also Theocritus, Idyll. XX. 11. 12.

5. *ΠΕΡΙ ΜΙΚΡΟΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΣ.*] *On Vanity*, or *Petty Ambition.*

6. *καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκεῖραι*] It was the custom at Athens for boys to wear their hair long until arriving at the age of puberty; it was then cut off with some ceremony, and, by people who wished to do something remarkable, consecrated to Apollo at Delphi.

7. *καὶ ἀποδοὺς μνᾶν ἀργυρίου, καινὸν ποιῆσαι ἀποδοῦναι·*] *and if he has to pay a mina of silver, troubles himself to do it in new coin.* Casaubon rightly understands *καινὸν* to denote *newly coined* money, which is generally preferred to worn pieces.

8. *τὸ προμετωπίδιον ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς εἰσόδου προσπατταλεῦσαι,*] *nails up the frontlet over against the entrance to his house.* Schneider understands *προμετωπίδιον* to denote the frontlet with the horns, which Ast approves.

9. *θοιμάτιον*] When the Athenian knights rode abroad, they were clad in purple or variegated garments. Casaubon.

10. *ΚΛΑΔΟΣ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΟΣ.*] *Offspring of the Stock of Malta.* The poets use such words as *κλάδος, ἔρνος*, and the like, to designate men. The vain person buries his dog as if it were a man. Fischer. Maltese dogs were in great esteem among the ancients. The reading of Ast, however, who gives *Ὁ καλὸς Μελιταῖος*, makes the comment of Fischer unnecessary.

11. *ἀναθεὶς δακτύλιον χαλκοῦν ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ, τοῦτον ἐκτρίβειν στεφανῶν,*] *and having suspended a brazen ring in the temple of Æsculapius, wears it out by hanging wreaths to it.* Ast reads *τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ* instead of *ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιείῳ*, and refers *τοῦτον* to *Ἀσκληπιῷ*,

which here would denote *the image of Æsculapius.* Translate his text, *and, having suspended a brazen ring to the image of Æsculapius, wears away the statue by his frequent presents of wreaths.* Some think the δακτύλιον was a crown; others understand by it, a ring which had been worn as an amulet, and afterwards presented to the god of Healing.

12. συνδιοικήσασθαι παρὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων,] *to manage so that he should be directed by the Prytanes to announce.*

1. ὡς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εὐημερεῖ.] *that he has spent the day very happily.* 328

II. NOTES ON POLYÆNUS.

1. Ex Polyæno.] This writer, a Macedonian by birth, flourished about the middle of the second century of the Christian era. It is not certainly known whether he was ever actually engaged in military service or not. He appears to have been a rhetorician, and familiar with forensic proceedings and forms. He is principally known as the author of a work on Military Stratagems, from which extracts are given in this compilation. 329

2. ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΥΑΙΝΟΥ, κ. τ. λ.] That is, From the Books of Polyænus on Stratagems.

3. ταύτῃ] Understand αἰτίᾳ. Translate, δημιουργοῦσιν, *represent.* For its subject, see Buttmann's Syntax, § 129. 8; and Fisk, R. III. under Obs. 1.

4. Ἦν γὰρ Διονύσῳ,] Upton conjectures, that ὅτε, or some equivalent word, has here been omitted. Read ἦν γὰρ ὅτε, κ. τ. λ., and translate, *once.*

1. Πανὶ κληΐζομεν.] *attribute to Pan.* If we adopt the reading of Casaubon, Πανικὰ, we must translate, *call panics.* 330

2. βασιλεὺς] That is, Xerxes. ὡς βασιλέα is Attic for πρὸς βασιλέα.

3. ἄλλον] Themistocles had before sent a messenger privately to the Persian king, when he was waiting for an engagement. Upton.

4. ἦν — ἔξαρνος, ἦ μὴν οὐκ ἐγερεῖσθαι τὸ τεῖχος.] *denied that the walls would ever be built.* Dr. Popkin asks, whether we are to take ἐγερεῖσθαι as a 1 fut. mid. with a passive sense, or adopt Coray's conjecture, ἐγείρεσθαι.

1. διεπολιτεύοντο.] *took different sides in politics.* 331

2. καὶ τὴν Βασιλέως] Supply χώραν.

3. ἐφ' ᾧ τε βασιλέα πεῖσαι, ὅσαι πόλεις —] *on condition of his persuading the king to give freedom to whatever Grecian cities there were in Asia.* Coray omits καὶ δή.

1. εἴκοσι] Maasvicius gives κ'. 334

1. ὀξυβελεῖς,] Casaubon doubts whether to take ὀξυβελεῖς as an adjective agreeing with καταπέλτας, or as a substantive; but prefers to receive it as an adjective. If we read καταπέλταις, we avoid all the difficulty. 335

1. ἅπαντας,] The three hundred Spartans, who, together with 336

Leonidas, were stationed in the pass of Thermopylæ. See Herodotus, Book VII.

2. *Μίνω*] An Attic genitive.

337 1. *ποταμὸν μέγαν*] The Thames. Upton.

338 1. *ὑπέμειναν.*] Compare above, at p. 113. n. 3.

III. NOTES ON ÆLIAN.

339 1. Ex Æliano.] Ælianus Claudius, an author of some celebrity, lived at Præneste in Italy, about 221 years before Christ. He studied rhetoric under Pausanias; and, although he spent his life in Italy, cultivated Grecian literature, and attained a tolerably correct style of Greek composition. He died unmarried at something more than sixty years of age. Of his Various History there remain to us fourteen Books; of his History of Animals seventeen Books; besides fragments, and epistles. He deserves the name of a compiler, rather than that of an author, as he collected from other writers the greater part of his works. They may, nevertheless, be read with profit.

2. *ἡ ναῦς*] The ship meant here is the same as that described in a previous note. See above, at p. 236. n. 5.

3. *τὸν Σωκράτην ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος.*] Supply from above *ἠξίου*. Perizonius.

4. *πρὸς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κρίτωνα,—*] See above, at p. 201. n. 5.

340 1. *τὸν ὀλίγον ὕστερον—*] See the Death of Socrates, from Phædo, pp. 252-256 of this volume.

2. *Ὅτε ἑάλω τὸ Ἴλιον,*] See above, at p. 34. n. 2.

3. *καὶ πάνυ Ἑλληνικῶς τοῦτο ἐκήρυξαν·*] *and in the Grecian manner proclaimed this.*

4. *ἀπέστησαν·*] *refrained from.*

5. *ὅμως λογισμοῦ ἐκράτησε,*] *he controlled his consideration* of himself.

341 1. *ἑτέρως εἶχον τῶν τραυμάτων,*] Kuhn admires this construction. The adverb denotes, that these wounds were received in the back, which, among the Lacedæmonians, it was a disgrace to expose by turning.

2. *ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, λαθεῖν σπεύδουσαι,*] *ἔνι* stands here for *ἔνεστι*. Translate, *trying to conceal themselves as much as possible.*

3. *πολυανδρίῳ*] The designation of such places as served for the sepulture of the poor; in some cities the quarries were used for this purpose. Perizonius.

4. *ψηφίσασθαι.—ἐψηφίσαντο·*] See above, at p. 100. n. 2.

342 1. *ὁ δήμιος*] *ὁ τῶν ἕνδεκα ὑπηρέτης*, *the servant of the eleven;* whose duty it was to administer poison to those condemned to death. Upton. See above, at p. 254. n. 1.

2. *ἀλλὰ τούτους γε τοὺς θρόνους ἀσβόλῳ κατέχρισαν.*] *these seats, I say, they rubbed over with soot.*

343 1. *Ὑπέρευγε*] Compounded of *ὑπέρ*, *εὖ*, and *γε*, — *very well.*

2. *ἀνδρῶν κλέα.*] See the Iliad, Book IX. 186, 189.

3. Ἀργολικὴν] The arms here named were esteemed the best, among the ancient Greeks. UPTON.

4. εἶχεν αἰσθητικῶς] An elegant circumlocution for συνῃσθάνετο, *was conscious of.*

5. ἀνάπλεως] ὁ and ἡ. It is declined after the Attic form. See above, at p. 92. n. 1.

1. ἀντικρίνων] See the Iliad, Book XVII. and S. Clarke's note. 344

2. Τετραλογίαν] *a tetralogy.* It was the custom of the tragic poets at Athens to connect four plays together under this name. The first three were tragic, the last was satirical or comic.

3. τῶν Διονυσίων] At which festival the productions of the poets were brought out. SCHEFFER.

1. ὅσα μὲν οὗτος ἰδεῖν,] The old reading was, ὅσα μὲν οὗτος ἰδεῖν. 345 Upton corrected the order, and objected to οὗτος as superfluous. To which opinion Dalzel objects. See the Iliad, Book III. 409, and S. Clarke's note.

2. ἀνακτόρου,] If we trust Hesychius, ἀνάκτορον is properly the temple of Ceres: ἀνάκτορον, τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος. UPTON. *Any temples* are called ἀνάκτορα, as any deities, ἄνακτες. PERIZONIUS.

3. πλὴν οὐκ ἀπήντησε ταῦτα ταύτῃ ποθέν.] *but it did not turn out so at all.*

4. Καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ τὴν Βακχείαν εἶχεν·] *and he was engaged in celebrating the festival of Bacchus.*

5. ὁρμῇ] The copies vary here between ὁρμῇ and ὀργῇ.

1. τὸ ποιητικὸν,] The author alludes to a passage in Homer. 346 See the Iliad, Book IV. 161.

2. ἐὰν ἔχῃ δύναμιν φραστικὴν,] Construe: *if it possesses a* proper *power of expression,* μηδὲν ἀσθενέστερον [εἶναι,] ὅσα βούλεται, δεικνύναι, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν κατὰ χειρουργίαν δεινῶν, *is no less capable of exhibiting what it pleases, than persons who excel in* the *manual operation* of painting.

Line 15. οὗ τὸ μὲν μῆκος, κ. τ. λ.,] *which stretches in length about five miles, and in breadth a hundred paces, or in some parts, more.* About σταδίους and πλέθρου, see above, at p. 88. n. 7, 8.

3. εἰς κάλλος τότε φιλοτιμησαμένης,] *striving for beauty.*

4. καὶ τέθηλε.] See above, at p. 29. n. 4.

5. σμίλαξ,] Botanists give it the name of *oriental bindweed.* It is said to be a very rambling plant, which climbs up trees, and rises to a great height in the Levant, where it particularly flourishes. HURD.

6. Πανήγυρις.] A striking figure. Compare Horace's Omnis copia narium. We find also the phrase, κακῶν πανήγυρις, used of the wicked. UPTON.

1. λεώς] See above, at p. 343. n. 5. 347

2. περὶ τὸ Κρεῖττον,] Περὶ τὸν θεὸν, or τὸ θεῖον. UPTON.

3. καθήρασθαι] *purified himself,* after the destruction of the monster, Python. See above, at p. 7.

4. [ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ δάφνης,] Upton enclosed these words in brackets, considering them an interpolation. Coray gives αὐτῆς, on MS. authority.

1. ἔτους ἐννάτου] For he is said to have spent that time in exile, 348 before the murder of Python was expiated. SCHEFFER.

2. ἱερῶν — ὁ Θεός] Retaining this text, we must translate *the*

god in love; the reference being to Apollo, who loved Daphne, the daughter of Peneus, the same who was afterwards changed into a laurel. Upton suspects *ἐρῶν*, and proposes *οὖν* in place of it.

3. *Πελαγονίας,*] Ortelius thinks *Πελασγίας* ought to be the reading here.

4. *τῶν Ἑσπερίων.*] Understand the Ozolian or Western Locrians. Upton.

5. *ἐκεῖνοι, οἳ*] There is some difference of opinion as to the place of *οἳ* here. Kuhn would place it before *ἐκεῖνοι*, or else erase it. Other commentators approve our text.

6. *Ὑπερβορέων*] A people beyond Scythia. The reference is to certain sacred things of the Hyperboreans, which were carried to Delos after having passed through many other places. On which see Herodotus, Book IV. 33.

NOTES

ON THE

APPENDIX TO THE GRÆCA MAJORA.

NOTES ON POLYBIUS.

Ex Polybio.] This celebrated historian was born at Megalopolis in Arcadia, about 203 years before the Christian era. His father, Lycortas, was one of the leaders of the Achæan league, and the friend of Philopœmen. He was educated for a military and political life; and entered a responsible station at the age of twenty-four years. He was actively engaged during the struggle between the Greeks and the soldiers of Rome, in efforts to mitigate the evils in the condition of his countrymen. He was at first disposed with the rest of the Achæans, to favor the Romans; but after their ambitious designs became known, he took part in all the measures entered upon for the preservation of Grecian independence. Finally, finding himself a hostage at Rome, he made himself useful to some of their generals in their foreign expeditions; and, with a view to the interests of his country, visited Greece, and saw Corinth destroyed, Achæa reduced to the condition of a Roman province, and himself intrusted with the difficult commission of introducing a new form of government into its cities. This he did to the satisfaction of all parties. He attended Scipio to the siege of Numantia; and returning thence to his native land, died B. C. 121, aged eighty-two years. His General History was contained in forty Books, of which only the first five and fragments of the succeeding twelve have come down to us. It is rather remarkable for accuracy, fidelity, and the amount of military and political knowledge displayed, than for beauty of style. 351

☞ The extracts from Polybius are from the edition of this work edited by Blomfield, which was published at London, in 1821; from which, also, most of the following notes are taken.

Line 4. *πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ παραδοχὴν*] *to the study and reception.* Those who cultivate any study are said *αἱρεῖσθαι*. The regard which is thus paid is called *αἵρεσις*, hence its signification secondarily of *heresy*. *παραδοχὴ* is not found in the more ancient authors.

Line 4. *τῶν τοιούτων ὑπομνημάτων*] *of such commentaries. ὑπόμνημα* denotes *a memorial*, or *a memorandum-book*. Compare *ὑπομνηματίζεσθαι*, Longinus, I. 2.

Line 8. ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν,] *to speak briefly*, or *so to speak*. Compare Æschylus, Pers. 720. διαπεπόρθηται τὰ Περσῶν πράγμαθ', ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος. See Buttmann's Syntax, § 140, n. 2, and § 150.

Line 9. φάσκοντες] *repeating it.*

Line 13. περιπετειῶν] *of the calamities.* This noun is derived from περιπίπτω, *meet with trouble.*

352 Line 2. πρὸς τὴν ἔντευξιν τῆς πραγματείας.] *to the perusal of the work* or *history*. The usual designation of Polybius for his history is πραγματεία. A more accurate use of language would limit its meaning to the *composition of a work*; in which sense it occurs in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Josephus. Longinus, Fragm. V. 1, has πραγματεύεσθαί τι διὰ γραφῆς.

Line 8. ἐκπαθής] *immoderately fond*, or *passionately devoted.* This word is not found in more ancient authors.

Line 9. προυργιαίτερον] *more important.* From προύργου (πρὸ ἔργου) *that which it is best to do.* Compare Thucyd. Book III. 109. τὸ ἑαυτῶν προυργιαίτερον ἐποιήσαντο.

Line 23. ἀδήριτον.] *undisputed*, or *without a struggle*. This adjective is used by the ancient poets.

Line 30. ἀκμὴν] *so far; hitherto.* That is, κατ' ἀκμὴν τοῦ χρόνου. An idiom seldom found in Attic writers. See Moeris, Ἀκμὴν οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι, εἰ μὴ μόνος Ξενοφῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀναβάσει, [IV. iii. 19,] Ἑλληνικῶς δὲ χρῶνται.

Line 32. οὐδ' — καθάπαξ] *not at all.* A phrase of late origin.

Line 33. ἰσχνῶς εἰπεῖν,] *to speak precisely.*

353 Line 1. οὐ τινὰ μέρη,] One edition has ἅτινα, and another οὔτινα. οὐ τινὰ is now the universally received reading. The text in this and the following sentence is defective in the MSS. It is supplied from the conjectures of Ursinus and Casaubon.

Line 6. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ,] *And this is the Event, which I design to explain in all its parts and circumstances in the following narration; and from thence it will be evident, what great advantages may be derived from an attentive and close perusal of Political History.* HAMPTON.

Line 7. συμβάλλεσθαι πέφυκε] Compare above, at p. 18. n. 3, and at p. 27. n. 1.

Line 19. τοῦ Σικυωνίου] He refers to Aratus of Sicyon. Schweighaeuser receives the correction of Reiske, and reads, τοῖς τελευταίοις τῆς Ἀράτου τοῦ Σικυωνίου συντάξεως.

Line. 21. σποράδας εἶναι συνέβαινε — ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν] The text between these clauses is conjecturally filled out by Casaubon; the MSS. being full of gaps.

Line 22. συντελείας] *ends, issues.*

Line 24. σωματοειδῆ] *as it were forming one body.*

Line 27. ἀναφορὰν] *relation.*

Line 31. ἠνύσθαι] *had been accomplished.*

354 Line 8. τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων] *the most of the Greeks*; πολλοὶ denotes *many*; οἱ πολλοί, *the most, the greater part.*

Line 12. διαβουλίοις,] *counsels.* The word is only found in the later authors. Hesychius gives Διαβούλια, ἐνθυμήματα. It is of frequent occurrence in the Alexandrine translators of the Old Testament.

Line 13. χορηγίαις] *resources.* This word properly refers to *the*

defraying of the expenses of a chorus. See above, at p. 133. n. 2. Secondarily it denotes *supplies* or *resources*. Compare Aristotle, Eth. Nicom. X. 9, καὶ Σόλων δὲ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας ἴσως ἀπεφαίνετο, καλῶς εἰπών, μετρίως τοῖς ἐκτὸς κεχορηγημένους, *moderately supplied with external goods*; and Strabo, V. p. 222, where, speaking of a quarry, he says, μέταλλα δὲ λίθου λευκοῦ τε καὶ ποικίλου γλαυκίζοντος, τοσαῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ τηλικαῦτα μονολίθους ἐκδιδόντα πλάκας τε καὶ στήλας, ὥστε τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐκπρεπῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν τὴν χορηγίαν, *are supplied with materials from hence.* See below, at p. 361. line 26.

Line 32. ἂν—ἐφιλοτιμήθην.] *should have directed my ambition.* φιλοτιμία denotes the *love and pursuit of fame*; hence also the *exertions* made to secure it.

Line 5. βασανίζειν,] *examine.* This verb is derived from βάσανος, 355
a touchstone; used to test gold. See Pindar, Pyth. X. 105. πειρῶντι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασάνῳ πρέπει. The noun is used secondarily to denote an *examination* of any sort.

Line 5. ὅσον γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι·] Understand ἐπίβαλε, or something of the kind.

Line 8. Πολλὰ γὰρ αὕτη—] Compare Ovid. de Ponto, IV. 3.

> Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus,
> Et certam præsens vix habet hora fidem.

Line 26. κἄπειτα] Correct to κᾆπειτα.

Line 30. ὀνειρώττουσιν] *to dreamers.* Compare ὑπνώττειν, *to sleep*, and λιμώττειν, *to hunger.*

Line 8. Τίμαιος] A Sicilian historian, praised by some and 356
censured by others. See Longinus, Sect. IV. 1; Cicero, de Orat. Book II. 14; and Saint-Croix's *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, p. 15.

Line 3. εὐδοκουμένας] *such as pleased the Gauls.* This use of the 357
word is almost entirely confined to Polybius. Compare Book I. lxxi. 3. κατάστασις εὐδοκουμένη, *some tolerable condition.*

Line 9. Σαυνίταις] *with the Samnites.* Strabo writes Σαμνῖται.

Line 2. εἶπα] On this form, see Fisk's Grammar, p. 77; and 358
Buttmann's Grammar, § 114.

Line 7. Ὕπατοι,] *Consuls.* Σύγκλητος, (understand βουλή,) *the Senate.* οἱ Πολλοί, *the people.*

Line 20. ἀναδιδόασιν,] *propose for deliberation.* This phrase is of frequent occurrence in Polybius.

Line 25. βοηθεύειν] *to execute the decrees of the majority.*

Line 26. τῆς ἐν ὑπαίθροις οἰκονομίας,] *in the management of all matters in the field.* When they have left the city, to take charge of military operations.

Line 2. χιλιάρχους] *the military tribunes.* διαγράφειν, *enrol*; δια- 359
λέγειν, *to make a levy of.* Ταμίου, *a quæstor.*

Line 14. τὴν τοῦ ταμιείου κυρίαν·] *the command of the treasury.*

Line 20. οἱ Τιμηταὶ] *the Censors.*

Line 23. συγχώρημα] *express permission.*

Line 31. διαλύουσαν] Read διαλύουσαι, with Schweighaeuser and Wyttenbach, instead of διαλύουσαν.

Line 9. πάντα πρὸς τὴν Σύγκλητον κυροῦν.] Wyttenbach preferred 360
πῶς to πρός.

Line 30. θανάτου—κρίνει] *has power of life and death.* See Buttmann's Syntax, § 132. 5. Compare the Cyropædia, I. ii. 14. θανάτου δὲ οὗτοι κρίνουσι, at p. 50. line 14 of this volume.

361 Line 3. ἑαυτοῦ καταγνόντα φυγαδείαν.] καταγιγνώσκειν τι τινὸς, *to determine any thing against a person.* Compare Thucydides, Book III. 81. κατέγνωσαν ἁπάντων θάνατον. φυγαδεία, *exile*, a recent word.

Line 26. χορηγεῖσθαι] See above, at p. 354. line 13.

Line 28. ἐθελοκακεῖν καὶ κωλυσιεργεῖν] *to do less than they can or ought, and to frustrate their exertions.*

362 Line 1. ἐκτραγῳδῆσαι] *to celebrate with a procession, aggrandize, amplify.* See Cicero, "Tragedias in nugis agere," that is, *to amplify in the style of the tragedians.*

Line 6. οὐ δύνανται χειρίζειν,] The old reading was δύναται. Reiske, Schweighaeuser, and Wyttenbach, all have our [illegible]

Li[illegible] γε μὴν Δήμου τὸ δ[illegible]